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No. CXLV.

ART. I.—1. *De la Democratie en Amérique.* Par ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, Membre de l'Institut. 4 vols. 8vo. Paris: 1835–1840.

2. *Democracy in America.* By ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, Member of the Institute of France. *Translated by* HENRY REEVE, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. 4 vols. 8vo. London: 1835–1840.

IT has been the rare fortune of M. de Tocqueville's book to have achieved an easy triumph, both over the indifference of our at once busy and indolent public to profound speculation, and over the particular obstacles which oppose the reception of speculations from a foreign, and, above all, from a French source. There is some ground for the remark often made upon us by foreigners, that the character of our national intellect is insular. The general movement of the European mind sweeps past us without our being drawn into it, or even looking sufficiently at it to discover in what direction it is tending; and, if we had not a tolerably rapid original movement of our own, we should long since have been left in the distance. The French language is almost universally cultivated on this side of the Channel; a flood of human beings perpetually ebbs and flows between London and Paris; national prejudices and animosities are becoming numbered among the things that were; yet the revolution which has

taken place in the tendencies of French thought, which has changed the character of the higher literature of France, and almost that of the French language, seems hitherto, as far as the English public are concerned, to have taken place in vain. At a time when the prevailing tone of French speculation is one of exaggerated reaction against the doctrines of the eighteenth century, French philosophy, with us, is still synonymous with Encyclopedism. The Englishmen may almost be numbered who are aware that France has produced any great names in prose literature since Voltaire and Rousseau; and while modern history has been receiving a new aspect from the labours of men who are not only among the profoundest thinkers, but the clearest and most popular writers of their age, even those of their works which are expressly dedicated to the history of our own country, remain mostly untranslated, and in almost all cases unread.

To this general neglect M. de Tocqueville's book forms, however, as we have already said, a brilliant exception. Its reputation was as sudden, and is as extensive, in this country as in France, and in that large part of Europe which receives its opinions from France. The progress of political dissatisfaction, and the comparisons made between the fruits of a popular constitution on one side of the Atlantic, and of a mixed government with a preponderating aristocratic element on the other, had made the working of American institutions a party question. For many years, every book of travels in America had been a party pamphlet, or had at least fallen among partisans, and been pressed into the service of one party or of the other. When, therefore, a new book, of a grave and imposing character, on Democracy in America, made its appearance even on the other side of the British Channel, it was not likely to be overlooked, or to escape an attempt to convert it to party purposes. If ever political writer had reason to believe that he had laboured successfully to render his book incapable of such a use, M. de Tocqueville was entitled to think so. But though his theories are of an impartiality without example, and his practical conclusions lean towards Radicalism, some of his phrases are susceptible of a Tory application. One of these is 'the 'tyranny of the majority.' This phrase was forthwith adopted into the Conservative dialect, and trumpeted by Sir Robert Peel in his Tamworth oration, when, as booksellers' advertisements have since frequently reminded us, he 'earnestly 'requested the perusal' of the book by all and each of his audience. And we believe it has since been the opinion of the country gentlemen that M. de Tocqueville is one of the pillars of Conservatism, and his book a definitive demolition of Ame-

rica and of Democracy. The error has done more good than the truth would perhaps have done; since the result is, that the English public now know and read the first philosophical book ever written on Democracy, as it manifests itself in modern society; a book, the essential doctrines of which it is not likely that any future speculations will subvert, to whatever degree they may modify them; while its spirit, and the general mode in which it treats its subject, constitute it the beginning of a new era in the scientific study of politics.

The importance of M. de Tocqueville's speculations is not to be estimated by the opinions which he has adopted, be these true or false. The value of his work is less in the conclusions, than in the mode of arriving at them. He has applied to the greatest question in the art and science of government, those principles and methods of philosophizing to which mankind are indebted for all the advances made by modern times in the other branches of the study of nature. It is not risking too much to affirm of these volumes, that they contain the first analytical inquiry into the influence of democracy. For the first time, that phenomenon is treated of as something which, being a reality in nature, and no mere mathematical or metaphysical abstraction, manifests itself by innumerable properties, not by some one only; and must be looked at in many aspects before it can be made the subject even of that modest and conjectural judgment, which is alone attainable respecting a fact at once so great and so new. Its consequences are by no means to be comprehended in one single description, nor in one summary verdict of approval or condemnation. So complicated and endless are their ramifications, that he who sees furthest into them will longest hesitate before finally pronouncing whether the good or the evil of its influence, on the whole, preponderates.

M. de Tocqueville has endeavoured to ascertain and discriminate the various properties and tendencies of Democracy; the separate relations in which it stands towards the different interests of society, and the different moral and social requisites of human nature. In the investigation he has left much undone, as who could possibly avoid? and much which will be better done by those who come after him, and build upon his foundations. But he has earned the double honour of being the first to make the attempt; and of having done more towards the success of it than probably will ever again be done by any one individual. His method is, as that of a philosopher on such a subject must be—a combination of deduction with induction: his evidences are, laws of human nature, on the one hand; the example of America and France, and other modern nations, so far as applicable, on

the other. His conclusions never rest on either species of evidence alone; whatever he classes as an effect of Democracy, he has both ascertained to exist in those countries in which the state of society is democratic, and has also succeeded in connecting with Democracy by deductions *à priori*, showing that such would naturally be its influences upon beings constituted as mankind are, and placed in a world such as we know ours to be. If this be not the true Baconian and Newtonian method applied to society and government; if any better, or even any other be possible, M. de Tocqueville would be the first to say, *candidus imperti;* if not, he is entitled to say to political theorists, whether calling themselves philosophers or practical men, *his utere mecum.*

That part of 'Democracy in America' which was first published, professes to treat of the political effects of Democracy; the second (published only this year) is devoted to its influence upon society in the widest sense; upon the relations of private life, upon intellect, morals, and the habits and modes of feeling which constitute national character. The last is both a newer and a more difficult subject of enquiry than the first; there are fewer who are competent, or who will even think themselves competent, to judge M. de Tocqueville's conclusions. But, we believe, no one, in the least entitled to an opinion, will refuse to him the praise of having probed the subject to a depth which had never before been sounded; of having carried forward the controversy into a wider and a loftier region of thought; and pointed out many questions essential to the subject which had not been before attended to;—questions which he may or may not have solved, but of which, in any case, he has greatly facilitated the solution.

The comprehensiveness of M. de Tocqueville's views, and the impartiality of his feelings, have not led him into the common infirmity of those who see too many sides to a question, that of thinking them all equally important. He is able to arrive at a decided opinion. Nor has the more extensive range of considerations embraced in his Second Part, affected practically the general conclusions which resulted from his First. They may be stated as follows:—That Democracy, in the modern world, is inevitable; and that it is, on the whole, desirable; but desirable only under certain conditions, and those conditions capable, by human care and foresight, of being realized, but capable also of being missed. The progress and ultimate ascendency of the democratic principle has, in his eyes, the character of a law of nature. He thinks it an inevitable result of the tendencies of a progressive civilisation; by which expressions he by no means intends to imply

either praise or censure. No human effort, no accident even, unless one which should throw back civilisation itself, can avail, in his opinion, to defeat, or even very considerably to retard, this progress. But though the fact itself appears to him removed from human control, its salutary or baneful consequences do not. Like other great powers of nature, the tendency, though it cannot be counteracted, may be guided to good. Man cannot turn back the rivers to their source; but it rests with himself whether they shall fertilize or lay waste his fields. Left to its spontaneous course, with nothing done to prepare before it that set of circumstances under which it can exist with safety, and to fight against its worse, by an apt employment of its better peculiarities, the probable effects of Democracy upon human wellbeing, and upon whatever is best and noblest in human character, appear to M. de Tocqueville extremely formidable. But with as much of wise effort devoted to the purpose as it is not irrational to hope for, most of what is mischievous in its tendencies may, in his opinion, be corrected, and its natural capacities of good so far strengthened and made use of, as to leave no cause for regret in the old state of society, and enable the new one to be contemplated with calm contentment, if without exultation.

It is necessary to observe that, by Democracy, M. de Tocqueville does not, in general, mean any particular form of government. He can conceive a Democracy under an absolute monarch. Nay, he entertains no small dread, lest, in some countries, it should actually appear in that form. By Democracy M. de Tocqueville understands equality of conditions; the absence of all aristocracy, whether constituted by political privileges, or by superiority in individual importance and social power. It is towards Democracy in this sense, towards equality between man and man, that he conceives society to be irresistibly tending. Toward Democracy in the other, and more common sense, it may or may not be travelling. Equality of conditions tends naturally to produce a popular government, but not necessarily. Equality may be equal freedom or equal servitude. America is the type of the first; France, he thinks, is in danger of falling into the second. The latter country is in the condition which, of all that civilized societies are liable to, he regards with the greatest alarm—a democratic state of society without democratic institutions. For, in democratic institutions, M. de Tocqueville sees not an aggravation but a corrective of the most serious evils incident to a democratic state of society. No one is more opposed than he is to that species of democratic radicalism which would admit at once to the highest of political franchises, untaught masses who have not yet been experimentally proved fit even

for the lowest. But the ever increasing intervention of the people, and of all classes of the people, in their own affairs, he regards as a cardinal maxim in the modern art of government; and he believes that the nations of civilized Europe, though not all equally advanced, are all advancing, towards a condition in which there will be no distinctions of political rights, no great or very permanent distinctions of hereditary wealth; when, as there will remain no classes nor individuals capable of making head against the government—unless all are, and are fit to be alike citizens—all will, erelong, be equally slaves.

The opinion, that there is this irresistible tendency to equality of conditions, is perhaps, of all the leading doctrines of the book, that which most stands in need of confirmation to English readers. M. de Tocqueville devotes but little space to the elucidation of it. To French readers the historical retrospect upon which it rests is familiar; and facts known to every one establish its truth so far as relates to that country. But to the English public, who have less faith in irresistible tendencies, and who, while they require for every political theory a historical basis, are far less accustomed to link together the events of history in a connected chain, the proposition will hardly seem to be sufficiently made out. Our author's historical argument is, however, deserving of their attention.

'Let us recollect the situation of France seven hundred years ago, when the territory was divided amongst a small number of families, who were the owners of the soil and the rulers of the inhabitants: the right of governing descended with the family inheritance from generation to generation; force was the only means by which man could act on man; and landed property was the sole source of power.

'Soon, however, the political power of the clergy was founded, and began to extend itself: the clergy opened its ranks to all classes, to the poor and the rich, the villein and the lord; equality penetrated into the government through the church, and the being who as a serf must have vegetated in perpetual bondage, took his place as a priest in the midst of nobles, and not unfrequently above the heads of kings.

'The different relations of men became more complicated and more numerous as society gradually became more stable and more civilized. Thence the want of civil laws was felt; and the order of legal functionaries soon rose from the obscurity of the tribunals and their dusty chambers, to appear at the court of the monarch, by the side of the feudal barons in their ermine and their mail.

'Whilst the kings were ruining themselves by their great enterprises, and the nobles exhausting their resources by private wars, the lower orders were enriching themselves by commerce. The influence of money began to be perceptible in state affairs. The transactions of business opened a new road to power, and the financier rose to a station of political influence in which he was at once flattered and despised.

'Gradually the spread of mental acquirements, and the increasing taste for literature and the arts, opened chances of success to talent; knowledge became a means of government, intelligence became a social power, and the man of letters took a part in the affairs of the state.

'The value attached to the privileges of birth decreased in the exact proportion in which new paths were struck out to advancement. In the eleventh century nobility was beyond all price; in the thirteenth it might be purchased; it was conferred for the first time in 1270; and equality was thus introduced into the government through aristocracy itself.

'In the course of these seven hundred years, it sometimes happened that, in order to resist the authority of the crown, or to diminish the power of their rivals, the nobles granted a certain share of political rights to the people. Or, more frequently, the king permitted the inferior orders to enjoy a degree of power, with the intention of lowering the aristocracy.

'As soon as land was held on any other than a feudal tenure, and personal property began in its turn to confer influence and power, every improvement which was introduced in commerce or manufactures was a fresh element of the equality of conditions. Henceforward every new discovery, every new want which it engendered, and every new desire which craved satisfaction, was a step towards the universal level. The taste for luxury, the love of war, the sway of fashion, the most superficial as well as the deepest passions of the human heart, co-operated to enrich the poor and to impoverish the rich,

'From the time when the exercise of the intellect became a source of strength and of wealth, it is impossible not to consider every addition to science, every fresh truth, every new idea, as a germ of power placed within the reach of the people. Poetry, eloquence, and memory, the grace of wit, the glow of imagination, the depth of thought, and all the gifts which are bestowed by Providence without respect of persons, turned to the advantage of the democracy; and even when they were in the possession of its adversaries, they still served its cause by throwing into relief the natural greatness of man; its conquests spread, therefore, with those of civilisation and knowledge; and literature became an arsenal, where the poorest and the weakest could always find weapons to their hand.

'In perusing the pages of our history, we shall scarcely meet with a single great event, in the lapse of seven hundred years, which has not turned to the advantage of equality.

'The Crusades and the wars with the English decimated the nobles and divided their possessions; the erection of corporate towns introduced an element of democratic liberty into the bosom of feudal monarchy; the invention of fire-arms equalized the villein and the noble on the field of battle; printing opened the same resources to the minds of all classes; the post was established so as to bring the same information to the door of the poor man's cottage and to the gate of the palace; and Protestantism proclaimed that all men are alike able to find the road to heaven. The discovery of America offered a thousand new paths to fortune, and placed riches and power within the reach of the adventurous and the obscure.

'If we examine what has happened in France at intervals of fifty years, beginning with the eleventh century, we shall invariably perceive that a twofold revolution has taken place in the state of society. The noble has gone down on the social ladder, and the *roturier* has gone up; the one descends as the other rises. Every half century brings them nearer to each other.

'Nor is this phenomenon at all peculiar to France. Whithersoever we turn our eyes, we witness the same continual revolution throughout the whole of Christendom.

'Every where the various occurrences of national existence have turned to the advantage of democracy; all men have aided it by their exertions: those who have intentionally laboured in its cause, and those who have served it unwittingly; those who have fought for it, and those who have declared themselves its opponents—have all been driven along in the same tract, have all laboured to one end, some ignorantly and some unwillingly; all have been blind instruments in the hands of God.

'The gradual development of the equality of conditions is therefore a providential fact, and possesses all the characteristics of a Divine decree: it is universal, it is durable, it constantly eludes all human interference, and all events as well as all men contribute to its progress.

'Would it be wise to imagine that a social impulse which dates from so far back can be checked by the efforts of a generation? Is it credible that the democracy which has annihilated the feudal system, and vanquished kings, will respect the citizen and the capitalist? Will it stop now that it is grown so strong, and its adversaries so weak?

'It is not necessary that God himself should speak in order to disclose to us the unquestionable signs of his will. We can discern them in the habitual course of nature, and in the invariable tendency of events.

'The Christian nations of our age seem to me to present a most alarming spectacle. The impulse which is bearing them along is so strong that it cannot be stopped, but it is not yet so rapid that it cannot be guided. Their fate is in their hands; yet a little while and it may be so no longer.'—(*Introduction to the First Part.**)

That such has been the actual course of events in modern history, nobody can doubt, and as truly in England as in France. Of old, every proprietor of land was sovereign over its inhabitants, while the cultivators could not call even their bodily powers their own. It was by degrees only, and in a succession of ages, that their personal emancipation was effected, and their labour became theirs to sell for whatever they could obtain for it. They became the rich men's equals in the eye of the law; but the rich had still the making of the law, and the administering of

* In this, and our other extracts, we have followed generally, though not implicitly, Mr Reeve's translation. Though not always unexceptionable, it is spirited, and sometimes felicitous.

it; and the equality was at first little more than nominal. The poor, however, could now acquire property; the path was open to them to quit their own class for a higher; their rise even to a considerable station, gradually became a common occurrence; and to those who acquired a large fortune, the other powers and privileges of aristocracy were successively opened, until hereditary honours have become less a power in themselves, than a symbol and ornament of great riches. While individuals thus continually rose from the mass, the mass itself multiplied and strengthened; the towns obtained a voice in public affairs; the many, in the aggregate, became even in property more and more a match for the few; and the nation became a power, distinct from the small number of individuals who once disposed even of the crown, and determined all public affairs at their pleasure. The Reformation was the dawn of the government of public opinion. Even at that early period, opinion was not formed by the higher classes exclusively; and while the publicity of all state transactions, the liberty of petition and public discussion, the press—and of late, above all, the periodical press—have rendered public opinion more and more the supreme power, the same causes have rendered the formation of it less and less dependent upon the initiative of the higher ranks. Even the direct participation of the people at large in the government had, in various ways, been greatly extended, before the political events of the last few years, when democracy has given so signal a proof of its progress in society, by the inroads it has been able to make into the political constitution. And in spite of the alarm which has been taken by the possessors of large property, who are far more generally opposed than they had been within the present generation to any additional strengthening of the popular element in the House of Commons, there is at this moment a much stronger party for a further parliamentary reform, than many good observers thought there was, twelve years ago, for that which has already taken place.

But there is a surer mode of deciding the point than any historical retrospect. Let us look at the powers which are even now at work in society itself.

To a superficial glance at the condition of our own country, nothing can seem more unlike any tendency to equality of condition. The inequalities of property are apparently greater than in any former period of history. Nearly all the land is parcelled out in great estates, among comparatively few families; and it is not the large but the small properties which are in process of extinction. A hereditary and titled nobility, more potent by their vast possessions than by their social precedency, are constitu-

tionally and really one of the great powers in the state. To form part of their order is what every ambitious man aspires, as the crowning glory of a successful career. The passion for equality of which M. de Tocqueville speaks, almost as if it were the great moral lever of modern times, is hardly known in this country even by name. On the contrary, all ranks seem to have a passion for inequality. The hopes of every person are directed to rising in the world, not to pulling the world down to him. The greatest enemy of the political conduct of the House of Lords, submits to their superiority of rank as he would to the ordinances of nature; and often thinks any amount of toil and watching, repaid by a nod of recognition from one of their number.

We have put the case as strongly as it could be put by an adversary, and have stated as facts some things which, if they have been facts, are giving visible signs that they will not always be so. If we look back even twenty years, we shall find that the popular respect for the higher classes is by no means the thing it was; and although all who are rising wish for the continuance of advantages which they themselves hope to share, there are among those who do not expect to rise, increasing indications that a levelling spirit is abroad, and political discontents, in whatever manner originating, show an increasing tendency to take that shape. But it is the less necessary to dwell upon these things, as we shall be satisfied with making out, in respect to the tendency to equality in England, much less than M. de Tocqueville contends for. We do not maintain that the time is drawing near when there will be no distinction of classes; but we do contend that the power of the higher classes, both in government and in society, is diminishing; while that of the middle and even the lower classes is increasing, and likely to increase.

The constituent elements of political importance are property, intelligence, and the power of combination. In every one of these elements, is it the higher classes, or the other portion of society, that have lately made and are continuing to make the most rapid advances?

Even with regard to the element of property, there cannot be room for more than a momentary doubt. The class who are rich by inheritance, are so far from augmenting their fortunes, that it is much if they can be said to keep them up. A territorial aristocracy always live up to their means—generally beyond them. Our own is no exception to the rule; and as their control over the taxes becomes every day more restricted, and the liberal professions more overcrowded, they are condemned more and more to bear the burden of their own large families,

which is no easy burden; and at the same time to leave to the heir the means of keeping up, without becoming embarrassed, the old family establishments. It is matter of notoriety how severely the difficulty of providing for younger sons is felt even in the highest rank; and that, as a provision for daughters, alliances are now courted which would not have been endured a generation ago. The additions to the 'money-power' of the higher ranks, consist of the riches of the *novi homines* who are continually aggregated to that class from among the merchants and manufacturers, and occasionally from the professions. But many of these are merely successors to the impoverished owners of the land they buy; and the fortunes of others are taken, in the way of marriage, to pay off the mortgages of older families. Even with these allowances, no doubt the number of wealthy persons is steadily on the increase; but what is this to the accumulation of capitals and growth of incomes in the hands of the middle class? It is that class which furnishes all the accessions to the aristocracy of wealth; and for one who makes a large fortune, fifty acquire, without exceeding, a moderate competency, and leave their children to work, like themselves, at the labouring oar.

In point of intelligence, it can still less be affirmed that the higher classes maintain the same proportional ascendency as of old. They have shared with the rest of the world in the diffusion of information. They have improved, like all other classes, in the decorous virtues. Their humane feelings and refined tastes form in general a striking contrast to the coarse habits of the same class a few generations ago. But it would be difficult to point out what new idea in speculation, what invention or discovery in the practical arts, what useful institution, or what permanently valuable book, Great Britain has owed for the last hundred years to her hereditary aristocracy, titled or untitled;—what great public enterprise, what important national movement in religion or politics, those classes have originated, or in which they have so much as taken the principal share. Considered in respect to active energies and laborious habits, to the stirring qualities which fit men for playing a considerable part in the affairs of mankind, few will say that our aristocracy have not deteriorated. It is, on the other hand, one of the commonplaces of the age, that knowledge and intelligence are spreading, in a degree which was formerly thought impossible, to the lower, and down even to the lowest rank. And this is a fact, not accomplished, but in the mere dawn of its accomplishment, and which has shown hitherto but a slight promise of its future fruits. It is easy to scoff at the kind of intelligence which is thus diffusing itself; but it is intelligence.

still. The knowledge which is power, is not the highest description of knowledge only: any knowledge which gives the habit of forming an opinion, and the capacity of expressing that opinion, constitutes a political power; and if combined with the capacity and habit of acting in concert, a formidable one.

It is in this last element, the power of combined action, that the progress of the Democracy has been the most gigantic. What combination can do, has been shown by an experiment of now many years' duration, among a people the most backward in civilisation (thanks to English misgovernment,) between the Vistula and the Pyrenees. Even on this side of the Irish Channel we have seen something of what could be done by Political Unions, Antislavery Societies, and the like; to say nothing of the less advanced, but already powerful organization of the working classes, the progress of which has been suspended only by the temporary failure arising from the manifest impracticability of its present objects. And these various associations are not the machinery of democratic combination, but the occasional weapons which that spirit forges as it needs them. The real Political Unions of England are the Newspapers. It is these which tell every person what all other persons are feeling, and in what manner they are ready to act: it is by these that the people learn, it may truly be said, their own wishes, and through these that they declare them. The Newspapers and the Railroads are solving the problem of bringing the democracy of England to vote, like that of Athens, simultaneously in one *agora;* and the same agencies are rapidly effacing those local distinctions which rendered one part of our population strangers to another; and are making us more than ever (what is the first condition of a powerful public opinion) a homogeneous people. If America has been said to prove, that in an extensive country a popular government may exist, England seems destined to afford the proof, that after a certain stage in civilisation it must; for as soon as the numerically stronger have the same advantages, in means of combination and celerity of movement, as the smaller number, they are the masters; and, except by their permission, no government can any longer exist.

It may be said, doubtless, that though the aristocratic class may be no longer in the ascendant, the power by which it is succeeded is not that of the numerical majority; that the middle class in this country is as little in danger of being outstripped by the democracy below, as of being kept down by the aristocracy above; and that there can be no difficulty for that class, aided as it would be by the rich, in making head by its property, intelligence, and power of combination, against any possible

growth of those elements of importance in the inferior classes; and in excluding the mass of mere manual labourers from any share in political rights, unless such a restricted and subordinate one as may be found compatible with the complete ascendency of property.

We are disposed partially to agree in this opinion. Universal suffrage is never likely to exist where the majority are *prolétaires*; and we are not unwilling to believe that a labouring class in abject poverty, like the greatest part of our rural population, or which expends its surplus earnings in gin or in waste, like so much of the better paid population of the towns, may be kept politically in subjection, and that the middle classes are safe from the permanent rule of such a body, though perhaps not from its Swing outrages, or Wat Tyler insurrections. But this admission leaves the fact of a tendency towards democracy practically untouched. There is a democracy short of pauper suffrage; the working classes themselves contain a middle, as well as a lowest class. Not to meddle with the *vexata quæstio*, whether the lowest class is or is not improving in condition, it is certain that a larger and larger body of manual labourers are rising above that class, and acquiring at once decent wages and decent habits of conduct. A rapidly increasing multitude of our working people are becoming, in point of condition and habits, what all the American working people are. And if our boasted improvements are of any worth, there must be a growing tendency in society and government to make this condition of the labouring classes the general one. The nation must be most slenderly supplied with wisdom and virtue, if it cannot do something to improve its own physical condition, to say nothing of its moral. It is something gained, that well-meaning persons of all parties now at length profess to have this end in view. But in proportion as it is approached to, in proportion as the working class becomes what all proclaim their desire that it should be—well paid, well taught, and well conducted; in the same proportion will the opinions of that class tell, according to its numbers, upon the affairs of the country. Whatever portion of the class succeeds in thus raising itself, becomes a part of the ruling body; and if the suffrage be necessary to make it so, it will not be long without the suffrage.

Meanwhile, we are satisfied if it be admitted, that the government of England is progressively changing from the government of a few, to the government, not indeed of *the* many, but of many;—from an aristocracy with a popular infusion, to the *régime* of the middle class. To most purposes, in the constitution of modern society, the government of a numerous middle class is democracy. Nay, it not merely *is* democracy, but the only

democracy of which there is yet any example; what is called universal suffrage in America arising from the fact, that America is *all* middle class; the whole people being in a condition, both as to education and pecuniary means, corresponding to the middle class here. The consequences which we would deduce from this fact will appear presently, when we examine M. de Tocqueville's view of the moral, social, and intellectual influences of democracy. This cannot be done until we have briefly stated his opinions on the purely political branch of the question. To this part of our task we shall now proceed; with as much conciseness as is permitted by the number and importance of the ideas, which, holding an essential place among the grounds of his general conclusions, have a claim not to be omitted even from the most rapid summary.

We have already intimated that M. de Tocqueville recognises such a thing as a democratic state of society without a democratic government; a state in which the people are all equal, and subjected to one common master, who selects indiscriminately from all of them the instruments of his government. In this sense, as he remarks, the government of the Pasha of Egypt is a specimen of democracy; and to this type (with allowance for difference of civilisation and manners) he thinks that all nations are in danger of approximating, in which the equalization of conditions has made greater progress than the spirit of liberty. Now this he holds to be the condition of France. The kings of France have always been the greatest of levellers; Louis XI., Richelieu, Louis XIV., alike laboured to break the power of the noblesse, and reduce all intermediate classes and bodies to the general level. After them came the Revolution, bringing with it the abolition of hereditary privileges, the emigration and dispossession of half the great landed proprietors, and the subdivision of large fortunes by the revolutionary law of inheritance. While the equalization of conditions was thus rapidly reaching its extreme limits, no corresponding progress of public spirit was taking place in the people at large. No institutions capable of fostering an interest in the details of public affairs were created by the Revolution: it swept away even those which despotism had spared; and if it admitted a portion of the population to a voice in the government, gave it them only on the greatest but rarest occasion—the election of the great council of the state. A political act, to be done only once in a few years, and for which nothing in the daily habits of the citizen has prepared him, leaves his intellect and moral dispositions very much as it found them; and the citizens not being encouraged to take upon themselves collectively that portion of the business of society which had been

performed by the privileged classes, the central government easily drew to itself not only the whole local administration, but much of what, in countries like ours, is performed by associations of individuals. Whether the government was revolutionary or counter-revolutionary made no difference; under the one and the other, every thing was done *for* the people, and nothing *by* the people. In France, consequently, the arbitrary power of the magistrate in detail, is almost without limit. And when of late some attempts have been made to associate a portion of the citizens in the management of local affairs, comparatively few have been found, even among those in good circumstances, (any where but in the large towns,) who could be induced willingly to take any part in that management; who, when they had no personal object to gain, felt the public interest sufficiently their own interest, not to grudge every moment which they withdrew from their occupations or pleasures to bestow upon it. With all the eagerness and violence of party contests in France, a nation more passive in the hands of any one who is uppermost does not exist. M. de Tocqueville has no faith in the virtues, nor even in the prolonged existence, of a superficial love of freedom, in the face of a practical habit of slavery; and the question whether the French are to be a free people, depends, in his opinion, upon the possibility of creating a spirit and a habit of local self-government.

M. de Tocqueville sees the principal source and security of American freedom, not so much in the election of President and Congress by popular suffrage, as in the administration of nearly all the business of society by the people themselves. This it is, which, according to him, keeps up the habit of attending to the public interest, not in the gross merely, or on a few momentous occasions, but in its dry and troublesome details. This, too, it is which enlightens the people; which teaches them, by experience, how public affairs must be carried on. The dissemination of public business as widely as possible among the people, is in his opinion, the only means by which they can be fitted for the exercise of any share of power over the legislature, and generally, also, the only means by which they can be led to desire it.

For the particulars of this education of the American people by means of political institutions, we must refer to the work itself; of which it is one of the minor recommendations, that it has never been equalled even as a mere statement and explanation of the institutions of the United States. The general principle to which M. de Tocqueville has given the sanction of his authority, merits more consideration than it has yet received

from the professed labourers in the cause of national education. It has often been said, and requires to be repeated still oftener, that books and discourses alone are not education; that life is a problem, not a theorem; that action can only be learned in action. A child learns to write its name only by a succession of trials; and is a man to be taught to use his mind and guide his conduct by mere precept? What can be learned in schools is important, but not all-important. The main branch of the education of human beings is their habitual employment, which must be either their individual vocation, or some matter of general concern, in which they are called to take a part. The private money-getting occupation of almost every one, is more or less a mechanical routine; it brings but few of his faculties into action, while its exclusive pursuit tends to fasten his attention and interest exclusively upon himself, and upon his family as an appendage of himself;—making him indifferent to the public, to the more generous objects and the nobler interests, and, in his inordinate regard for his personal comforts, selfish and cowardly. Balance these tendencies by contrary ones; give him something to do for the public, whether as a vestryman, a juryman, or an elector; and in that degree, his ideas and feelings are taken out of this narrow circle. He becomes acquainted with more varied business, and a larger range of considerations. He is made to feel that besides the interests which separate him from his fellow-citizens, he has interests which connect him with them; that not only the common weal is his weal, but that it partly depends upon his exertions. Whatever might be the case in some other constitutions of society, the spirit of a commercial people will be, we are persuaded, essentially mean and slavish wherever public spirit is not cultivated by an extensive participation of the people in the business of government in detail: nor will the desideratum of a general diffusion of intelligence among either the middle or lower classes, be realized, but by a corresponding dissemination of public functions, and a voice in public affairs.

Nor is this inconsistent with obtaining a considerable share of the benefits (and they are great) of what is called centralization. The principle of local self-government has been undeservedly discredited, by being associated with the agitation against the new poor-law. The most active agency of a central authority in collecting and communicating information, giving advice to the local bodies, and even framing general rules for their observance, is no hinderance, but an aid, to making the local liberties an instrument of educating the people. The existence of such a central agency allows of intrusting to the people themselves, or to local bodies

representative of them, many things of too great national importance to be committed unreservedly to the localities, and completes the efficacy of local self-government as a means of instruction, by accustoming the people not only to judge of particular facts, but to understand, and apply, and feel practically the value of, principles. The mode of administration provided for the English poor-laws by the late act, seems to us to be in its general conception almost theoretically perfect. And the extension of a similar mixture of central and local management to several other branches of administration, thereby combining the best fruits of popular intervention with much of the advantage of skilled supervision and traditional experience, would, we believe, be entitled to no mean rank in M. de Tocqueville's list of correctives to the inconveniences of democracy.

In estimating the effects of Democratic Government as distinguished from a Democratic State of Society, M. de Tocqueville assumes the state of circumstances which exists in America;—a popular government in the state, combined with popular local institutions. In such a government he sees great advantages, balanced by no inconsiderable evils.

Among the advantages, one which figures in the foremost rank is that of which we have just spoken, the diffusion of intelligence; the remarkable impulse given by democratic institutions to the active faculties of that portion of the community, who in other circumstances are the most ignorant, passive, and apathetic. These are characteristics of America which strike all travellers. Activity, enterprise, and a respectable amount of information, are not the qualities of a few among the American citizens, nor even of many, but of all. There is no class of persons who are the slaves of habit and routine. Every American will carry on his manufacture, or cultivate his farm, by the newest and best methods applicable to the circumstances of the case. The poorest American understands and can explain the most intricate parts of his country's institutions; can discuss her interests, internal and foreign. Much of this may justly be attributed to the universality of easy circumstances, and to the education and habits which the first settlers in America brought with them; but our author is certainly not wrong in ascribing a certain portion of it to the perpetual exercise of the faculties of every man among the people, through the universal practice of submitting all public questions to his judgment.

'It is incontestable that the people frequently conduct public business very ill; but it is impossible that the people should take a part in public business without extending the circle of their ideas, and without quitting

the ordinary routine of their mental acquirements. The humblest individual who is called upon to co-operate in the government of society acquires a certain degree of self-respect; and, as he possesses power, minds more enlightened than his own offer him their services. He is canvassed by a multitude of claimants who need his support; and who, seeking to deceive him in a thousand different ways, instruct him in their deceit. He takes a part in political undertakings which did not originate in his own conception, but which give him a taste for other undertakings. New ameliorations are daily suggested to him in the property which he holds in common with others, and this gives him the desire of improving that property which is peculiarly his own. He is, perhaps, neither happier nor better than those who came before him; but he is better informed and more active. I have no doubt that the democratic institutions of the United States, joined to the physical constitution of the country, are the cause (not the direct, as is so often asserted, but the indirect cause) of the prodigious commercial activity of the inhabitants. It is not engendered by the laws, but it proceeds from habits acquired through participation in making the laws.

'When the opponents of Democracy assert that a single individual performs the functions which he undertakes better than the government of the people at large, it appears to me that they are perfectly right. The government of an individual, supposing an equal degree of instruction on either side, has more constancy, more perseverance, than that of a multitude; more combination in its plans, and more perfection in its details; and is better qualified judiciously to discriminate the characters of the men it employs. If any deny this, they have never seen a democratic government, or have formed their opinion only upon a few instances. It must be conceded, that even when local circumstances and the disposition of the people allow democratic institutions to subsist, they never display a regular and methodical system of government. Democratic liberty is far from accomplishing all the projects it undertakes with the skill of an adroit despotism. It frequently abandons them before they have borne their fruits, or risks them when the consequences may prove dangerous; but in the end it produces greater results than any absolute government. It does fewer things well, but it does a greater number of things. Not what is done by a democratic government, but what is done under a democratic government by private agency, is really great. Democracy does not confer the most skilful kind of government upon the people, but it produces that which the most skilful governments are frequently unable to awaken, namely, an all-pervading and restless activity—a superabundant force—an energy which is never seen elsewhere, and which may, under favourable circumstances, beget the most amazing benefits. These are the true advantages of democracy.'—(REEVE, vol. ii. chap. 2.)

The other great political advantage which our author ascribes to Democracy requires less illustration, because it is more obvious, and has been oftener treated of; that the course of legislation and administration tends always in the direction of the interest of the

greater number. Although M. de Tocqueville is far from considering this quality of Democracy as the *panacea* in politics which it has sometimes been supposed to be, he expresses his sense of its importance, if in measured, in no undecided terms. America does not exhibit to us what we see in the best mixed constitutions—the class interests of small minorities wielding the powers of legislation, in opposition both to the general interest and to the general opinion of the community; still less does she exhibit what has been characteristic of most representative governments, and is only gradually ceasing to characterise our own—a standing league of class interests—a tacit compact among the various knots of men who profit by abuses, to stand by one another in resisting reform. Nothing can subsist in America that is not recommended by arguments which, in appearance at least, address themselves to the interest of the many. However frequently, therefore, that interest may be mistaken, the direction of legislation towards it is maintained in the midst of the mistakes; and if a community is so situated or so ordered that it can 'support the transitory action of bad laws, and can 'await without destruction the result of the *general tendency* of 'the laws,' that country, in the opinion of M. de Tocqueville, will prosper more under a democratic government than under any other. But, in aristocratic governments, the interest, or at best the honour and glory, of the ruling class, is considered as the public interest; and all that is most valuable to the individuals composing the subordinate classes, is apt to be immolated to that public interest with all the rigour of antique patriotism.

'The men who are intrusted with the direction of public affairs in the United States are frequently inferior, both in point of capacity and of morality, to those whom aristocratic institutions would raise to power. But their interest is identified and confounded with that of the majority of those fellow-citizens. They may frequently be faithless and frequently mistaken, but they will never systematically adopt a line of conduct hostile to the majority; and it is impossible that they should give a dangerous or an exclusive character to the government.

'The mal-administration of a democratic magistrate is, moreover, a mere isolated fact, the effects of which do not last beyond the short period for which he is elected. Corruption and incapacity do not act as common interests which may connect men permanently with one another. A corrupt or an incapable magistrate will not concert his measures with another magistrate simply because that individual is corrupt and incapable like himself; and these two men will never unite their endeavours to promote or screen the corruption or inaptitude of their remote posterity. The ambition and the manœuvres of the one will serve, on the contrary, to unmask the other. The vices of the

magistrate in democratic states are usually those of his individual character.

'But, under aristocratic governments, public men are swayed by the interest of their order, which, if it is sometimes blended with the interests of the majority, is frequently distinct from them. This interest is a common and lasting bond which unites them together. It induces them to coalesce, and combine their efforts towards attaining an end which is not always the happiness of the greatest number; and it not only connects the persons in authority with each other, but links them also to a considerable portion of the governed, since a numerous body of citizens belongs to the aristocracy without being invested with official functions. The aristocratic magistrate, therefore, finds himself supported in his own natural tendencies by a portion of society itself, as well as by the government of which he is a member.

'The common object which connects the interest of the magistrates in aristocracies with that of a portion of their contemporaries, identifies it also with future generations of their order. They labour for ages to come as well as for their own time. The aristocratic magistrate is thus urged towards the same point by the passions of those who surround him, by his own, and, I might almost say, by those of his posterity. Is it wonderful that he should not resist? And hence it is that the class spirit often hurries along with it those whom it does not corrupt, and makes them unintentionally fashion society to their own particular ends, and prepare it for their own descendants.'—(REEVE, *ibid.*)

These, then, are the advantages ascribed by our author to a democratic government. We are now to speak of its disadvantages.

According to the opinion which is prevalent among the more cultivated advocates of democracy, one of its greatest recommendations is, that, by means of it, the wisest and worthiest are brought to the head of affairs. The people, it is said, have the strongest interest in selecting the right men. It is presumed that they will be sensible of that interest; and, subject to more or less liability of error, will, in the main, succeed in placing a high, if not the highest degree of worth and talent in the highest situations.

M. de Tocqueville is of another opinion. He was forcibly struck with the general want of merit in the members of the American legislatures, and other public functionaries. He accounts for this not solely by the people's incapacity to discriminate merit, but partly also by their indifference to it. He thinks there is little preference for men of superior intellect, little desire to obtain their services for the public; occasionally even a jealousy of them, especially if they be also rich. They, on their part, have still less inclination to seek any such employment. Public offices are little lucrative, confer little power, and offer no guarantee of permanency: almost any other

career holds out better pecuniary prospects to a man of ability and enterprise; nor will instructed men stoop to those mean arts, and those compromises of their private opinions, to which their less distinguished competitors willingly resort. The depositaries of power, after being chosen with little regard to merit, are, partly perhaps for that very reason, frequently changed. The rapid return of elections, and even a taste for variety, M. de Tocqueville thinks, on the part of electors, (a taste not unnatural wherever little regard is paid to qualifications,) produces a rapid succession of new men in the legislatures, and in all public posts. Hence, on the one hand, great instability in the laws—every new comer desiring to do something in the short time which he has; while, on the other hand, there is no political *carrière*—statesmanship is not a profession. There is no body of persons educated for public business, pursuing it as their occupation, and who transmit from one to another the results of their experience. There are no traditions, no science or art of public affairs. A functionary knows little, and cares less, about the principles on which his predecessor has acted; and his successor thinks as little about his. Public transactions are therefore conducted with a reasonable share indeed of the common sense and common information which are general in a democratic community, but with little benefit from specific study and experience; without consistent system, long-sighted views, or persevering pursuit of distant objects.

This is likely enough to be a true picture of the American Government, but can scarcely be said to be peculiar to it: there are now few governments remaining, whether representative or absolute, of which something of the same sort might not be said. In no country where the real government resides in the minister, and where there are frequent changes of Ministry, are far-sighted views of policy likely to be acted upon; whether the country be England or France, in the eighteenth century or in the nineteenth. In so far as it is true that there is a deficiency of remarkable merit in the American public men, (and our author allows that there is a large number of exceptions,) the fact may perhaps admit of a less discreditable explanation. America needs very little government. She has no wars, no neighbours, no complicated international relations; no old society with its thousand abuses to reform; no half-fed and untaught millions crying for food and guidance. Society in America requires little but to be let alone. The current affairs which her Government has to transact can seldom demand much more than average capacity; and it may be in the Americans a wise economy, not to

pay the price of great talents when common ones will serve their purpose. We make these remarks by way of caution, not of controversy. Like many other parts of our author's doctrines, that of which we are now speaking affords work for a succession of thinkers and of accurate observers, and must in the main depend on future experience to confirm or refute it.

We now come to that one among the dangers of Democracy, respecting which so much has been said, and which our author designates as 'the despotism of the majority.'

It is perhaps the greatest defect of M. de Tocqueville's book, that from the scarcity of examples, his propositions, even when derived from observation, have the air of mere abstract speculations. He speaks of the tyranny of the majority in general phrases, but gives hardly any instances of it, nor much information as to the mode in which it is practically exemplified. The omission was in the present instance the more excusable, as the despotism complained of was, at that time, politically at least, an evil in apprehension more than in sufferance; and he was uneasy rather at the total absence of security against the tyranny of the majority, than at the frequency of its actual exertion.

Events, however, which have occurred since the publication of the First Part of M. de Tocqueville's work, give indication of the shape which tyranny is most likely to assume when exercised by a majority.

It is not easy to surmise any inducements of interest, by which, in a country like America, the greater number could be led to oppress the smaller. When the majority and the minority are spoken of as conflicting interests, the rich and the poor are generally meant; but where the rich are content with being rich, and do not claim as such any political privileges, their interest and that of the poor are the same;—complete protection to property, and freedom in the disposal of it, are alike important to both. When, indeed, the poor are so poor that they can scarcely be worse off, respect on their part for rights of property which they cannot hope to share, is never safely to be calculated upon. But where all have property, either in enjoyment or in reasonable hope, and an appreciable chance of acquiring a large fortune; and where every man's way of life proceeds upon the confident assurance that, by superior exertion, he will obtain a superior reward; the importance of inviolability of property is not likely to be lost sight of. It is not affirmed of the Americans that they make laws against the rich, or unduly press upon them in the imposition of taxes. If a labouring class, less happily circumstanced, could prematurely force themselves into influence over our own

legislature, there might then be danger—not so much of violations of property, as of undue interference with contracts; unenlightened legislation for the supposed interest of the many; laws founded on mistakes in political economy. A minimum of wages, or a tax on machinery, might be attempted: as silly and as inefficacious attempts might be made to keep up wages by law, as were so long made by the British legislature to keep them down by the same means. We have no wish to see the experiment tried, but we are fully convinced that experience would correct the one error as it has corrected the other, and in the same way; namely, by the completest practical failure.

It is not from the separate interests, real or imaginary, of the majority, that minorities are in danger; but from its antipathies of religion, political party, or race: and experience in America seems to confirm what theory rendered probable, that the tyranny of the majority would not take the shape of tyrannical laws, but that of a dispensing power over all laws. The people of Massachusetts passed no law prohibiting Roman Catholic schools, or exempting Protestants from the penalties of incendiarism; they contented themselves with burning the Ursuline convent to the ground, aware that no jury would be found to redress the injury. In the same reliance the people of New York and Philadelphia sacked and destroyed the houses of the Abolitionists, and the schools and churches of their black fellow-citizens, while numbers who took no share in the outrage amused themselves with the sight. The laws of Maryland still prohibit murder and burglary; but in 1812, a Baltimore mob, after destroying the printing office of a newspaper which had opposed the war with England, broke into the prison to which the editors had been conveyed for safety, murdered one of them, left the others for dead; and the criminals were tried and acquitted. In the same city, in 1835, a riot which lasted four days, and the foolish history of which is related in M. Chevalier's 'Letters,' was occasioned by the fraudulent bankruptcy of the Maryland Bank. It is not so much the riots, in such instances, that are deplorable; these might have occurred in any country:—it is the impossibility of obtaining aid from an executive dependant upon the mob, or justice from juries which formed part of it: it is the apathetic cowardly truckling of disapproving lookers-on; almost a parallel to the passive imbecility of the people of Paris, when a handful of hired assassins perpetrated the massacres of September. For where the majority is the sole power, and a power issuing its mandates in the form of riots, it inspires a terror which the most arbitrary monarch often fails to excite. The silent sympathy of the majority may sup-

port on the scaffold the martyr of one man's tyranny; but if we would imagine the situation of a victim of the majority itself, we must look to the annals of religious persecution for a parallel.

Yet, neither ought we to forget that even this lawless violence is not so great, because not so lasting, an evil, as tyranny through the medium of the law. A tyrannical law remains; because, so long as it is submitted to, its existence does not weaken the general authority of the laws. But in America, tyranny will seldom use the instrument of law, because among the white population there is no permanent class to be tyrannized over. The subjects of oppression are casual objects of popular resentment, who cannot be reached by law, but only by occasional acts of lawless power; and to tolerate these, if they ever became frequent, would be consenting to live without law. Already in the United States, the spirit of outrage has raised a spirit of resistance to outrage; of moral resistance first, as was to be wished and expected: if that fail, physical resistance will follow. The majority, like other despotic powers, will be taught by experience, that it cannot enjoy both the advantages of civilized society, and the barbarian liberty of taking men's lives and property at its discretion. Let it once be generally understood that minorities will fight, and majorities will be shy of provoking them. The bad government of which there is any permanent danger under modern civilisation, is in the form of bad laws and bad tribunals: government by the *sic volo* either of a king or a mob, belongs to past ages, and can no more exist out of the pale of Asiatic barbarism.

The despotism, therefore, of the majority within the limits of civil life, though a real evil, does not appear to us to be a formidable one. The tyranny which we fear, and which M. de Tocqueville principally dreads, is of another kind—a tyranny not over the body but over the mind.

It is the complaint of M. de Tocqueville, as well as of other travellers in America, that in no country does there exist less independence of thought. In religion, indeed, the varieties of opinion which fortunately prevailed among those by whom the colonies were settled, has produced a toleration in law and in fact extending to the limits of Christianity. If by ill fortune there had happened to be a religion of the majority, the case would probably have been different. On every other subject, when the opinion of the majority is made up, hardly any one, it is affirmed, dares to be of any other opinion, or at least to profess it. The statements are not clear as to the nature or amount of the inconvenience that would be suffered by any one who pre-

sumed to question a received opinion. It seems certain, however, that scarcely any person has that courage; that when public opinion considers a question as settled, no further discussion of it takes place; and that not only nobody dares (what every body may venture upon in Europe) to say any thing disrespectful to the public, or derogatory to its opinions, but that its wisdom and virtue are perpetually celebrated with the most servile adulation and sycophancy.

These considerations, which were much dwelt upon in the author's First Part, are intimately connected with the views promulgated, in his Second, respecting the influence of Democracy on Intellect.

The Americans, according to M. de Tocqueville, not only profess, but carry into practice, on all subjects except the fundamental doctrines of Christianity and Christian ethics, the habit of mind which has been so often inculcated as the one sufficient security against mental slavery—the rejection of authority, and the assertion of the right of private judgment. They regard the traditions of the past merely in the light of materials, and as 'a 'useful study for doing otherwise and better.' They are not accustomed to look for guidance either to the wisdom of ancestors, or to eminent contemporary wisdom, but require that the grounds on which they act shall be made level to their own comprehension. And, as is natural to those who govern themselves by common sense rather than by science, their cast of mind is altogether unpedantic and practical; they go straight to the end without favour or prejudice towards any set of means, and aim at the substance of things with something like a contempt for form.

From such habits and ways of thinking, the consequence which would be apprehended by some, would be a most licentious abuse of individual independence of thought. The fact proves the reverse. It is impossible, as our author truly remarks, that mankind in general should form all their opinions for themselves: an authority from which they mostly derive them may be rejected in theory, but it always exists in fact. That law above them, which older societies have found in the traditions of antiquity, or in the dogmas of priests or philosophers, the Americans find in the opinions of one another. All being nearly equal in circumstances, and all nearly alike in intelligence and knowledge, the only authority which commands an involuntary deference is that of numbers. The more perfectly each knows himself the equal of every single individual, the more insignificant and helpless he feels against the aggregate mass; and the more incredible it appears to him that the opinion of all the world can possibly be erroneous. 'Faith in public opinion,' says

M. de Tocqueville, 'becomes in such countries a species of reli-'gion, and the majority its prophet.' The idea that the things which the multitude believe are still disputable, is no longer kept alive by dissentient voices; the right of private judgment, by being extended to the incompetent, ceases to be exercised even by the competent; and speculation becomes possible only within the limits traced, not as of old by the infallibility of Aristotle, but by that of 'our free and enlightened citizens,' or 'our free and enlightened age.'

On the influence of Democracy upon the cultivation of Science and Art, the opinions of M. de Tocqueville are highly worthy of attention. There are many who, partly from theoretic considerations, and partly from the marked absence in America of original efforts in literature, philosophy, or the fine arts, incline to believe that modern Democracy is fatal to them, and that wherever its spirit spreads they will take flight. M. de Tocqueville is not of this opinion. The example of America, as he observes, is not to the purpose, because America is, intellectually speaking, a province of England;—a province in which the great occupation of the inhabitants is making money; because for that they have peculiar facilities, and are therefore, like the people of Manchester or Birmingham, for the most part contented to receive the higher branches of knowledge ready-made from the capital. In a democratic nation, which is also free and generally educated, our author is far from thinking that there will be no public to relish or remunerate the works of science and genius. Although there will be a great shifting of fortunes, and no hereditary body of wealthy persons sufficient to form a class, there will be, he thinks, from the general activity, and the absence of artificial barriers, combined with the inequality of human intelligence, a far greater number of rich individuals (*infiniment plus nombreux*) than in an aristocratic society. There will be, therefore, though not so complete a leisure, yet a leisure extending perhaps to more persons; while from the closer contact and greater mutual intercourse between classes, the love of intellectual pleasures and occupations will spread downward very widely, among those who have not the same advantages of leisure. Moreover, talent and knowledge being, in a democratic society, the only means of rapid improvement in fortune, they will be, in the abstract at least, by no means undervalued: whatever measure of them any person is capable of appreciating, he will also be desirous of possessing. Instead, therefore, of any neglect of science and literature, the eager ambition which is universal in such a state of society, takes that direction as well as others, and the number of those who cultivate these pursuits becomes 'immense.'

It is from this fact—from the more active competition in the products of intellect, and the more numerous public to which they are addressed—that M. de Tocqueville deduces the defects with which the products themselves will be chargeable. In the multiplication of their quantity he sees the deterioration of their quality. Distracted by so great a multitude, the public can bestow but a moment's attention on each; they will be adapted, therefore, chiefly for striking at the moment. Deliberate approval, and a duration beyond the hour, become more and more difficult of attainment. What is written for the judgments of a highly instructed few, amidst the abundance of writings may very probably never reach them; and their suffrage, which never gave riches, does not now confer even glory. But the multitude of buyers affords the possibility of great pecuniary success and momentary notoriety for the work which is made up to please at once and to please the many. Literature thus becomes not only a trade, but is carried on by the maxims usually adopted by other trades which live by the number, rather than by the quality of their customers; that much pains need not be bestowed on commodities intended for the general market, and that what is saved in the workmanship may be more profitably expended in self-advertisement. There will thus be an immense mass of third and fourth-rate productions, and very few first-rate. Even the turmoil and bustle of a society in which every one is striving to get on, is in itself, our author observes, not favourable to meditation. 'Il règne dans le sein de ces nations un petit 'mouvement incommode, une sorte de roulement incessant des 'hommes les uns sur les autres, qui trouble et distrait l'esprit 'sans l'animer et l'élever.' Not to mention that the universal tendency to action, and to rapid action, directs the taste to applications rather than principles, and hasty approximations to truth rather than scientific accuracy in it.

Passing now from the province of intellect to that of Sentiments and Morals, M. de Tocqueville is of opinion that the general softening of manners, and the remarkable growth, in modern times, of humanity and philanthropy, are in great part the effect of the gradual progress of social equality. Where the different classes of mankind are divided by impassable barriers, each may have intense sympathies with his own class, more intense than it is almost possible to have with mankind in general; but those who are far below him in condition are so unlike himself, that he hardly considers them as human beings; and if they are refractory and troublesome, will be unable to feel for them even that kindly interest which he experiences for his more unresisting domestic cattle. Our author cites a well-known passage of Ma-

dame de Sévigné's Letters in exemplification of the want of feeling exhibited even by good sort of persons towards those with whom they have no *fellow*-feeling. In America, except towards the slaves, (an exception which proves the rule,) he finds the sentiments of philanthropy and compassion almost universal, accompanied by a general kindness of manner and obligingness of disposition, without much of ceremony and punctilio. As all feel that they are not above the possible need of the good-will and good offices of others, every one is ready to afford his own. The general equality penetrates also into the family relations: there is more intimacy, he thinks, than in Europe, between parents and children, but less, except in the earliest years, of paternal authority, and the filial respect which is founded upon it. These, however, are among the topics which we must omit; as well as the connexion which our author attempts to trace between equality of conditions and strictness of domestic morals, and some other remarks on domestic society in America, which do not appear to us to be of any considerable value.

M. de Tocqueville is of opinion, that one of the tendencies of a democratic state of society is to make every one, in a manner, retire within himself, and concentrate his interests, wishes, and pursuits within his own business and household.

The members of a democratic community are like the sands of the sea-shore, each very minute, and no one adhering to any other. There are no permanent classes, and therefore no *esprit de corps;* few hereditary fortunes, and therefore few local attachments, or outward objects consecrated by family feeling. A man feels little connexion with his neighbours, little with his ancestors, little with his posterity. There are scarcely any ties to connect any two men together, except the common one of country. Now, the love of country is not, in large communities, a passion of spontaneous growth. When a man's country is his town, where his ancestors have lived for generations, of which he knows every inhabitant, and has recollections associated with every street and building—in which alone, of all places on the earth, he is not a stranger—which he is perpetually called upon to defend in the field, and in whose glory or shame he has an appreciable share, made sensible by the constant presence and rivalry of foreigners; in such a state of things patriotism is easy. It was easy in the ancient republics, or in modern Switzerland. But in great communities an intense interest in public affairs is scarcely natural, except to a member of an aristocracy, who alone has so conspicuous a position, and is so personally identified with the conduct of the government, that his credit and consequence are essentially connected with the glory and power of the nation

he belongs to; its glory and power, (observe,) not the wellbeing of the bulk of its inhabitants. It is difficult for an obscure person like the citizen of a Democracy, who is in no way involved in the responsibility of public affairs, and cannot hope to exercise more than the minutest influence over them, to have the sentiment of patriotism as a living and earnest feeling. There being, then, no intermediate objects for his attachments to fix upon, they fasten themselves on his own private affairs; and, according to national character and circumstances, it becomes his ruling passion either to improve his condition in life, or to take his ease and pleasure by the means which it already affords him.

As, therefore, the state of society becomes more democratic, it is more and more necessary to nourish patriotism by artificial means; and of these none are so efficacious as free institutions—a large and frequent intervention of the citizens in the management of public business. Nor does the love of country alone require this encouragement, but every feeling which connects men either by interest or sympathy with their neighbours and fellow-citizens. Popular institutions are the great means of rendering general in a people, and especially among the richer classes, the desire of being useful in their generation; useful to the public or to their neighbours without distinction of rank; as well as courteous and unassuming in their habitual intercourse.

'When the public is supreme, there is no man who does not feel the value of public good-will, or who does not endeavour to court it by drawing to himself the esteem and affection of those amongst whom he is to live. Many of the passions which congeal and keep asunder human hearts, are then obliged to retire, and hide below the surface. Pride must be dissembled; disdain does not break out; selfishness is afraid of itself. Under a free government, as most public offices are elective, the men whose elevated minds or aspiring hopes are too closely circumscribed in private life, constantly feel that they cannot do without the population which surrounds them. Men learn at such times to think of their fellow-men from ambitious motives, and they frequently find it, in a manner, their interest to be forgetful of self.

'I may here be met by an objection, derived from electioneering intrigues, the meannesses of candidates, and the calumnies of their opponents. These are opportunities of animosity which occur the oftener the more frequent elections become. Such evils are, doubtless, great, but they are transient; whereas the benefits which attend them remain. The desire of being elected may lead some men for a time to mutual hostility; but this same desire leads all men, in the long run, mutually to support each other; and if it happens that an election accidentally severs two friends, the electoral system brings a multitude of citizens permanently together who would always have remained unknown to each other. Freedom engenders private animosities, but despotism gives birth to general indifference. . . . . .

'A brilliant achievement may win for you the favour of a people at one stroke; but to earn the love and respect of the population which surrounds you, requires a long succession of little services and obscure good offices, a constant habit of kindness, and an established reputation for disinterestedness. Local freedom, then, which leads a great number of citizens to value the affections of their neighbours, and of those with whom they are in contact, perpetually draws men back to one another, in spite of the propensities which sever them; and forces them to render each other mutual assistance.

'In the United States, the more opulent citizens take great care not to stand aloof from the people: on the contrary, they constantly keep on easy terms with them; they listen to them; they speak to them every day. They know that the rich, in democracies, always stand in need of the poor; and that in democratic times a poor man's attachment depends more on manner than on benefits conferred. The very magnitude of such benefits, by setting the difference of conditions in a strong light, causes a secret irritation to those who reap advantage from them; but the charm of simplicity of manners is almost irresistible. . . This truth does not penetrate at once into the minds of the rich. They generally resist it as long as the democratic revolution lasts, and they do not acknowledge it immediately after that revolution is accomplished. They are very ready to do good to the people, but they still choose to keep them at arm's length; they think that is sufficient, but they are mistaken. They might spend fortunes thus, without warming the hearts of the population around them; that population does not ask them for the sacrifice of their money, but of their pride.

'It would seem as if every imagination in the United States were on the stretch to invent means of increasing the wealth and satisfying the wants of the public. The best informed inhabitants of each district are incessantly using their information to discover new means of augmenting the general prosperity; and, when they have made any such discoveries, they eagerly surrender them to the mass of the people. . . .

'I have often seen Americans make great and real sacrifices to the public welfare; and I have a hundred times remarked that, in case of need, they hardly ever fail to lend faithful support to each other. The free institutions which the inhabitants of the United States possess, and the political rights of which they make so much use, remind every citizen, and in a thousand ways, that he lives in society. They every instant impress upon his mind the notion that it is the duty as well as the interest of men to make themselves useful to their fellow-creatures; and as he sees no particular reason for disliking them, since he is never either their master or their slave, his heart readily leans to the side of kindness. Men attend to the interests of the public, first by necessity, afterwards by choice; what was calculation becomes an instinct; and, by dint of working for the good of one's fellow-citizens, the habit and the taste for serving them is at length acquired.

'Many people in France consider equality of conditions as one evil, and political freedom as a second. When they are obliged to yield to the former, they strive at least to escape from the latter. But I contend

that, in order to combat the evils which equality may produce, there is only one effectual remedy—namely, political freedom.'—(REEVE, vol. iii. chap. 4.)

With regard to the tone of moral sentiment characteristic of democracy, M. de Tocqueville holds an opinion which we think deserves the attention of moralists. Among a class composed of persons who have been born into a distinguished position, the habitual springs of action will be very different from those of a democratic community. Speaking generally, (and making abstraction both of individual peculiarities, and of the influence of moral culture,) it may be said of the first, that their feelings and actions will be mainly under the influence of pride; of the latter, under that of interest. Now, as in an aristocratic society the elevated class, though small in number, sets the fashion in opinion and feeling, even virtue will, in that state of society, seem to be most strongly recommended by arguments addressing themselves to pride; in a democracy, by those which address themselves to self-interest. In the one, we hear chiefly of the beauty and dignity of virtue, the grandeur of self-sacrifice; in the other, of honesty the best policy, the value of character, and the common interest of every individual in the good of the whole.

Neither the one nor the other of these modes of feeling, our author is well aware, constitutes moral excellence; which must have a deeper foundation than either the calculations of self-interest, or the emotions of self-flattery. But as an auxiliary to that higher principle, and as far as possible a substitute for it when it is absent, the latter of the two, in his opinion, though the least sentimental, will stand the most wear.

'The principle of enlightened self-interest is not a lofty one, but it is clear and sure. It does not aim at mighty objects, but it attains, without impracticable efforts, all those at which it aims. As it lies within the reach of all capacities, every one can without difficulty apprehend and retain it. By its adaptation to human weaknesses it easily obtains great dominion; nor is its dominion precarious, since it employs self-interest itself to correct self-interest, and uses, to direct the passions, the very instrument which excites them.

'The doctrine of enlightened self-interest produces no great acts of self-sacrifice, but it suggests daily small acts of self-denial. By itself it cannot suffice to make a virtuous man, but it disciplines a multitude of citizens in habits of regularity, temperance, moderation, foresight, self-command: and, if it does not at once lead men to virtue by their will, it draws them gradually in that direction by their habits. If the principle of "interest rightly understood," were to sway the whole moral world, extraordinary virtues would doubtless be more rare; but I think that gross depravity would then also be less common. That principle, perhaps, prevents some men from rising far above the level of mankind; but

a great number of others who were falling below that level, are caught and upheld by it. Observe some few individuals, they are lowered by it; survey mankind, it is raised.

'I am not afraid to say, that the principle of enlightened self-interest appears to me the best suited of all philosophical theories to the wants of the men of our time; and that I regard it as their chief remaining security against themselves. Towards it, therefore, the minds of the moralists of our age should turn; even should they judge it incomplete, it must nevertheless be adopted as necessary.

'No power upon earth can prevent the increasing equality of conditions from impelling the human mind to seek out what is useful, or from inclining every member of the community to concentrate his affections on himself. It must therefore be expected that personal interest will become more than ever the principal, if not the sole spring of men's actions; but it remains to be seen how each man will understand his personal interest.

'I do not think that the doctrine of self-interest, as it is professed in America, is self-evident in all its parts; but it contains a great number of truths so evident, that men, if they are but instructed, cannot fail to see them. Instruct them, then, at all hazards; for the age of implicit self-sacrifice and instinctive virtues is already flying far away from us, and the time is fast approaching when freedom, public peace, and social order itself, will not be able to exist without instruction.'—(REEVE, vol. iii. chap. 8.)

M. de Tocqueville considers a democratic state of society as eminently tending to give the strongest impulse to the taste for physical wellbeing. He ascribes this, not so much to the equality of conditions as to their mobility. In a country like America every one may acquire riches; no one, at least, is artificially impeded in acquiring them, and hardly any one is born to them. Now, these are the conditions under which the passions which attach themselves to wealth, and to what wealth can purchase, are the strongest. Those who are born in the midst of affluence, are generally more or less *blasé* as to its enjoyments. They take the comfort or luxury to which they have always been accustomed, as they do the air they breathe; it is not *le but de la vie*, but *une manière de vivre*. An aristocracy, when put to the proof, has in general shown a wonderful facility in enduring the loss of riches and of physical comforts. The very pride, nourished by the elevation which they owed to wealth, supports them under the privation of it. But to those who have chased riches laboriously for half their lives, to lose it is the loss of all; *une vie manquée;* a disappointment greater than can be endured. In a democracy, again, there is no contented poverty. No one being forced to remain poor; many who were poor daily becoming rich, and the comforts of life being apparently within the reach of all,

the desire to appropriate them descends to the very lowest rank. Thus,—

'The desire of acquiring the comforts of the world haunts the imagination of the poor, and the dread of losing them that of the rich. Many scanty fortunes spring up; those who possess them have a sufficient share of physical gratifications to conceive a taste for those pleasures—not enough to satisfy it. They never procure them without exertion, and they never indulge in them without apprehension. They are therefore always straining to pursue or to retain gratifications so precious, so incomplete, and so fugitive.

'If I enquire what passion is most natural to men who are at once stimulated and circumscribed by the obscurity of their birth, or the mediocrity of their fortune, I can discover none more peculiarly appropriate to them than this love of physical prosperity. The passion for physical comforts is essentially a passion of the middle classes; with those classes it grows and spreads, and along with them it becomes preponderant. From them it mounts into the higher orders of society, and descends into the mass of the people.

'I never met in America with any citizen so poor as not to cast a glance of hope and longing towards the enjoyments of the rich, or whose imagination did not indulge itself by anticipation in those good things which fate still obstinately withheld from him.

'On the other hand, I never perceived, amongst the wealthier inhabitants of the United States, that proud contempt of the indulgences of riches, which is sometimes to be met with even in the most opulent and dissolute aristocracies. Most of these wealthy persons were once poor; they have felt the stimulus of privation, they have long struggled with adverse fortune; and now that the victory is won, the passions which accompanied the contest have survived it; their minds are, as it were, intoxicated by the petty enjoyments which they have pursued for forty years.

'Not but that in the United States, as elsewhere, there are a certain number of wealthy persons, who, having come into their property by inheritance, possess, without exertion, an opulence they have not earned. But even these are not less devotedly attached to the pleasures of material life. The love of physical comfort is become the predominant taste of the nation; the great current of man's passions runs in that channel, and sweeps every thing along in its course.'—(REEVE, vol. iii. book ii. chap. 10.)

A regulated sensuality thus establishes itself—the parent of effeminacy rather than of debauchery; paying respect to the social rights of other people and to the opinion of the world; not 'leading men away in search of forbidden enjoyments, but ab-'sorbing them in the pursuit of permitted ones. This spirit is 'frequently combined with a species of religious morality; men 'wish to be as well off as they can in this world, without fore-'going their chance of another.'

From the preternatural stimulus given to the desire of acquiring and of enjoying wealth, by the intense competition which necessarily exists where an entire population are the competitors, arises the restlessness so characteristic of American life.

'It is strange to see with what feverish ardour the Americans pursue their own welfare; and to watch the vague dread that constantly torments them lest they should not have chosen the shortest path which may lead to it. A native of the United States clings to this world's goods as if he were certain never to die, and is so hasty in grasping at all within his reach, that one would suppose he was constantly afraid of not living long enough to enjoy them. He clutches every thing, he holds nothing fast, but soon loosens his grasp to pursue fresh gratifications...

'At first sight there is something surprising in this strange unrest of so many happy men, uneasy in the midst of abundance. The spectacle is, however, as old as the world; the novelty is to see a whole people furnish an example of it...

'When all the privileges of birth and fortune are abolished, when all professions are accessible to all, and a man's own energies may place him at the top of any one of them, an easy and unbounded career seems open to his ambition, and he will readily persuade himself that he is born to no vulgar destinies. But this is an erroneous notion, which is corrected by daily experience. The same equality which allows every citizen to conceive these lofty hopes, renders all the citizens individually feeble. It circumscribes their powers on every side, while it gives freer scope to their desires. Not only are they restrained by their own weakness, but they are met at every step by immense obstacles which they did not at first perceive. They have swept away the privileges of some of their fellow-creatures which stood in their way; they have to encounter the competition of all. The barrier has changed its shape rather than its place. When men are nearly alike, and all follow the same track, it is very difficult for any one individual to get on fast, and cleave a way through the homogeneous throng which surrounds and presses upon him. This constant strife between the wishes springing from the equality of conditions and the means it supplies to satisfy them, harasses and wearies the mind."—(REEVE, vol. iii. book ii. chap. 13.)

And hence, according to M. de Tocqueville, it is, that while every one is devoured by ambition, hardly any one is ambitious on a large scale. Among so many competitors for but a few great prizes, none of the candidates starting from the vantage ground of an elevated social position, very few can hope to gain those prizes, and they not until late in life. Men in general, therefore, do not look so high. A vast energy of passion in a whole community is developed and squandered in the petty pursuit of petty advancements in fortune, and the hurried snatching of petty pleasures.

To sum up our author's opinion of the dangers to which mankind are liable as they advance towards equality of condition;

his fear, both in government and in intellect and morals, is not of too great liberty, but of too ready submission; not of anarchy, but of servility; not of too rapid change, but of Chinese stationariness. As democracy advances, the opinions of mankind on most subjects of general interest will become, he believes, as compared with any former period, more rooted and more difficult to change; and mankind are more and more in danger of losing the moral courage and pride of independence which make them deviate from the beaten path either in speculation or in conduct. Even in politics, it is to be apprehended that, feeling their personal insignificance, and conceiving a proportionally vast idea of the importance of society at large; being jealous, moreover, of one another, but not jealous of the central power which derives its origin from the majority, or which at least is the faithful representative of its desire to annihilate every intermediate power; they should allow that central government to assume more and more control, engross more and more of the business of society; and, on condition of making itself the organ of the general mode of feeling and thinking, should suffer it to relieve mankind from the care of their own interests, and keep them under a kind of tutelage;—trampling meanwhile with considerable recklessness, as often as convenient, upon the rights of individuals, in the name of society and the public good.

Against these political evils the corrective to which our author looks is popular education, and, above all, the spirit of liberty, fostered by the extension and dissemination of political rights. Democratic institutions, therefore, are his remedy for the worst mischiefs to which a democratic state of society is exposed. As for those to which democratic institutions are themselves liable, these, he holds, society must struggle with, and bear with so much of them as it cannot find the means of conquering. For M. de Tocqueville is no believer in the reality of mixed governments. There is, he says, always and every where, a strongest power: in every government either the king, the aristocracy, or the people, have an effective predominance, and can carry any point on which they set their heart. 'When a community really 'comes to have a mixed government, that is, to be equally divided 'between two adverse principles, it is either falling into a revolu-'tionary state or into dissolution.' M. de Tocqueville believes that the preponderant power which must exist every where, is most rightly placed in the body of the people. But he thinks it most pernicious that this power, whether residing in the people or elsewhere, should be 'checked by no obstacles which may 'retard its course, and force it to moderate its own vehemence.'

The difference, in his eyes, is great between one sort of democratic institutions and another. That form of democracy should be sought out and devised, and in every way endeavoured to be carried into practice, which, on the one hand, most exercises and cultivates the intelligence and mental activity of the majority; and, on the other, breaks the headlong impulses of popular opinion, by delay, rigour of forms, and adverse discussion. 'The organization and the establishment of democracy,' on these principles, 'is the great political problem of our time.'

And when this problem is solved, there remains an equally serious one; to make head against the tendency of democracy towards bearing down individuality, and circumscribing the exercise of the human faculties within narrow limits. To sustain the higher pursuits of philosophy and art; to vindicate and protect the unfettered exercise of reason, and the moral freedom of the individual—these are purposes to which, under a democracy, the superior spirits, and the government so far as it is permitted, should devote their utmost energies.

'I shall conclude by one general idea, which comprises not only all the particular ideas which have been expressed in the present chapter, but also most of those which it is the object of this book to treat of.

'In the ages of aristocracy which preceded our own, there were private persons of great power, and a social authority of extreme weakness. The principal efforts of the men of those times were required to strengthen, aggrandize, and secure the supreme power; and, on the other hand, to circumscribe individual independence within narrower limits, and to subject private interests to the public. Other perils and other cares await the men of our age. Amongst the greater part of modern nations, the government, whatever may be its origin, its constitution, or its name, has become almost omnipotent, and private persons are falling, more and more, into the lowest stage of weakness and dependence.

'The general character of olden society was diversity; unity and uniformity were nowhere to be met with. In modern society, all things threaten to become so much alike, that the peculiar characteristics of each individual will be entirely lost in the uniformity of the general aspect. Our forefathers were ever prone to make an improper use of the notion, that private rights ought to be respected; and we are naturally prone, on the other hand, to exaggerate the idea, that the interest of an individual ought to bend to the interest of the many.

'The political world is metamorphosed; new remedies must henceforth be sought for new disorders. To lay down extensive, but distinct and immovable limits to the action of the ruling power; to confer certain rights on private persons, and secure to them the undisputed enjoyment of their rights; to enable individual man to maintain whatever independence, strength, and originality he still possesses; to raise him by the side of society at large, and uphold him in that position;—these,

appear to me the main objects for the legislator in the age upon which we are now entering.

'It would seem as if the rulers of our time sought only to use men in order to effect great things: I wish that they would try a little more to make great men; that they would set less value on the work, and more upon the workman; that they would never forget that a nation cannot long remain strong when every man belonging to it is individually weak; and that no form or combination of social polity has yet been devised to make an energetic people out of a community of citizens personally feeble and pusillanimous.'—(REEVE, vol. iv. chap. 3.)

If we were here to close this article, and leave these noble speculations to produce their effect without further comment, the reader probably would not blame us. Our recommendation is not needed in their behalf. That nothing on the whole comparable in profundity to them had yet been written on democracy, will scarcely be disputed by any one who has read even our hasty abridgement of them. We must guard, at the same time, against attaching to these conclusions, or to any others that can result from such enquiries, a character of scientific certainty that can never belong to them. Democracy is too recent a phenomenon, and of too great magnitude, for any one who now lives to comprehend its consequences. A few of its more immediate tendencies may be perceived or surmised; what other tendencies, destined to overrule or to combine with these, lie behind, there are not grounds even to conjecture. If we revert to any similar fact in past history, any change in human affairs approaching in greatness to what is passing before our eyes, we shall find that no prediction which could have been made at the time, or for many generations afterwards, would have borne any resemblance to what has actually been the course of events. When the Greek commonwealths were crushed, and liberty in the civilized world apparently extinguished by the Macedonian invaders; when a rude unlettered people of Italy stretched their conquests and their dominion from one end to the other of the known world; when that people in turn lost its freedom and its old institutions, and fell under the military despotism of one of its own citizens;—what similarity is there between the effects we now know to have been produced by these causes, and any thing which the wisest person could then have anticipated from them? When the Roman empire, containing all the art, science, literature, and industry of the world, was overrun, ravaged, and dismembered by hordes of barbarians, every body lamented the destruction of civilisation in an event which is now admitted to have been the necessary condition of its renovation. When the Christian religion had existed but for two centuries, when the Pope was only

beginning to assert his ascendency, what philosopher or statesman could have foreseen the destinies of Christianity, or the part which has been acted in history by the Catholic Church? It is thus with all other really great historical facts—the invention of gunpowder for instance, or of the printing-press; even when their direct operation is as exactly measurable, because as strictly mechanical, as these were, the mere scale on which they operate gives birth to endless consequences, of a kind which would have appeared visionary to the most far-seeing contemporary wisdom.

It is not, therefore, without a deep sense of the uncertainty attaching to such predictions, that the wise would hazard an opinion as to the fate of mankind under the new democratic dispensation. But without pretending to judge confidently of remote tendencies, those immediate ones which are already developing themselves require to be dealt with as we treat any of the other circumstances in which we are placed;—by encouraging those which are salutary, and working out the means by which such as are hurtful may be counteracted. To exhort men to this, and to aid them in doing it, is the end for which M. de Tocqueville has written; and in the same spirit we will now venture to make one criticism upon him;—to point out one correction, of which we think his views stand in need; and for want of which they have occasionally an air of over-subtlety and false refinement, exciting the distrust of common readers, and making the opinions themselves appear less true, and less practically important, than, it seems to us, they really are.

M. de Tocqueville then has, at least apparently, confounded the effects of Democracy with the effects of Civilisation. He has bound up in one abstract idea the whole of the tendencies of modern commercial society, and given them one name—Democracy; thereby letting it be supposed that he ascribes to equality of conditions, several of the effects naturally arising from the mere progress of national prosperity, in the form in which that progress manifests itself in modern times.

It is no doubt true, that among the tendencies of commercial civilisation, a tendency to the equalization of conditions is one, and not the least conspicuous. When a nation is advancing in prosperity—when its industry is expanding, and its capital rapidly augmenting—the number also of those who possess capital increases in at least as great a proportion; and though the distance between the two extremes of society may not be much diminished, there is a rapid multiplication of those who occupy the intermediate positions. There may be princes at one end of the scale and paupers at the other; but between them there will be a respectable and well-paid class of artisans, and a middle class who

combine property and industry. This may be called, and is, a tendency to equalization. But this growing equality is only one of the features of progressive civilisation; one of the incidental effects of the progress of industry and wealth: a most important effect, and one which, as our author shows, re-acts in a hundred ways upon the other effects, but not, therefore, to be confounded with the cause.

So far is it, indeed, from being admissible, that *mere* equality of conditions is the mainspring of those moral and social phenomena which M. de Tocqueville has characterised, that when some unusual chance exhibits to us equality of conditions by itself, severed from that commercial state of society and that progress of industry of which it is the natural concomitant, it produces few or none of the moral effects ascribed to it. Consider, for instance, the French of Lower Canada. Equality of conditions is more universal there than in the United States; for the whole people, without exception, are in easy circumstances, and there are not even that considerable number of rich individuals who are to be found in all the great towns of the American Republic. Yet do we find in Canada that *go-ahead spirit*—that restless impatient eagerness or improvement in circumstances—that mobility, that shifting and fluctuating, now up now down, now here now there—that absence of classes and class-spirit—that jealousy of superior attainments—that want of deference for authority and leadership—that habit of bringing things to the rule and square of each man's own understanding—which M. de Tocqueville imputes to the same cause in the United States? In all these respects the very contrary qualities prevail. We by no means deny, that where the other circumstances which determine these effects exist, equality of conditions has a very perceptible effect in corroborating them. We think M. de Tocqueville has shown that it has. But that it is the exclusive or even the principal cause, we think the example of Canada goes far to disprove.

For the reverse of this experiment, we have only to look at home. Of all countries in a state of progressive commercial civilisation, Great Britain is that in which the equalization of conditions has made least progress. The extremes of wealth and poverty are wider apart, and there is a more numerous body of persons at each extreme, than in any other commercial community. From the habits of the population in regard to marriage, the poor have remained poor; from the laws which tend to keep large masses of property together, the rich have remained rich; and often, when they have lost the substance of riches, have retained its social advantages and outward trappings.

Great fortunes are continually accumulated, and seldom redistributed. In this respect, therefore, England is the most complete contrast to the United States. But in commercial prosperity, in the rapid growth of industry and wealth, she is the next after America, and not very much inferior to her. Accordingly we appeal to all competent observers, whether, in nearly all the moral and intellectual features of American society, as represented by M. de Tocqueville, this country does not stand next to America? whether, with the single difference of our remaining respect for aristocracy, the American people, both in their good qualities and in their defects, resemble any thing so much as an exaggeration of our own middle class? whether the spirit which is gaining more and more the ascendant with us, is not, in a very great degree, American? and whether all the moral elements of an American state of society are not most rapidly growing up?

For example, that entire unfixedness in the social position of individuals—that treading upon the heels of one another—that habitual dissatisfaction of each with the position he occupies, and eager desire to push himself into the next above it—has not this become, and is it not becoming more and more, an English characteristic? In England, as well as in America, it appears to foreigners, and even to Englishmen recently returned from a foreign country, as if every body had but one wish—to improve his condition, never to enjoy it; as if no Englishman cared to cultivate either the pleasures or the virtues corresponding to his station in society, but solely to get out of it as quickly as possible; or if that cannot be done, and until it is done, to *seem* to have got out of it. 'The hypocrisy of luxury,' as M. de Tocqueville calls the maintaining an appearance beyond one's real expenditure, he considers as a democratic peculiarity. It is surely an English one. The highest class of all, indeed, is, as might be expected, comparatively exempt from these bad peculiarities. But the very existence of such a class, whose immunities and political privileges are attainable by wealth, tends to aggravate the struggle of the other classes for the possession of that passport to all other importance; and it perhaps required the example of America to prove, that the 'sabbathless pursuit of 'wealth' could be as intensely prevalent, where there were no aristocratic distinctions to tempt to it.

Again, the mobility and fluctuating nature of individual relations—the absence of permanent ties, local or personal; how often has this been commented on as one of the organic changes by which the ancient structure of English society is becoming dissolved? Without reverting to the days of clanship, or to those

in which the gentry led a patriarchal life among their tenantry and neighbours, the memory of man extends to a time when the same tenants remained attached to the same landlords, the same servants to the same household; but this, with other old customs, after progressively retiring to the remote corners of our island, has nearly taken flight altogether; and it may now be said, that in all the relations of life, except those to which law and religion have given perpetuity, change has become the general rule, and constancy the exception.

The remainder of the tendencies which M. de Tocqueville has delineated, may mostly be brought under one general agency as their immediate cause, the growing insignificance of individuals in comparison with the mass. Now, it would be difficult to show any country in which this insignificance is more marked and conspicuous than in England, or any incompatibility between that tendency and aristocratic institutions. It is not because the individuals composing the mass are all equal, but because the mass itself has grown to so immense a size, that individuals are powerless in the face of it; and because the mass having, by mechanical improvements, become capable of acting simultaneously, can compel not merely any individual, but any number of individuals, to bend before it. The House of Lords is the richest and most powerful collection of persons in Europe, yet they not only could not prevent, but were themselves compelled to pass, the Reform Bill. The daily actions of every peer and peeress are falling more and more under the yoke of *bourgeois* opinion; they feel every day a stronger necessity of showing an immaculate front to the world. When they do venture to disregard common opinion, it is in a body, and when supported by one another; whereas formerly every nobleman acted on his own notions, and dared be as eccentric as he pleased. No rank in society is now exempt from the fear of being peculiar, the unwillingness to be, or to be thought, in any respect original. Hardly any thing now depends upon individuals, but all upon classes, and among classes mainly upon the middle class. That class is now the power in society, the arbiter of fortune and success. Ten times more money is made by supplying the wants, even the superfluous wants, of the middle, nay of the lower classes, than those of the higher. It is the middle class that now rewards even literature and art; the books by which most money is made are the cheap books; the greatest part of the profit of a picture is the profit of the engraving from it. Accordingly, all the intellectual effects which M. de Tocqueville ascribes to Democracy, are taking place under the Democracy of the middle class. There is a greatly augmented number of moderate successes, fewer great literary

and scientific reputations. Elementary and popular treatises are immensely multiplied, superficial information far more widely diffused; but there are fewer who devote themselves to thought for its own sake, and pursue in retirement those profounder researches, the result of which can only be appreciated by a few. Literary productions are seldom highly finished—they are got up to be read by many, and to be read but once. If the work sells for a day, the author's time and pains will be better laid out in writing a second than in improving the first. And this is not because books are no longer written for the aristocracy: they never were so. The aristocracy (saving individual exceptions) never were a reading class. It is because books are now written for a numerous, and therefore an unlearned public; no longer principally for scholars and men of science, who have knowledge of their own, and are not imposed upon by half-knowledge—who have studied the great works of genius, and can make comparisons.*

As for the decay of authority, and diminution of respect for traditional opinions, this could not well be so far advanced among an ancient people—all whose political notions rest upon an historical basis, and whose institutions themselves are built upon prescription, and not upon ideas of expediency—as in America, where the whole edifice of government was constructed within the memory of man upon abstract principles. But surely this change also is taking place as fast as could be expected under the circumstances. And even this effect, though it has a more

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* On this account, among others, we think M. de Tocqueville right in the great importance he attaches to the study of Greek and Roman literature; not as being without faults, but as having the contrary faults to those of our own day. Not only do those literatures furnish models of high finish and perfection in workmanship, to correct the slovenly habits of modern hasty writing, but they exhibit, in the military and agricultural commonwealths of antiquity, precisely that order of virtues in which a commercial society is apt to be deficient; and they altogether show human nature on a grander scale: with less benevolence but more patriotism, less sentiment but more self-control; if a lower average of virtue, more striking individual examples of it; fewer small goodnesses, but more of greatness, and appreciation of greatness; more which tends to exalt the imagination, and inspire high conceptions of the capabilities of human nature. If, as every one must see, the want of affinity of these studies to the modern mind is gradually lowering them in popular estimation, this is but a confirmation of the need of them, and renders it more incumbent upon those who have the power, to do their utmost towards preventing their decline.

direct connexion with Democracy, has not an exclusive one. Respect for old opinions must diminish wherever science and knowledge are rapidly progressive. As the people in general become aware of the recent date of the most important physical discoveries, they are liable to form a rather contemptuous opinion of their ancestors. The mere visible fruits of scientific progress in a wealthy society, the mechanical improvements, the steam-engines, the railroads, carry the feeling of admiration for modern and disrespect for ancient times, down even to the wholly uneducated classes. For that other mental characteristic which M. de Tocqueville finds in America—a positive, matter-of-fact spirit—a demand that all things shall be made clear to each man's understanding, an indifference to the subtler proofs which address themselves to more cultivated and systematically exercised intellects; for what may be called, in short, the dogmatism of common sense, we need not look beyond our own country. There needs no Democracy to account for this—there needs only the habit of energetic action, without a proportional development of the taste for speculation. Bonaparte was one of the most remarkable examples of it; and the diffusion of half-instruction, without any sufficient provision made by society for sustaining the higher cultivation, tends greatly to encourage its excess.

Nearly all those moral and social influences, therefore, which are the subject of M. de Tocqueville's second part, are shown to be in full operation in aristocratic England. What connexion they have with equality is with the growth of the middle class, not with the annihilation of the extremes. They are quite compatible with the existence of peers and *prolétaires;* nay, with the most abundant provision of both those varieties of human nature. If we were sure of preserving for ever our aristocratic institutions, society would no less have to struggle against all these tendencies; and perhaps even the loss of those institutions would not have so much effect as is supposed in accelerating their ultimate triumph.

The evil is not in the preponderance of a democratic class, but of any class. The defects which M. de Tocqueville points out in the American, and which we see in the modern English mind, are the ordinary ones of a commercial class. The portion of society which is predominant in America, and that which is attaining predominance here, the American Many, and our middle class, agree in being commercial classes. The one country is affording a complete, and the other a progressive exemplification, that whenever any variety of human nature becomes preponderant

in a community, it imposes upon all the rest of society its own type; forcing all either to submit to it or to imitate it.

It is not in China only that a homogeneous community is naturally a stationary community. The unlikeness of one man to another is not only a principle of improvement, but would seem almost to be the only principle. It is profoundly remarked by M. Guizot, that the short duration or stunted growth of the earlier civilisations arose from this, that in each of them some one element of human improvement existed exclusively, or so preponderatingly as to overpower all the others; whereby the community, after accomplishing rapidly all which that one element could do, either perished for want of what it could not do, or came to a halt, and became immoveable. It would be an error to suppose that such could not possibly be our fate. In the generalisation which pronounces the 'law of progress' to be an inherent attribute of human nature, it is forgotten that, among the inhabitants of our earth, the European family of nations is the only one which has ever shown any capability of spontaneous improvement, beyond a certain low level. Let us beware of supposing that we owe this peculiarity to any necessity of nature, and not rather to combinations of circumstances, which have existed nowhere else, and may not exist for ever among ourselves. The spirit of commerce and industry is one of the greatest instruments not only of civilisation in the narrowest, but of improvement and culture in the widest sense: to it, or to its consequences, we owe nearly all that advantageously distinguishes the present period from the middle ages. So long as other co-ordinate elements of improvement existed beside it, doing what it left undone, and keeping its exclusive tendencies in equipoise by an opposite order of sentiments, principles of action, and modes of thought—so long the benefits which it conferred on humanity were unqualified. But example and theory alike justify the expectation, that with its complete preponderance would commence an era either of stationariness or of decline.

If to avert this consummation it were necessary that the class which wields the strongest power in society should be prevented from exercising its strength, or, that those who are powerful enough to overthrow the government should not claim a paramount control over it, the case of civilized nations would be almost hopeless. But human affairs are not entirely governed by mechanical laws, nor men's characters wholly and irrevocably formed by their situation in life. Economical and social changes, though among the greatest, are not the only forces which shape the course of our species; ideas are not always the mere signs

and effects of social circumstances, they are themselves a power in history. Let the idea take hold of the more generous and cultivated minds, that the most serious danger to the future prospects of mankind is in the unbalanced influence of the commercial spirit—let the wiser and better-hearted politicians and public teachers look upon it as their most pressing duty, to protect and strengthen whatever, in the heart of man or in his outward life, can form a salutary check to the exclusive tendencies of that spirit—and we should not only have individual testimonies against it, in all the forms of genius, from those who have the privilege of speaking not to their own age merely, but to all time; there would also gradually shape itself forth a national education, which, without overlooking any other of the requisites of human well-being, would be adapted to this purpose in particular.

What is requisite in politics for the same end, is not that public opinion should not be, what it is and must be, the ruling power; but that, in order to the formation of the best public opinion, there should exist somewhere a great social support for opinions and sentiments different from those of the mass. The shape which that support may best assume is a question of time, place, and circumstance; but (in a commercial country, and an age when, happily for mankind, the military spirit is gone by) there can be no doubt about the elements which must compose it: they are, an agricultural class, a leisured class, and a learned class.

The natural tendencies of an agricultural class are in many respects the reverse of those of a manufacturing and commercial. In the first place, from their more scattered position, and less exercised activity of mind, they have usually a greater willingness to look up to, and accept of, guidance. In the next place, they are the class who have local attachments; and it is astonishing how much of character depends upon this one circumstance. If the agricultural spirit is not felt in America as a counterpoise to the commercial, it is because American agriculturists have no local attachments; they range from place to place, and are to all intents and purposes a commercial class. But in an old country, where the same family has long occupied the same land, the case will naturally be different. From attachment to places follows attachment to persons who are associated with those places. Though no longer the permanent tie which it once was, the connexion between tenants and landlords is one not slightly broken off;—one which both parties, when they enter into it, desire and hope to be permanent. Again, with attachment to the place comes generally attach-

ment to the occupation;—a farmer seldom becomes any thing but a farmer. The rage of money-getting can scarcely, in agricultural occupations, reach any dangerous height: except where bad laws have aggravated the natural fluctuations of price, there is little room for gambling; the rewards of industry and skill are here but moderate; an agriculturist can rarely make a large fortune. A manufacturer or merchant, unless he can outstrip others, knows that others will outstrip him, and ruin him; while, in the irksome drudgery to which he subjects himself as a means, there is nothing agreeable to dwell upon except the ultimate end. But agriculture is in itself an interesting occupation, which few wish to retire from, and which men of property and education often pursue merely for their amusement. Men so occupied are satisfied with less gain, and are less impatient to realize it. Our town population, it has long been remarked, is becoming almost as mobile and almost as uneasy as the American. It ought not to be so with our agriculturists; they ought to be the counterbalancing element in our national character; they should represent the type opposite to the commercial,—that of moderate wishes, tranquil tastes, cultivation of the excitements and enjoyments near at hand, and compatible with their existing position.

To attain this object, how much alteration may be requisite in the system of rack-renting and tenancy at will, we cannot undertake to show in this place. It is sufficiently obvious also that the corn-laws must disappear; there must be no feud raging between the commercial class and that by whose influence and example its excesses are to be tempered: men are not prone to adopt the characteristics of their enemies. Nor is this all. In order that the agricultural population should count for any thing in politics, or contribute its part to the formation of the national character, it is absolutely necessary that it should be educated. And let it be remembered that, in an agricultural people, the diffusion of information and intelligence must necessarily be artificial;—the work of government, or of the superior classes. In populous towns, the mere collision of man with man, the keenness of competition, the habits of society and discussion, the easy access to reading—even the dulness of the ordinary occupations, which drives men to other excitements—produce of themselves a certain development of intelligence. The least favoured class of a town population are seldom actually stupid, and have often in some directions a morbid keenness and acuteness. It is otherwise with the peasantry. Whatever it is desired that they should know, they must be taught; whatever intelligence is expected to grow up among them, must first be implanted, and sedulously nursed.

It is not needful to go into a similar analysis of the tendencies of the other two classes—a leisured, and a learned class. The capabilities which they possess for controlling the excess of the commercial spirit by a contrary spirit, are at once apparent. We regard it as one of the greatest advantages of this country over America, that it possesses both these classes; and we believe that the interests of the time to come are greatly dependent upon preserving them; and upon their being rendered, as they much require to be, better and better qualified for their important functions.

If we believed that the national character of England, instead of reacting upon the American character and raising it, was gradually assimilating itself to those points of it which the best and wisest Americans see with most uneasiness, it would be no consolation to us to think that we might possibly avoid American institutions; for we should have all the effects of her institutions, except those which are beneficial. The American Many are not essentially a different class from our ten-pound householders; and if the middle class are left to the mere habits and instincts of a commercial community, we shall have a 'tyranny of the majority,' not the less irksome because most of the tyrants may not be manual labourers. For it is a chimerical hope to overbear or outnumber the middle class; whatever modes of voting, whatever redistribution of the constituencies, are really necessary for placing the government in their hands—those, whether we like it or not, they will assuredly obtain.

The ascendency of the commercial class in modern society and politics is inevitable, and, under due limitations, ought not to be regarded as an evil. That class is the most powerful; but it needs not therefore be all-powerful. Now, as ever, the great problem in government is to prevent the strongest from becoming the only power; and repress the natural tendency of the instincts and passions of the ruling body to sweep away all barriers which are capable of resisting, even for a moment, their own tendencies. Any counterbalancing power can henceforth exist only by the sufferance of the commercial class; but that it should tolerate some such limitation, we deem as important as that it should not itself be held in vassalage.

ART. II.— *The Correspondence of* WILLIAM WILBERFORCE. Edited by his Sons, ROBERT ISAAC WILBERFORCE, Vicar of East Farleigh, and SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, Archdeacon of Surrey. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1840.

THE name of Wilberforce is still a name of great attraction among us; though we rather think that the memorials of him which have appeared since his death, must, on the whole, have disappointed the expectations of his admirers. The fame of his sweet and pathetic eloquence will be but feebly prolonged, we fear, in these distant and broken echoes; and the sympathy with which his glorious championship of the unhappy (and still but half-rescued) Negro must ever be regarded, is in some danger, perhaps, of being weakened by the endless details and repetitions with which the story of it is there encumbered.

The main cause, however, of any disappointment which may have been experienced, is to be found, we believe, in the greatness of the expectations which had been previously entertained. And certainly there have been few men, in recent times, from whose biography and correspondence so much delight and instruction might reasonably have been looked for as from his. His ample fortune and early reputation for talent, brought him at once into contact with public affairs; and while the social amenity of his disposition opened to him every walk of society, with the intimacy and friendship of most of its distinguished leaders, the earnest but gentle fervour of his piety, together with the Christian humility of character, and the unstained purity of life, which were its best fruits, (and daily proofs of its sincerity,) not only tempered for him the asperities of party contention, but seem almost to have dispelled that atmosphere of repulsion with which the persons of public men are too often felt to be surrounded by the calm and candid observers who look at them from without; and take, for that reason, the truest measure of their altitude and dimensions. When, in addition to all this, it is considered that this eminent person was known to have kept a pretty copious Journal of his proceedings and observations, it is easy to understand that the announcement of five volumes of his 'Life' should have excited an interest not very likely to be completely satisfied by any possible excellence of the work. Of that publication we have formerly spoken at length; and no one can suppose that we regard it otherwise than as of great value and importance. For the pious or serious reader, it has, we doubt

not, fulfilled all that could have been wished or expected; and to all who take an interest in the minute history of the great Abolition struggle, it must have supplied many memorable details, as well as innumerable traits of the heroic zeal and the lofty Hope and Faith by which its leaders were sustained throughout that obstinate and arduous conflict. But to the general reader, and to all who looked for instruction or amusement from the contemporary remarks and revelations of one who, for nearly half a century, took a prominent part in all questions of national policy, and possessed at the same time more of the personal confidence of the great leaders of affairs, than (perhaps) any other individual, it cannot be denied that there was occasion enough of disappointment. Not only are many transactions of great importance passed over in absolute silence; but even of those which are noticed, and noticed as having deeply interested and largely occupied the time of the writer, the details are generally so scanty and meagre, as to provoke, rather than, in any degree, to gratify our curiosity; and thus to tantalize us, as it were, with the mere bill of fare of a banquet of which we are not allowed to partake. Many of the entries in the 'Diary,' in fact, read much more like the argument, or preliminary headings, of an interesting record, than any thing which it is easy to suppose could have been intended for the record itself; and not only tease us by showing what stores of precious information have been indolently or capriciously withheld, but sometimes actually delude us by the appearance of promises which are never to be performed. It is not a little mortifying, for example, that the most intimate and most trusted of all Pitt's associates and advisers, during the memorable crisis of 1784, should only have preserved such an account of their intercourse at that time as the following:—'November 1st, Pitt and 'Elliot came to me at four. Dined and slept.—2d, Pitt staid all 'day.—8th, Elliot and Pitt came to dinner; and all night.—'18th, House—Fox's India motion.—20th, House—spirited 'debate about putting off India Bill.—27th, Great day in the 'House; sate till half-past four in the morning.—December 1, 'Late night in House; not home till five. Fox spoke wonder-'fully.—20th, All morning at Pitt's.—23d, Morning, Pitt's. 'Dined Sir C. Middleton's. Pitt nobly firm. Evening, Pitt's. 'Cabinet formed.—January 20th, House; coalition talked of. '—23d, House; Pitt's Bill; up at three.—28th, Pitt returned 'from City—affray, but he got safe into White's. Called on him 'at night. Not in bed till three.'

This, to be sure, was in the earlier days of his journalizing; but it is no better six years after. Take, at random, the following entries in 1790:—'March 27th, Dined Bishop of Salis-

'bury's. Talked of Captain Bligh's affair. Sir Joshua, like myself, not surprised about it; Otaheite Calypso's island.—29th, House. Captain William's business till twelve. Not attentive enough. Admired Fox and Pitt, *and the lawyers*. Habit may do much. I must practise.—April 5th, Hard at work on Slave-trade evidence with the Clarksons and Dickson.—6th, At Holwood with Pitt. After breakfast, walked about with him and Grenville; and cut wood with bills. Surely Pitt must deem of me as of any other man.—23d, House; our opponents, blessed be God, fairly beat. A throng at home at night.—29th, Dined with Pitt, before House. Much delightful talk.'

Such, in fact, is the substance and staple of the diary; at least in so far as it touches upon the general course of public transactions. Upon the Abolition movements, it is considerably fuller; while upon his own religious experiences, views, and resolutions, it must be admitted to be at least sufficiently copious.

The same defects and the same causes of disappointment will be found, we conceive, in the publication now before us; and, in the estimation of some readers, perhaps to a greater extent. The best part of the former work consisted, we think, of the letters, or extracts from letters, which it contained; and it was natural, therefore, to expect that a supplementary publication, consisting entirely of letters, should be more uniformly interesting. We are concerned to say, however, that this is not the case. The best letters seem to have been extracted for the 'Life;' and, while there is the same undue preponderance (for the general reader) of religious and abolition dissertations, with a still greater amount of repetitions as to these, our disappointment is enhanced by finding, now that the residuary mass of the 'Correspondence' is finally before us, how little of amusing anecdote, curious information, or original observation it contains. Considering over how great a space of time (from 1783 to 1833) that correspondence extends; the great number of eminent individuals with whom it was maintained; and the evidence it affords (in the frequent complaints of piles and mountains of unanswered letters) of the vast extent to which it must actually have been carried on, it is really surprising, *first*, that the best selection which could be made from it should not have exceeded the measure of two octavo volumes; and, *next*, that so much of this very moderate quantity of matter should be of a quality so little distinguished. We must not be understood, however, by any means as saying that the collection is, on the whole, without interest or amusement. On the contrary, we think very well of it in both particulars; and trust, before we have done, to lay before our readers proofs sufficient not only to support this favourable opinion, but proba-

bly to raise doubts as to the justice of what we have already said of an opposite description.

Our known national partialities, which we never seek to disguise, impel us to begin our extracts with a little notice of our beloved Edinburgh, as it appeared to Mr Hawkins Brown in June 1787, who thus writes on the subject to Mr Wilberforce:—

'We reached Edinburgh soon enough on Saturday to see a great deal of a very beautiful town, wonderfully improved and improving, and in a most romantic situation. The two days we stay here will enable us to see all the objects, which far exceed my expectations, and several of the principal people who are in Edinburgh; but those who spend only their winters here have left it, except the lawyers,

'We had three of the Lords of Session to sup with us last night; we finished our supper without candles, though it was ten o'clock. One of the company was Lord Monboddo, who was describing London, from whence he had just returned, at seventy-six, on horseback all the way. The inferiority of London, and every city in Europe, to Edinburgh, was universally admitted; though my friend, the professor, put in a word in favour of Copenhagen.

'The company, who were numerous, were inquisitive about our speakers in Parliament. Lord Monboddo said, Pitt alone *spoke*, Fox *barked*, and Lord North only *screamed* and *groaned;* he added, that he had no conception of such a man as Pitt's rising in modern times; he really spoke as Demosthenes and Cicero wrote; he spoke in periods and in language in which no other man could either speak or write.'

We hope our readers are duly impressed with a sense of the rare magnanimity which enables us not only to pass over the outbreak of *South Saxon nationality* contained in this passage, without any strong expression of resentment, but even to annex, with the same dignified composure, the irreverent replication in which Mr Brown's correspondent follows up the rash and unseemly pleasantry of his friend. 'Your last letter,' says Mr Wilberforce, 'amused me not a little. I hope you supported 'your Icelandic friend when, within the walls of Edinburgh, he 'had the hardihood to put in his claim in favour of Copenhagen. 'I imagine your Scotch party maintained, though you do not 'mention it, that Edinburgh is not only the finest, but also *the* '*most populous* city in the world!' We add another anecdote, relating to our dear countrymen, which (though we have occasion to know it to be authentic) has never, we think, appeared before in print. It relates to an unfortunate rencontre between Adam Smith and Dr Johnson, during the visit of the latter to Glasgow in 1773. It is here given as if from Smith's own narrative of it to Mr Wilberforce:—

'"Some of our friends," said Adam Smith, "were anxious that we should meet, and a party was arranged for the purpose. In the course of the evening I was seen entering another society, and perhaps with a

manner a little confused. 'Have you met Dr Johnson?' my friends exclaimed.—'Yes, I have.'—'And what passed between you?' Immediately on my being introduced, he addressed me,—'Dr Smith, how came you to say that Hume was nearly the best man you ever knew?'—'Because he was so,' I answered.—'Sir,' he replied, 'you lie.'—'And what,' said they, 'was your answer?'—'Sir, you are the son of a bitch!'"'

It is now near fifty years since we heard this story from the mouth of one of the party into which Mr Smith came immediately after the collision; and we can vouch for the conformity of the preceding report of it in every particular; except that, according to our recollection, Dr Johnson's first address was even more rude and insulting than as there represented; the question being, 'How came you to say that *that detestable infidel* Hume,' &c.

There are not many levities of this kind in the volumes before us. We may add the following, however, though of a different character:—

'The word "rapidly" reminds me of a ridiculous story of the late Lord Stormont, who was what may be well called a heavy speaker, but who, having been ambassador at Paris, was listened to (and not undeservedly, as being a man of sense.) A foreigner was attending the House of Lords' debates below the bar, and his friend, an English travelled gentleman, was overheard translating to him Lord Stormont's harangue. As his Lordship went along in his drawling tone of language, "*Eh bien*," replied the foreigner for some time, till his English friend at length proceeding to say, "*Il dit qu'il passe rapidement*," &c., over that part. "No," says the foreigner, "I'm sure you're cheating me now."'

The letter, however, which has decidedly amused us more than any other in the collection, and is, indeed, in our opinion, the very jewel of the correspondence in respect of vivacity, is one which most certainly was indited by its reverend author with very different views and intentions. It is addressed by a certain worthy and pious Dr Coke, to Mr Wilberforce; and its object is to inform him, that having been a Deist when at college, and a leading Wesleyan methodist for the last thirty-seven years, he is, notwithstanding, now disposed to return into the bosom of the Church, and submit implicitly to the direction of her (other) Bishops, if the Government would only be pleased to appoint him to the contemplated office of *Bishop of Calcutta*, with a salary of £5000 a-year! The manner in which he sets forth his pretensions and qualifications, and dwells on his own great disinterestedness, and the singular affection in which he is held by all to whom he has ever been known, is without example, we believe, in true history; and frequently reminds us of the epistles of the inimitable Mr Collins, in Miss Austen's inimitable novel of *Pride and Prejudice*. We really must indulge our readers with the greater part of this apostolical effusion:—

'The prominent desire of my soul, even from my infancy, (I may almost say,) has been to be useful. Even when I was a Deist for part of my time at Oxford, (what a miracle of grace!) usefulness was my most darling object. The Lord has been pleased to fix me for about thirty-seven years on a point of great usefulness. My influence in the large Wesleian connexion, the introduction and superintendence of our missions in different parts of the globe, and the wide sphere opened to me for the preaching of the Gospel to almost innumerable large and attentive congregations, have opened to me a very extensive field for usefulness. And yet I could give up all for India.

'Impressed with these views, I wrote a letter about a fortnight ago to the Earl of Liverpool. I have either mislaid the copy of it, or destroyed it at the time, for fear of its falling into improper hands. After an introduction, drawn up in the most delicate manner in my power, I took notice of the observations made by Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons, concerning a religious establishment in India connected with the Established Church at home. I then *simply* opened my situation in the Wesleian connexion, as I have stated it to you, sir, above. I enlarged on the earnest desire I had of closing my life in India, observing that if his Royal Highness the Prince Regent and the Government should think proper to appoint me their Bishop in India, I should most cheerfully and most gratefully accept of the offer. I am sorry I have lost the copy of the letter. In my letter to Lord Liverpool, I observed that I should, in case of my appointment to the Episcopacy of India, return most fully and faithfully into the bosom of the Established Church, and do every thing in my power to promote its interests, and would submit to all such restrictions in the fulfilment of my office, as the Government and the Bench of Bishops at home should think necessary.

'I have not, sir, received an answer. Did I think that the answer was withheld, because Lord Liverpool considered me as acting very improperly by making the request, I should take no further step in the business. This may be the case; but his Lordship's silence may arise from other motives; on the one hand, because he did not choose to send me an absolute refusal; and, on the other hand, because he did not see it proper, at least just now, to give me any encouragement.

'I am not conscious, my dear respected sir, that the least degree of ambition influences me in this business. I possess a fortune of about £1200 a-year, which is sufficient to bear my travelling expenses, and to enable me to make many charitable donations. I have lost two dear wives, and am now a widower. Our leading friends through the connexion receive me and treat me with the utmost respect and hospitality. I am quite surrounded with friends who greatly love me; but India still cleaves to my heart. I sincerely believe that my strong inclinations to spend the remainder of my life in India originated in the Divine Will, whilst I am called upon to use the secondary means to obtain the end.

'I would just observe, sir, that a hot climate peculiarly agrees with me. I was never better in my life than in the West Indies, during the four visits I made to that archipelago, and should now prefer the torrid zone, as a climate, to any other part of the world. Indeed, I enjoy in this country, though sixty-five years of age, such an uninterrupted flow of health and strength as astonishes all my acquaintance. They con

monly observe that they have perceived no difference in me for these last twenty years.

'I consider, sir, your brother-in-law, Mr Stephen, to be a man of eminent worth. I have a very high esteem for him. I know that his yea is yea, and what he promises he certainly will perform. Without some promise of confidence, he might (if he were acquainted with the present business) mention it to Mr ——, with whom, I know, Mr Stephen is acquainted.

'I have reason to believe that Lord Eldon had, (indeed I am sure of it,) and probably now has, an esteem for me. Lord Sidmouth, I do think, loves me. Lord Castlereagh once expressed to Mr Alexander Knox, then his private secretary in Ireland, his very high regard for me; since that time I have had one interview with his Lordship in London. I have been favoured, on various occasions, with public and private interviews with Lord Bathurst. I shall be glad to have your advice whether I should write letters to those noblemen, particularly to the two first, on the present subject; or whether I had not better suspend every thing, and have the pleasure of seeing you in London. I hope I shall have that honour. I shall be glad to receive three or four lines from you, (don't write unless you think it may be of some immediate importance,) signifying that I may wait on you immediately on my arrival in London.—I have the honour to be,' &c.

We cannot exactly explain by what law of association it is that we are irresistibly impelled to refer, in connexion with this picture of primitive simplicity, to a short letter of Lord Eldon's of the year 1800, in which he assures Mr Wilberforce, that what 'he has long most panted for is, the *aliquid temporis* '*spatium, inter negotia vitæ et finem!*'

There are some very interesting, and some very strange letters from Dean Milner; whom our readers may remember as the person who first impressed on the youthful mind of Wilberforce those deep, and in some sense peculiar sentiments of religion, which so materially affected the colour and character of his after life. He is well known, and proved indeed by his various publications, to have been a man of great vigour of understanding, and one who ventured to think and decide for himself on all questions of theology, literature, or politics; and there are several letters in this collection that bear testimony to his possession of those qualities. We certainly are not disposed, however, to place the following in the number; but give it rather as one of those many 'follies of the wise,' which help to comfort the ordinary race of mortals, and read useful lessons of humility and distrust to the most highly gifted. It was written in 1797, when republican associations had become alarmingly frequent in the country, and the mutiny at the Nore had spread gloom and trepidation in every direction. The worthy Dean's nostrum for the cure of all these disorders, strikes us as being quite as *simple* as ever entered the *cranium* of any male or female twaddler in

the provinces. It is in substance, that the King and Mr Pitt should go down to Parliament, and exhort and adjure all parties to *agree* to save the country! and then to spend two years in ascertaining (it is not exactly said how) what proportion of the people are really anxious about reform. If the bulk be for it, to let them have it; but if not, to refuse! We take this to be a pretty fair summary of the following oracular deliverance:—

'Nothing can be more awful than public affairs. If I were Pitt, or the King, I would come down to the House, and first, *beseech unanimity*; secondly, *desire that all hands would unite* in saving the nation, *i. e.*, getting out of the scrape, before they thought of reforming it; thirdly, I would solemnly promise to take the sense of the nation at large on the subject of reform, as soon as all was safe. For I say this, if the bulk of property be for reform, then reform cannot be stopped. I don't think they are, or will be; therefore I *would number the whole nation*, which might easily be done; and thus I would find out whether the bulk of property, or of housekeepers, &c. &c., really desired a reform, or were content with the present constitution. I am convinced that such a proceeding would either set the question at rest, or would put it on a different footing from the present; *e. g.*, if it turned out that property were against reform, then it would be nearly reduced to this—Shall we have universal suffrage? Let the real sense of the nation however be found, *and the lists printed*; and let *the different ways of conceiving this matter* be stated, and let the people be classed. Objection—There will be a great number of hypocrites, who will pretend a moderate reform, and *mean* more: Answer—I think the question might be so stated as to show what was the number of such sort of people. In short, I think it would be a great thing to find out the real sense of the people, if you were a year or two about it. Then I further think, that if Government, in that period, would employ good hands to state, *ad populum*, briefly the dangers of too popular a reform, they would strengthen themselves most amazingly.

'I believe the above is the true way to get out of all difficulties—to disconcert rascals, and to unite honest men.

'Oh, how I wish they would take such a step!'

There is much good sense, however, and at the time, we doubt not, what was considered as a degree of liberality which bordered on disloyalty, in the following letter, by the same author, on the subject of Lord Grenville's famous answer to Napoleon's letter to the King in 1809. When one looks to what other persons of his party then felt and said, it is impossible not to admire the courage and sagacity of these remarks; though, when one considers what had then happened, and was visibly impending, it appears still more wonderful that any one should have felt or advised differently:—

'They were, I think, perfectly right in not letting the King answer—but why could they not have said,—"We are glad to hear of the very name of peace in any way or in any form; but what signifies asking us whether the war is to be eternal? You propose nothing; we have for-

merly proposed, and have been sent back with contempt. You show no disposition to peace but in talk; and at the very time you tell your armies you are going to invade us," &c. &c. It seems to me, if Bonaparte was meditating some violent measure, either on us or the allies, or both, and wished to influence France, and make the people contribute freely, and the soldiers fight in earnest, that we, by such an answer, should concur with him most effectually. In a word, conceive him at the head of his troops with our answer in his hands, and commenting upon it. I cannot think that any thing would have been lost by showing a disposition TO HEAR. I would have stated the objection arising from the instability of their government, but still I would not have considered it as an effectual bar to hearing what they have to say. It is *ridiculous* to talk of Bonaparte's government being a government only of a day or two—but be it so. Suppose he offers to quit Belgium, and to put you and the Allies in possession of every thing they could wish, would you refuse the advantage, because he is an upstart?

'There is no probability of any such thing, I believe, in the main; yet I declare I should be surprised at nothing; and I would never have exasperated him, nor shut his mouth. Hear him, I say, hear him; but don't give up a particle to him. I suppose it will be said he wanted his authority to be recognised by us: It may be so; but possibly he wanted it to be *rejected*. I don't know enough of the interior of France, or of his particular views, to say well what he wants; but I am sure there would have been great use in letting him go on, and in seeing what he is driving at. There would have been no harm in expressing the utmost doubts as to his stability, nor would I have expressed those doubts at all in friendly terms; but there is a deal of difference between friendship and civility. Nothing like a wish for his stability should have come from me; and for similar reasons I would have said nothing about the old line of Princes. Alas! alas! only think, in a very short time *you may be on your knees to this very B.*, and begging him to admit you to negotiate. I hope our people will not ride the great horse, it is such a horrid measure. Not that on the whole I expect a successful negotiation, but I wish the argument to be on our side when it is broken off; and that we may say with truth, as the Americans did, "We have exhausted the last drop of the cup of reconciliation!" Those that give our Ministers credit for more discretion and foresight than I do, may view this matter in a different light. They may suppose that *they know* that nine parts out of ten of France are ripe for restoring monarchy; and that the Allies, the three great powers, have solemnly coalesced and sworn to set all matters on their old footing; and, lastly, that they will keep their vows. If all this *be absolutely foreknown*, I grant it will make some difference in the reasoning; but really not a great deal even then; still I would have given him civil words, however I had thought it necessary to guard against strengthening his authority.'

There are some very extraordinary, and for the most part, we must take leave to say, very foolish letters from Jeremy Bentham; one in particular, in 1796, in which he seriously, and at great length, recommends himself as the fittest person to be sent over to Paris to negotiate for peace with the Republicans; and several

others in which he is most vehemently wroth with the Government, and indeed with all mankind, for not properly prizing his moral toy of the 'Panopticon;' and voting him a sum of money, too, for the trouble and expense it had occasioned him. We do not find any one letter of his which bears any traces of his really matchless acuteness and ingenuity.

Another remarkable correspondent is Henry I., otherwise Christophe, King of Haiti; with whom several long and very sensible and amiable letters were exchanged in the years 1816 and 1818. The epistles of the King are not otherwise remarkable, however, than for reasonableness and right feeling. They are very correctly, and not inelegantly written, (in French,) and bear no distinctive traces of the complexion of that gracious sovereign and his sable state councillors; in fact, might pass very well for the productions of an intelligent prince or politician of the purest Caucasian descent. This, we are afraid, renders them less attractive, and, at first sight at least, less curious, than if they had borne more visibly the marks of the race to which they belong. We are afraid, too, that the philanthropic designs and kind wishes of the patriot King and his benevolent English adviser have not been quite realized in the fortunes of his interesting people; though it is singular that we should have, up to the present day, so little distinct or reliable information as to their actual condition, and the aspect of the Futurity which awaits them. The experiment of self-government in a negro population, under the forms of European administration, and with the aid of European institutions for instruction, has now been in operation for nearly forty years, and an entire race must have grown up, to whom the debasement of domestic slavery and generic degradation can be but matter of history, or faint and dim recollection. Yet the actual state of this extraordinary community, either as to their general civilisation and progress in the arts of life, or their comparative moral and intellectual standing, or political and economical arrangements, is most imperfectly known at this moment to the great training community of Europe. This we have long thought a reproach to the enterprise and philosophic curiosity of the age; and cannot but believe that a fair, dispassionate, and intelligent report of the moral, political, and economical statistics of this black nation, would excite more general interest, and add more to our stock of useful knowledge, than twenty voyages of discovery to ascertain the existence of a North-west passage, or an inaccessible Antarctic continent.

There are several very amiable and rather gay letters from Mr Pitt; but none of any interest or marked character. The unbroken cordiality and familiarity of his intercourse with his early friend, in spite of the great difference of their later habits,

is very much to the credit of both. There is something very touching we think in the tone, as well as interesting in the substance, of the following account of Pitt's death, in a letter from Wilberforce to the Rev. S. Gisborne:—

'Poor fellow! for some time, perhaps a fortnight or more before his death, he sat chiefly (till the last few days, when he was almost entirely in bed) in his chair, neither reading, nor talking, nor hearing conversation. Conversation in a few moments fatigued him, and he saw but few people from the time of his coming from Bath, about eighteen days or twelve (on the sudden, I forget which) before his decease, and none at all but the Bishop, the physicians, and his servants, and one or two of the young Stanhopes, for the last week. It was not till the morning before his death that the Bishop of Lincoln could get leave to speak to him as to a dying man, and I have no reason to believe he thought himself in any immediate danger before. The Bishop proposed to pray with him, and, in the strictest confidence, I will tell you what I am bound by promise not to mention generally. Pitt at first, poor fellow, objected—that he was not worthy to offer up any prayer (I think it was added) in his present state, referring, I suppose, to his bodily and mental weakness. The Bishop very properly told him that he, Pitt, knew the Bishop would not deceive him, and assured him that was the very state of mind in which prayer was best and most properly offered. The Bishop then prayed with him, and afterwards Pitt desired to settle his temporal concerns, showing very much his character, such as I conceived it, by one or two traits which I will mention some other time. I am extremely pressed to-day. I am not aware, but have reason to fear the contrary, no further religious intercourse took place before or after, and I own I thought what was inserted in the papers impossible to be true.'

There are many letters from the Rev. J. Venn, chiefly on religious subjects. But we can only afford to extract the following very sensible remarks on Mr Wilberforce's desire to engage the services of some very intelligent and accomplished person, as tutor to a young boy:—

'I highly approve of your taking your child from the servants, from whom he might learn many maxims and practices which it would require much pains afterwards to eradicate; but I very much doubt of your being able to meet with a governor who would devote his time and attention to him in the manner you wish, at so early an age. Men qualified as you would desire, have become so qualified by much thinking and reading, by uninterrupted improvement of leisure hours, and by conversation with persons of learning and reflection upon subjects which call forth the powers of the mind. I very much doubt whether such a person could so far alter his habits as to give up his chief attention to a child, whose versatility, trifling, and forgetfulness, would be a constant source of vexation. In the order of nature, I think, that the education of very young children is committed to women; they only can bear with all their little foibles—they possess a tenderness and an affection for them which is never wearied out;—women possess a patience and assiduity in

lesser things, which is rarely met with in men. A father's affection, indeed, will alter his very disposition; but I am speaking only of the difficulty which a person who is not a parent would experience in endeavouring to supply that place which women are, I think, exclusively qualified to fill. It perhaps may, indeed, be a difficult thing to determine the precise age at which a boy may be taken from the nursery or from a governess, and put under the care of a tutor. It must vary with the capacity, health, and disposition of the child.

'Dr —— would, I think, be an improper person, even if he would undertake such an office. His temper is close and reserved, his manners grave and thoughtful, and he is often silent. These qualities do not suit children. His talents are formed to investigate abstruse points and elucidate truth, not to ingratiate him with children, and minister instruction to them in a pleasing form.'

One of the most constant and affectionate of his correspondents appears to have been Lord Muncaster; the whole of whose letters are amiable and interesting in no common degree. There is something, to us, very sweet and touching in the following account of the tranquil death of one of his young children:—

'It has pleased the Almighty God to take unto Himself the little angel spirit of my dearly beloved child. At about half-past nine last night, his eyes were closed for ever. Praised be God, who so far graciously heard my prayer—he quitted this world without a convulsive pang or painful struggle. His little mind perfectly clear, and, till within a very few moments, his articulation good—it became weaker gradually, and less distinct, and his breath gently lengthened and had intervals, as if nature paused. It was at last so soft, that the ear mistrusted itself, and in the succeeding moment his pure spirit flew up, and he appeared rather to cease to live than to die. It was the soft transition of innocence from this to a state of perpetual rest and felicity. God of his mercy support me under my sufferings, and enable me to bear them with all due resignation to His divine will. I kiss the rod, but in truth it scourges me sorely. Heaven preserve you from every misfortune, prays your disconsolate friend.'

There are also many letters, and several of great feeling and beauty, from the Rev. John Newton; but we cannot well afford any transcripts; as we must reserve some considerable space for the most pleasing and interesting of all his serious correspondents —his brother-in-law, the late Mr Stephen;—every one of whose letters, we think, breathes the true spirit of Christian charity, pure affection, and untiring zeal in every work of benevolence or office of kindness, and are, moreover, for the most part enlivened by a play of fancy and glow of natural eloquence, of a character peculiarly engaging. The following, addressed to Wilberforce on the sixth anniversary of his (Mr S.'s) wife's death, (who was W.'s sister,) is to our taste equally beautiful and affecting:—

'Where time is inexhaustible, they have probably no measure for its

course; and were it otherwise, the inhabitants of heaven would hardly mark their eras by the revolutions of our little globe. If they did, this would perhaps be a festive day with them, as the birthday of an illustrious spirit; for there are gradations of rank in heaven. One star differeth from another star in glory—and if love, humility, piety, and patience are paths to the Peerage there, my dear ——'s patent was secure. Dignities on earth would have ill suited her taste; but superior rank in heaven, where there is no envy and no pride, will attract only superior love, attest superior excellence, and confer superior joy.

'I should be a selfish creature, indeed, to remember the event (six years old) of to-day, with a discontented or repining spirit. The common sentiment, "I would not call her back if I could," is far too cold for me. I would give one of my limbs, ay, my life itself if necessary, to rescue her from that miserable change. But you are no stranger to my feelings on this subject; you also partake of them. Yet so invincible are the prejudices arising from custom, or so embarrassing the consciousness of singularity, that even with you it is much easier for me to write, than to speak or act my true feelings on the recollection of my dear ——'s flight,

"An upward flight, if ever soul ascended;"

and experience has proved to me, that the day of commemorating her, whether the anniversary of her blessed change, or of her birth, or of our marriage, is most pleasantly, and decorously, and satisfactorily, spent in solitude. To-day I have the comfort of spending it in our woods and commons, and in a day as bright as midsummer. I grow daily more and more in love with this place. O what a delicious oratory is a Beech wood in a calm hot day! Not a leaf stirring; not a sound; a sacred kind of shady light, with here and there a straggling sunbeam, like the gleam of providential direction in the dark concerns of life. I do not doubt that the druidical influence arose from the worship in woods. It must have been irresistibly imposing; it is plain, too, that the Gothic cathedral is an imitation of these solemn natural aisles. I really pity you at Marden Park: though fine enough in its way, it is not in the right way; besides, there you stand alone: all the ornaments are made for your single self; and then, they are *made*. And you have clumps on barren hills, instead of luxuriant hill tops and sides, and riant valleys, and sweet upland though smooth and level commons; and lovely cottages of the true peasant breed, and a village and church, and endless varieties of walks, &c. But do not suppose that I boast of these things merely to tantalize you. I live in hopes that you will now and then, ay, and not rarely, partake of them; for I know that they would be quite to your taste. In that view, I have the better reconciled my conscience to some enlargement of Healthy Hill cottage beyond my original plan, though the making room for my grandchildren was also an object.

'I have so contrived my little cottage, with no small credit to my architectural talents, that it will hold not only you but your tail. Mind, however, I do not mean your political tail, nor your religious tail, nor even your African tail, either of which is twice as long as M'Gregor's; none of your hangers-on, but your domestic tail merely. To entice you I have provided all the conveniences I think that you want, and among

them a veranda across the front of the house, like your own at Kensington Gore, where you may have a walk of thirty-five feet, warm even at Christmas, for it has a south-west aspect, and is shut up by the body of the house and projecting wings from the wind, in every other quarter; in this respect it is superior to that of Kensington Gore, the ends of which were uncovered. And then, the riant beautiful prospect before it!

'Now whether all this will attract you, I don't know; but if it will not, let me know, for there is a weighty question at present between my gardener here and me, which you may help me to decide, viz. whether I shall have a gravel walk or only a turf one, of 400 feet length or more in front of my paddock. The gravel is far off, and therefore will be costly; but then it would suit you best in moist weather, and I would defy the whole kingdom to produce a terrace with prospects equally various and beautiful.

'You see, my dear W., I am not only building houses, but castles; and building them too in a land my dear —— has forsaken. Yet can I truly say, that these things do not make me forget Stoke Newington churchyard, nor rival in my heart the prospects beyond it. I am rather jealous of being thought by strangers an old dotard, that is planning for his long continuance in a world from which he is likely to be soon called.'

The following, written on a somewhat similar occasion, and in the same spirit, is equally pleasing:—

'I cannot see you on Saturday, having been, unavoidably almost, drawn in to engage to meet Dr Gaskin at Stoke Newington. I went there on Tuesday to visit the remains of my beloved and very excellent mother on the fiftieth anniversary of her birthday into heaven; and was childish enough to scatter flowers on the tomb by way of jubilee, as I was to be followed in the visit by some others of her descendants that day. In some points, I am more than half a Roman Catholic; and perhaps Dr G. will think me a whole one. But really the recollection of my dear mother's saint-like and triumphant end, and the wonderful manner in which Providence has during fifty years answered her prayers for her children, has much by which even a Protestant may be edified. I revived the scenes half a century gone by with all the vivid freshness of yesterday's events: the sun was remarkably brilliant, as on that memorable morning, and reminded me forcibly of a feeling I have repeatedly had in such cases, viz. a sadness from his cheering beams. Well wrote Addison, "The daylight and the sun grow painful to me;" but it gave the reverse of sadness now, and I returned to my tread-mill with gayer spirits from my Stoke Newington walk.

'When I called on the sexton, a female one, to assist me in what I wished at the tomb, I found that my name would not do to direct her to it; and when I described it she said, "O, sir, that tomb is Mr Wilberforce's." I afterwards found the Doctor apparently of the same opinion; at least he was surprised when I brought to his recollection that a mother of my own had, fifty years ago, been laid in that spot, and given me the desire, as well as the customary right, to purchase and appropriate the ground I had since sunk a vault in.

'I am neither mortified nor ill-pleased that you, my dear W., should cast me, living and dead, into the shade; and am quite content it should be said hereafter, not that you were laid in my vault, but I in yours, provided it does not happen from your going first.'

We shall add only one other extract in this strain from this honoured hand:—

'You probably do not recollect, my dear friend, but I still do, and with affectionate gratitude, a visit that you made me in Sloane Street this day exactly thirty-four years ago. It was a very useful one. This is one of the anniversaries on which I remember sorrows that this life cannot compensate, but trace from them the wonderful and beneficent ways of that divine benefactor, who,

"Behind a frowning Providence, oft hides a smiling face."

'I remember an incident that occurred just as you entered my room, and which I believe I told you of at the time, that might almost give one confidence in the *sortes Virgilianæ*. I had for the first time caught up a book to turn the current of my dismal and intolerable thoughts. It was a Virgil, which one of my boys had brought from school and left in the room, and I strangely enough opened on that affecting passage in which the spirit of the departed Creusa appears to her distracted husband, while searching for her amidst the ruins of burning Troy, and comforts him with the predictions of future blessings from his loss. The *regia conjux* had then no comfort or supposable meaning for me, though the general spirit of the passage, connected as it was with my own sudden and dreadful privation, and with the unseen purposes of Providence in such events, gave a soothing turn to my thoughts. I have since, on the recollection of it, applied the *regia conjux* to one of whom I had then never heard, and whose royalty was of the best kind, and is now, I doubt not, marked with a celestial crown. Nor was your coming at that crisis, and your subsequent compassionate and affectionate conduct, a needless link in the chain of events that led to my union with her. I sincerely wished for a long time after to drop all intercourse with you and the friends that surrounded you. I disliked all society except that of my poor orphans and the kind relations who took the charge of them. I wished and expected soon to die; and besides, had a blameable aversion for the company of those who stood higher in rank or fortune than myself, especially for the Pittite aristocrats, whom I generally met at your table. But you, my kind friend, would not suffer me to forsake you; and the recollection of your tender, generous conduct at that crisis of my afflictions, was a tie that bound my heart to you, till I found, two or three years after, another bond of attachment.'

It may (to some readers) be a relief from the sadness, or solemnity at least, of these extracts, to add one of a gayer character from the same amiable writer; and indeed it must be delightful, we think, to all readers, to see with what freshness of youthful enjoyment this hard-worked *official*, and earnest and humble Christian, could turn, in the decline of life, to that rural leisure and

sympathy with nature, for which good men, we are persuaded, never lose their original relish :—

'I am at length fairly settled here, in that compendious magnificence of style which has been celebrated by some eminent poet (I forget his name) in heroic French measure—

"A cobbler there was, and he lived in a stall," &c.;

but I have improved on the architectural skill of that illustrious descendant of Prince Crispin; for a single room here actually serves me not only for "parlour and kitchen and hall," but for bed-room, library, store-room, cellar, and pantry. It is on the ground, and without a window shutter, so that should any of the wild Buckingham mountaineers that "inhabit lax" in the woods and commons on my flanks and rear, (and a gaunt ruffian-looking race they are,) think it a "good thing" to rob and murder a Master in Chancery, they have nothing to do but open the window and jump in, unless they prefer kicking in a rotten door-panel. I have, however, got a few boards nailed together to put up against my window at night, which would require a blow to beat them in loud enough to wake me, and I have my trusty carbine, with a spring bayonet, ready loaded at my bedside. Moreover, I take care to apprise all cruisers in my neighbourhood that they will find some risk in boarding, by firing morning and evening guns. You may insure me, therefore, perhaps at a small war premium.

'Now, if you or any body should ask what I can find here to repay me for the privations of such a hermitage, I answer, "Come and see." If any man can look unmoved at the grandeur and varied beauties of the extensive landscape before me, let him stick to his carpeted drawing-rooms in town! But perhaps he may like better the picturesque and the sheltered loveliness of nature, fertile little highland valleys, where corn-fields and verdant commons that have yet escaped the Vandal enclosing acts are shut in by eminences crowned and fringed with luxuriant beech woods. Then let him walk with me one furlong only from my hermitage into my backgrounds, and he shall enter into scenes to his choice; and in a walk of four or five miles to Missenden, &c., find such a variety of them that he will be at a loss to say which charmed him the most. Or does the luxuriantly beautiful and rich—a prospect extensive but not vast—a panorama, the most distant lines of which are not remote enough to be obscure, but defining with vivid and varied tints the extremity of the horizon—I say, does a landscape like this delight him? then let him go on with me to the verge of these uplands till the valley of Missenden bursts upon him, and descend, as I did this morning, from the heights that overhang that town, with the sun basking on their sides, and on the hills that front them.

'But I am very bad at description, though not at admiration of these things. I have no pencil; but I have eyes, ay, and I have lungs too, and legs, and the former inhale with delight the cool and fragrant air around me, while the latter are exercised with more than wonted pleasure here, and with perfect exemption from fatigue, for I find what is rarely found on the uplands, a great extent of level ground in various directions. I can defy the sun, my great enemy, even in my noontide walks, and in

the hottest weather. Indeed, if I could not, it would only keep me from emerging from the beech woods, which you know scarcely ever present the obstacle of impervious underwood, or at least always have abundance of long alleys where you are completely canopied, and yet with gleams here and there of sunshine, enough to dry the ground and exhale the fragrance. You know I always loved this country for that distinguishing feature (I wish Castlereagh had not spoiled the word) of hills crowned with beech; but I never liked it more than now, and in this particular situation. It is to the eye the best season, the autumnal tints just beginning to diversify the foliage.'

There is one very characteristic letter of our present Premier, (then, in 1820, the Hon. William Lamb,) on the ill-advised prosecution of Queen Caroline; which, on account of its admirable good sense, and wise and practical foresight, we think will be read with interest even at the present day:—

'I see the danger as clearly, and in as strong a light as you do, but I do not see any step that can be taken with a rational hope or prospect of averting it. I met Mr Rumbold, the member for Yarmouth, in the street yesterday, who, like all other rational persons, or rather like all other persons, for I never witnessed so general an apprehension, is much alarmed; and he told me that he had seen you at Lord Carrington's, and that your idea was, that there should be county meetings, to petition the Crown and the Parliament to put a stop to the whole enquiry. However desirable such a course might have been at the beginning, it is impossible not to see that there are great difficulties attending upon it in the present state of the affair, now that the Crown has already instituted, and the House of Lords is pledged to prosecute the investigation. But the weightiest objection to such a measure appears to me the extreme uncertainty of the result of such meetings, and the doubt whether they would not tend to inflame and excite, rather than to tranquillize discontent and irritation. Supposing that in some few counties the influence of the gentlemen, &c., might be sufficient to procure the adoption of wise and temperate resolutions, there would be great danger in far the greater number that other counsels and other feelings would prevail. A spirit of opposition would be excited; the same misrepresentations would take place as in the case of your motion; it would be said to be all done in concert with, and in subservience to, the views of the Ministry; the Queen would be exhorted and encouraged to accede to nothing; the whole attempt would be unsuccessful, and leave nothing behind it but more violent heats and increased unpopularity to the authors of it. These are the considerations which press strongly upon my mind: But *I am conscious that perhaps I am too despairing in matters of this nature, and lean too much to the side of doing nothing, and awaiting the course of events.* If there were a fair opening of success, the object is so great, that it would be true cowardice not to hazard something for it. I should be most glad to hear from you upon the subject, and so much do I esteem your opinion, that I shall this night write to Lord Dacre, who is most deeply impressed with the peril of the crisis, to consult him upon the subject. One misfortune is, that if any thing of this sort were advisable, it should have

been set about long before. There is now hardly time enough left for effectual measures of this nature.

'There is also a very great difficulty, which attends all situations as that in which we are at present placed, and I cannot but suggest it for your consideration. I admit that there appears to me to be great danger of serious popular tumult and insurrection. I admit it to you, but I should be very loth to admit it generally, or to persons of whose judgment I had not a high opinion; because nothing aggravates danger of this kind so much as confessing fear. It encourages those from whom the danger proceeds, and may almost be said to produce the very evil it apprehends. Supposing then that this whole business were now to be concluded by the extraordinary means of an exertion of influence on the part of the property of the country, would it not create in the disaffected an exaggerated notion of the present peril, and of their own strength? Would they not say to themselves, the higher orders, &c., were sensible that this trial, if persevered in, would have brought about a revolution; they are aware of our strength, they fear it; and would not such reasoning bring about and hasten that struggle to which, it is impossible to conceal from one's self, every thing in this country appears to tend? That such appearances may be, as appearances in politics often are, delusive and fallacious, is my earnest hope and prayer.'

We had marked many other passages for citation—but find we must stop here; and feel indeed that we have already exhibited enough of the book to justify, and we rather think more than justify, all that we said in the outset in its commendation. If it disappoints in some degree the lovers of political gossip, and the hunters after personal anecdotes, it is sure to minister the deepest delight to all serious and thoughtful readers, by the fervour and eloquence of its religious discussions and reflections; and must at the same time afford a pleasing and useful entertainment to all cultivated minds, not only by the general elegance and variety of its style, but from the picture it presents of a large circle of society, by far the greater part of whose members are not only eminently and conscientiously good, but, according to the measure of human imperfection, substantially and deservedly happy. We scarcely know, indeed, of any other authentic record of the life and conversation of persons distinguished by talents and public station, which shows so great a number of them associating together without jealousy or envy; and proving so clearly, by the whole tenor of their existence, that those who are most amiable may safely reckon on the greatest share of enjoyment.

ART. III.—*Sermons to a Country Congregation.* By AUGUSTUS WILLIAM HARE, late Fellow of New College, and Rector of Alton Barnes. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1839.

ABOUT fifteen years ago we presented our readers with an article on 'French Sermons,' concluding with an intimation, that at some future period the subject would be resumed, with a special reference to the British pulpit.* In that article we expressed our wonder that there should be so small a proportion of sermons destined to live;—that out of the *million* and upwards, preached annually throughout the empire, there should be so very few that are remembered three whole days after they are delivered—fewer still that are committed to the press—scarcely one that is not in a few years absolutely forgotten. 'If any 'one,' it was added, 'were, for the first time, informed what 'preaching was—if, for example, one of the ancient critics had 'been told that the time would come when vast multitudes of 'persons should assemble regularly, to be addressed, in the midst 'of their devotions, upon the most sacred truths of a religion 'sublime beyond all the speculations of philosophers, yet in all 'its most important points simple, and of the easiest apprehen-'sion; that with those truths were to be mingled discussions of 'the whole circle of human duties, according to a system of mo-'rality singularly pure and attractive; that the more dignified 'and the more interesting parts of national affairs were not to be 'excluded from the discourse—that, in short, the most elevating, 'the most touching, and the most interesting of all topics, were 'to be the subject-matter of the address, directed to persons suf-'ficiently versed in them, and assembled only from the desire 'they felt to hear them handled—surely the conclusion would at 'once have been drawn, that such occasions must train up a 'race of the most consummate orators, and that the effusions to 'which they gave birth must needs cast all other rhetorical com-'positions into the shade.'—'How, then, comes it to pass, that 'instances are so rare of eminent eloquence in the pulpit?'

Though we are willing to believe that some improvement, in this branch of eloquence, is gradually taking place, we are still of opinion that the above question is as pertinent as ever. It seems proper, therefore, to investigate the causes of so singular a phenomenon, and to urge upon those who are entrusted with so

* No. lxxxix. (p. 147, 148.)

powerful an instrument of instruction as the Pulpit, the duty of endeavouring to turn it to better account.

To this important subject we propose to devote the present article—premising, that it is not at all our intention to discuss any doctrinal questions, or to examine how much of truth or error there may be in any given system of religious belief: we consider only the general conditions on which all religious instruction (presupposing it to be sound) should be conveyed; and especially the *style* and the *manner* peculiarly appropriated to this department of public speaking.

Without departing from the above resolution, we may, however, be allowed to make one obvious remark, even in relation to what ought to be the *substance* of that eloquence, of which we propose more particularly to consider only the form. It is this—that whatever diversities of opinion and of doctrine it may present, it is of course implied that there are limits to these diversities. We cannot expect that any system will produce its proper effects, however eloquent and forcible the form in which it is professedly exhibited, unless its essential peculiarities be preserved. A Mollah must not preach the doctrines of a Brahmin, if he wishes to see what are the genuine results of Islamism; nor a Pundit interpret his sacred books by the Coran of the Prophet. In the same manner, if the Christian preacher, (as was too often the case in times that are past,) be nothing more than what Bishop Horsley calls 'an ape of Epictetus'—a bad personation of Seneca tricked out in a gown and cassock—or a doctor of metaphysics, who, by some strange blunder, has mistaken the church for the lecture-room—we cannot rationally expect that Christianity should produce its genuine results. What are the precise limits within which the essentials of Christian doctrine may be exhibited in their integrity, it is not for us to determine: to do so would be to venture within that province which we have formally renounced. But that the essence of the doctrines and precepts of this peculiar system may be fully exhibited, notwithstanding considerable diversity of opinions on subordinate points, no man of candour will deny. The names of eminent men of very different parties will instantly suggest themselves to the memory of the reader, to whom we are convinced not one individual of the Christian community would deny the title of 'preachers of 'righteousness.'

But supposing the requisite purity of doctrine secured—of which we must leave men to form their own opinion—the mode in which that doctrine is exhibited and enforced is only second in importance. And the proof is found in this,—that if we appeal to an individual of *any* denomination, he will tell you that he knows

preachers whom he cannot but account equally worthy and excellent, and equally in possession of the truth, (that is, who think exactly with himself,—for that is the infallible standard by which each man measures the aberrations of his neighbour,) who yet shall produce the most opposite effects on him. The one shall send him to sleep in spite of himself, and the other shall not permit him to sleep, even if he would. Yet the substance of their communications, he himself being the judge, is in each case precisely the same.

We have long been convinced that the inefficiency that so generally distinguishes pulpit discourses, is in a great degree owing to the two following causes: first, that preachers do not sufficiently cultivate, as part of their professional education, a systematic acquaintance with the principles upon which all effective eloquence must be founded—with the limitations under which their topics must be chosen, and the mode in which they must be exhibited in order to secure popular impression; and secondly, that they do not, after they have assumed their sacred functions, give sufficient time or labour to the preparation of their discourses.

Many and splendid exceptions to these statements no doubt there are. We only fear that some, for whom the consolation of this saving clause was not intended, will, nevertheless, complacently take the benefit of it. We shall offer some observations on both the causes of failure above specified, at the close of the present article.

The appropriateness of any composition, whether written or spoken, is easily deduced from its object. If that object be to instruct, convince, or persuade, or all these at the same time, we naturally expect that it should be throughout of a forcible and earnest character;—indicating a mind absorbed in the avowed object, and solicitous only about what may subserve it. We expect that this singleness of purpose should be seen in the topics discussed, in the arguments selected to enforce them, in the modes of illustration, and even in the peculiarities of style and expression. We expect that nothing shall be introduced merely for the purpose of inspiring an interest, either in the thoughts or in the language, apart from their pertinency to the object; or of exciting an emotion of delight for its own sake, as in poetry—although it is quite true that the most vivid pleasure will necessarily result from perceiving an exact adaptation of the means to the end. We cannot readily pardon mere beauties or elegancies, striking thoughts or graceful imagery, if they are marked by this irrelevancy; since they serve only to impede the vehement current of argument or feeling. In a word, we expect nothing

but what, under the circumstances of the speaker, is prompted by *nature;*—nature, not as opposed to a deliberate effort to adapt the means to the ends, and to do what is to be done as well as possible, for this, though in one sense art, is also the truest nature;—but nature, as opposed to whatever is inconsistent with the idea, that the man is under the dominion of genuine feeling, and bent upon taking the directest path to the accomplishment of his object. True eloquence is not like some painted window, which not only transmits the light of day variegated and tinged with a thousand hues, but calls away the attention from its proper use to the pomp and splendour of the artist's doings. It is a perfectly transparent medium; transmitting light, without suggesting a thought about the medium itself. Adaptation to the one single object is every thing.

These maxims have been universally recognised in deliberative and forensic eloquence. Those who have most severely exemplified them, have ever been regarded as the truest models; while those who have partially violated them, though still considered in a lower sense very eloquent, have failed to obtain the highest place. Nor, it may be safely said, would the irrelevant discussions, the florid declamation, the imaginative finery, the tawdry ornament, which too often disgrace the pulpit—which too often are heard in it, not only without astonishment but with admiration—be tolerated for a moment in the senate or at the bar.

Much of this is no doubt to be attributed to the deplorable fact, that the great themes of religion are viewed (not by preachers alone, but by all mankind) with emotions so sadly disproportioned to their intrinsic importance. Hence the difficulty of finding the man who is as thoroughly interested in the subjects of religion as thousands are in discussions relating to the timber or sugar duties,—to a grant of public money, or a vote of supply. Even a trial at the Old Bailey for stealing a couple of pocket-handkerchiefs, too often stirs deeper emotion, both in speakers and hearers, than the most momentous realities connected with the future and unseen world.

This, however, is only a partial solution of the difficulty; the maxims we have above adverted to, being often and grievously violated by multitudes of preachers, the consistency of whose lives, and whose diligent discharge of the ordinary duties of their office, bespeak them to be under the dominion of religious principle. Their failings, therefore, as public speakers, can be fairly accounted for only by their having adopted an erroneous idea of what the most effective style of speaking is; or, which is more frequent, from their never having attained any distinct idea of it at all.

We have long felt convinced that the eloquence of the pulpit, in its general character, has never been assimilated so far as it might have been, and ought to have been, to that which has produced the greatest effect elsewhere; and which is shown to be of the right kind alike by the success which has attended it, and by the analysis of the qualities by which it has been distinguished. If we were compelled to give a brief definition of the principal characteristics of this truest style of eloquence, we should say it was 'practical reasoning, animated by strong 'emotion;' or if we might be indulged in what is rather a description than a definition of it, we should say that it consisted in reasoning on topics calculated to inspire a common interest, expressed in the language of ordinary life, and in that brief, rapid, familiar style which natural emotion ever assumes. The former half of this description would condemn no small portion of the compositions called 'Sermons,' and the latter half a still larger portion.

We would not be misunderstood. It is far—very far—from our intention to speak in terms of the slightest depreciation of the immense treasures of learning, of acute disquisition, of profound speculation, of powerful controversy, which the literature of the English pulpit exemplifies. In these points it cannot be surpassed. In vigour and originality of thought, in argumentative power, in extensive and varied erudition, it as far transcends all other literature of the same kind, as it is deficient in the qualities which are fitted to produce popular impression. We merely assert that the greater part of 'Sermons,' are not at all entitled to the name, if by it be meant discourses *specially adapted* to the object of instructing, convincing, or persuading the common mind.

We are well aware that the very nature of pulpit eloquence forbids any thing more than a partial assimilation to that of the senate or the bar;—that certain modifications will be instantly suggested by the topics with which it deals, and the objects which it has in view. It must often be, to a far greater extent, simply didactic than eloquence of any other kind; though the practical purpose to which all matter of this sort is to be immediately applied, will still secure an earnestness and animation in the style in very observable contrast with the even tone and measured periods of literary disquisition. It never can appeal to those tumultuous passions, nor rouse those vehement feelings which may be gladly abandoned to the arena of politics; while those sublime realities, connected with the future and the invisible, which form its great and inspiring themes, must necessarily demand more minute and ample description, in order

vividly to impress the imagination, than would be readily tolerated either in deliberative or forensic eloquence. Still this is only saying, that, as a peculiar *species* of eloquence, it has something peculiar; as a species of the *genus*, it ought still to possess the generic qualities. The degree in which it can exhibit and embody those qualities is another question; and though it may be a point of some difficulty to ascertain how far this object may be attained, it is not difficult to show either that it might have been attained more completely than it has been; or that in many instances it has been neglected altogether.

We have said, for example, that the principal characteristic of all effective eloquence consists in reasoning on topics calculated to inspire a common interest in the mass of a common audience. Who can take even the most hasty inspection of our pulpit literature, without perceiving how generally this obvious attribute has been neglected, especially till within a comparatively recent period? What can be more hopeless than the attempt to engage the attention, or interest the feelings of a common audience in metaphysical subtilties? And yet abstruse speculations on the 'origin of evil,' on 'moral necessity,' on the 'self-determining power,' on the 'ultimate principles of ethics,' on the 'immortality of the soul,' as proved from its indiscerptibility and we know not what, on the 'eternal fitness of things,' on the 'moral sense,' with other still more recondite speculations on themes which it is almost impious and perfectly useless to touch, were of common occurrence in our older pulpit literature; and they are not infrequent, though not pursued to the same extent, even now. For our own parts we believe that the discussion of such subjects is about as profitable in a popular assembly as would be that of the well-known questions, as to whether angels can pass from one point of space to another, without passing through the intermediate points, and whether they can visually discern objects in the dark? Dr Donne has proposed a series of questions for over-refined speculators, in which he keenly satirizes all such superfluous subtilty. It is only to be lamented that he did not more effectually learn his own lesson in the composition of his own sermons; in some of which he has touched upon subjects more fit for Thomas Aquinas than the Christian preacher. We would not do even Thomas Aquinas injustice, however; we verily believe that the great schoolman would have stood aghast at the idea of dragging such questions out of the obscurity of the schools into common daylight, and making them the themes of popular declamation.

We gladly admit that the modern pulpit is fast outgrowing these extravagancies; that such discussions are both less fre-

quent, and pursued to a much more limited extent than they used to be. Yet it is no uncommon thing to find the young preacher, fresh from his metaphysics or his philosophy, touching upon them just to a sufficient extent to exhaust and dissipate the attention of his audience before he comes to more important and more welcome matter; or indulging in allusions, and employing phraseology with reference to them wholly unintelligible to the mass. Others, and they form a much larger class, are fond of subjects which are only one degree less useful, and which, though they ought not to be excluded from the pulpit, need to be very rarely entered upon. We allude to the discussions connected with 'Natural Theology,' and the first 'Principles of Morals.' Such preachers are continually proving that there is a God, to those who readily admit there is a divine revelation; that the marks of design in the universe prove that there is an intelligent cause, to those who never had a single doubt upon the subject; that death is not an eternal sleep, to those who find no difficulty in admitting that there is a heaven and a hell; that man is a moral agent, to those who cannot even conceive that he can be otherwise; and that those first principles of ethics are certainly true, which even savages themselves would be ashamed to disavow. We say not that such topics should be excluded from the pulpit, but only that they should form a very inferior element in its ordinary prelections. The Atheist and Deist, though rarely found in Christian congregations, should not be entirely neglected; and those who are neither the one nor the other should certainly be in possession of arguments which may serve to confute both, and to give an intelligent reason 'of the 'hope that is in them.' But it may safely be taken for granted in ordinary cases, that the great bulk of those who attend any Christian place of worship already believe all these things; in a word, admit the truth of that revelation, the exposition and enforcement of which are the preacher's proper object. What should we say to a member of Parliament who should treat the House of Commons (characteristically impatient of whatever does not bear on practical objects) to formal disquisitions on points on which all the members are agreed;—on the first principles of law and government, for example; or on any of those abstract questions which were discussed properly enough by Filmer and Locke. Allusions to such matters, so far as they bear on the matter in hand, and brief references to general principles which embrace the particular instances under discussion, are all that would be tolerated.

Even where the topics are not such as are fairly open to censure, a large class of preachers, especially amongst the young,

grievously err by investing them with the technicalities of science and philosophy; either because they foolishly suppose they thereby give their compositions a more philosophical air, or because they disdain the homely and the vulgar. We remember hearing of a worthy man of this class, who having occasion to tell his audience the simple truth, that there was not one gospel for the rich and another for the poor, informed them, that 'if they 'would not be saved on "general principles," they could not be 'saved at all!' With such men it is not sufficient to say, that such and such a thing must be, but there is always a 'moral or physical necessity' for it. The will is too old-fashioned a thing to be mentioned, and every thing is done by volition; duty is expanded into 'moral obligation;' men not only *ought* to do this, that, or the other, it is always by 'some principle of their moral nature;' they not only *like* to do so and so, but they are 'impelled by some natural propensity;' men not only *think* and *do*, but they are never represented as thinking and doing without some parade of their 'intellectual processes and active powers.' Such discourses are full of 'moral beauty,' and 'necessary relations,' and 'philosophical demonstrations,' and 'laws of nature,' and '*a priori* and *a posteriori* arguments.' If some simple fact of physical science is referred to in the way of argument or illustration, it cannot be presented in common language, but must be exhibited in the pomp of the most approved scientific technicalities. If there be a common and scientific name for the same object, ten to one that the latter is adopted. Heat straightway becomes 'caloric,' lightning, the 'electric fluid;' instead of plants and animals, we are surrounded by 'organized substances;' life is nothing half so good as the 'vital principle;' phenomena of all kinds are very plentiful; these phenomena are 'developed' and 'combined,' and 'analysed,' and, in short, done every thing with, except being made intelligible. Not only is such language as this obscurely understood, or not understood at all, but even if perfectly understood, must necessarily be far less effective than those simple terms of common life, which for the most part may be substituted for them. The sermons of Augustus William Hare, indicated at the head of this article, may serve to show how the abstract terms of philosophy may be advantageously translated into simple and racy English.*

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* The following extract from Dr Campbell's 'Lectures on Pulpit Elo-'quence' is worth notice.—'There is indeed a sort of literary diction, 'which sometimes the inexperienced are ready to fall into insensibly, from 'their having been much more accustomed to the school and to the closet,

Equally at variance with common sense are the topics which *some few* preachers, much addicted to Biblical criticism, but strangely ignorant of its practical uses, and the limits within which alone it can be properly applied, sometimes think proper to introduce into sermons. Their talk is much of 'collations of 'manuscripts,' of 'various readings,' of the 'Vulgate,' of 'Coptic and Syriac versions,' of 'interpolations,' of the 'original 'languages,' of 'Hebrew points,' &c. &c. &c. They totally forget, if they ever knew, that all these things are the mere instruments with which they work; and that the *results*, expressed in simple language, and without any ostentatious technicalities, are all with which the people have to do. If such a man were building a house, he would doubtless suffer the scaffolding to stand about it as a notable embellishment; or if he were employed to lay down a carpet, he would leave the hammer and nails upon the floor as memorials of his labour and ingenuity.

The selection of inappropriate topics is the more inexcusable, when we consider the large provision of subjects of enduring and universal interest which is made in the very book which the preacher professes to interpret. He may freely expatiate over

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'to the works of some particular schemer in philosophy, than to the scenes 'of real life and conversation. This fault, though akin to the former, 'is not so bad; as it may be without affectation, and when there is no 'special design of catching applause. It is, indeed, most commonly the 'consequence of an immoderate attachment to some one or other of the 'various systems of ethics or theology that have in modern times been 'published, and obtained a vogue among their respective partisans. 'Thus the zealous disciple of Shaftesbury, Akenside, and Hutcheson is 'no sooner licensed to preach the gospel, than, with the best intentions 'in the world, he harangues the people from the pulpit on the moral 'sense and universal benevolence; he sets them to enquire whether 'there be a perfect conformity in their affections to the supreme sym'metry established in the universe; he is full of the sublime and beau'tiful in things, the moral objects of right and wrong, and the propor'tional affection of a rational creature towards them. He speaks much 'of the inward music of the mind, the harmony and the dissonance of 'the passions, and seems, by his way of talking, to imagine, that if a man 'have this same moral sense, which he considers as the mental ear, in 'due perfection, he may tune his soul with as much ease as a musician 'tunes his musical instrument. The disciple of Dr Clarke, on the con'trary, talks to us in somewhat of a soberer strain and less pompous 'phrase, but not a jot more edifying, about unalterable reason and the 'eternal fitness of things, about the conformity of our actions to their 'immutable relations and essential differences.'—(Lecture III.)

the ample circle of its doctrines and precepts, in all their applications to the endless diversities of life, and the endless peculiarities of individual character; he may find an equally legitimate province in the interpretation of difficult passages, or the reconciliation of apparent discrepancies; in the illustration of manners, customs, and antiquities; and in the elucidation of those ever varied and deeply interesting narratives in which, for the profoundest reasons, the doctrines of Scripture are every where imbedded; as if for the very purpose both of securing the requisite variety in pulpit discourses, and preventing the truths of religion from assuming the form of naked abstractions. Well would it be if in this respect, as well as in others, the preacher would make the Bible the object of his sedulous imitation. It is every where a practical book; it contains no over-curious speculations, no superfluous subtleties. On the contrary, it has often been remarked, that there is a singular silence maintained in that volume on all that tends merely to gratify our curiosity. The very mysteries it discloses, it discloses only so far as is necessary for some practical purpose; whilst it every where views man just as in common life man views himself and his fellows—recognising at once, without discussion, all those facts connected with our intellectual and moral constitution, the true theory of which has occasioned such endless differences and enquiries in the schools.

If the topics selected by the preacher have often been very little calculated to inspire interest in the mass of a common audience, it is equally true, that where they are liable to no such objection, the mode of treating them has as often been any thing but popular. The argumentation is often too subtle or too comprehensive; or a too solicitously logical form is given to its expression. Unity of subject, indeed, there ought to be, and must be; that is, where the discourse is a 'sermon,' and not an 'exposition.' But it is one thing to exhibit that one subject by rapidly and powerfully touching those points which the common mind can seize and appreciate, and quite another to exhibit it after the manner of Euclid or Dr Clarke. Unity of subject is a characteristic of Demosthenes; but continuous or subtle ratiocination never is. He *reasons*, indeed, perpetually, for reasoning, as already said, is the staple of all effective eloquence; but never was a truer criticism than that of Lord Brougham—'that his reasonings are not of the 'nature of continuous demonstration, and by no means re-'semble a chain of mathematical or metaphysical arguments.' The following observations are well worthy the attention of every speaker:—'If by this,' (the assertion that Demosthenes is chiefly characterised by reasoning,) 'is only meant that he never wan-

'ders from the subject, that each remark tells upon the matter 'in hand, that all his illustrations are brought to bear upon the 'point, and that he is never found making any step in any direc- 'tion which does not advance his main object, and lead towards 'the conclusion to which he is striving to bring his hearers, 'the observation is perfectly just; for this is a distinguishing 'feature in the character of his eloquence. It is not, indeed, his 'grand excellence, because every thing depends upon the manner 'in which he pursues this course; the course itself being one quite 'as open to the humblest mediocrity as to the highest genius. 'But if it is meant to be said that those Attic orators, and especi- 'cially their great chief, made speeches in which long chains of 'elaborated reasoning are to be found, nothing can be less like 'the truth. *A variety of topics are handled in succession, all cal- 'culated to strike the audience.*'

We admit, however, that it is impossible to lay down any universal rule on this point. Different men will treat their subjects with more or less of logical severity, according to the structure of their own understandings; and, what is more, will form to themselves audiences who will appreciate their methods. A general caution against the extremes adverted to, is all that can be given. But in order more effectually to guard against the faults in question, we are inclined to believe that it would be well if the ancient system of 'Homilies,' or expositions of considerable passages, were more frequently resorted to. If well executed, especially when the subjects are historical, we are disposed to think they would both be more fruitful of instruction, and secure, by variety of topics, a stronger hold upon the attention of a common audience. We are aware, indeed, that to present such subjects judiciously, to make the transitions easy and natural, and to secure something like unity of plan, notwithstanding the great variety of the materials, would require quite as much labour as the construction of a sermon on some single topic—probably more. And for this very reason we do not think it would be at all fair to judge of the effects of such expositions by what commonly pass under that name, in which a large portion of text is often taken in order to *save* trouble; —the preacher erroneously supposing, that where he has so much to talk about he cannot fail to have enough to say, and that he may therefore dispense with a diligent preparation. He forgets that if the field be very wide, there may be the greater danger, unless he takes due care, of losing himself in it. We have heard of a preacher of this stamp, who alleged as a reason for resorting to the expository method, that when he was 'persecuted in one

'text, he could flee unto another.' Chrysostom, in his very best moods, admirably exemplifies the homiletic style here contended for.*

As we have said that we wish preachers would let the Scriptures determine for them to what classes of subjects they should limit themselves, so we wish that they would imitate the same book in their general mode of treating the topics it supplies. There, assuredly, as Lord Brougham says of Demosthenes, the reasonings are not 'chains of continuous ratiocination.' The book is constructed with far too profound a knowledge of human nature for *that*. To use the expressive language already quoted, 'a va-'riety of topics are handled in succession, all calculated to strike 'the common mind.' This is the very characteristic of the discourses of our Lord; and in this, as well as in all other respects, they are worthy of the profound study of the Christian preacher.

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* Whitfield's sermons very often consist of little more than a familiar and lively exposition of a parable or some short portion of narrative; and to this we have no doubt they owed no slight degree of their popularity. The sermons of Whitfield have come down to us in a very imperfect form. They are, for the most part, mere notes of what he said. It has often been remarked that his sermons are strangely destitute of vigorous or original thought. Though it is certain they have greatly suffered from the mutilated form in which they have reached us, we must confess it does not appear to us that the sermons are very deficient in those qualities of thought or expression which we have represented as so essential to popular eloquence. It is true they often want method and arrangement, are disfigured by repetitions, extravagancies, and frequent and gross violations of taste. These are to be attributed partly to the cause above specified; that is, the imperfect manner in which his sermons have been preserved, partly to the character of his own mind, and partly to the age. If, indeed, any one look for profound speculation or continuous and subtle reasoning in these sermons, he will be disappointed; but so far from wondering on that account that they should have produced such an effect, he will feel, if he know any thing of the philosophy of popular eloquence, that they could not have produced such an effect, if they had been characterised by these qualities. But they could not have been destitute of the principal qualities, whether of thought or of style, which constitute popular eloquence; and we think that even now, amidst great deformities, those qualities may still be not obscurely traced in them. Preaching, of which the fastidious Hume said, that it was 'worth going twenty miles to hear it,'—which interested the infidel Bolingbroke,—and warmed even the cool and cautious Franklin for once into enthusiasm, must have possessed great merit, independently of the charms of voice, gesture, and manner.

A few philosophers would, no doubt, prefer a very different method; and have often very unphilosophically complained of Scripture, because its method is not their method. But we are not speaking of what philosophers would best like, but what is most calculated to impress the common mind.

We shall now proceed to offer a few observations on those properties of style which peculiarly belong to the most effective eloquence. We remarked that it is characterised by that brief, rapid, familiar, and natural manner which a mind in earnest ever assumes. It is best illustrated by the style of a man engaged in conversation on some serious subject—intent, for example, on convincing his neighbour of some important truth, or persuading him to some course of conduct. The public speaker will often manifest, it is true, greater dignity or greater vehemence, (the natural result of speaking on a more important theme, and to a larger audience,) but there will be the same general characteristics still; the same colloquial, but never vulgar diction; the same homely illustrations; the same brevity of expression;—in a word, all those peculiarities which mark a man absorbed in his subject, and simply anxious to give the most forcible expression to his thoughts and feelings. It is not very easy to give an analysis of this peculiar style by an enumeration of its qualities; but it is instantly recognised wherever it is found, whether addressed to the eye or to the ear.

The chief characteristics of this peculiar style are, abhorrence of the ornate and the glittering, of the pompous and the florid; jealousy of epithets, a highly idiomatic and homely diction, a love of brevity and condensation, a freedom from stateliness and formality; rapid changes of construction, frequent recurrence to the interrogative—not to mention numberless other indications of vivacity and animation, marked in speech by the most rapid and varied changes of voice and gesture. Of all its characteristics, the most striking and the most universal is the moderate use of the imagination. Now, as lively emotion always stimulates the imagination, it may at first sight appear paradoxical that this should be a characteristic at all. But a little reflection will explain this; for every one must recollect that if a speaker is in earnest, he never employs his imagination as the poet does, merely to delight us; nor indeed to delight us at all—except as appropriate imagery, though used for another object, necessarily imparts pleasure. For this reason, illustrations are selected always with a reference to their force rather than their beauty; and are very generally marked more by their homely propriety than by their grace and elegance. For the same reason, wherever it is possible, they are thrown into the brief form of

metaphor; and here Aristotle, with his usual sagacity, observes that the metaphor is the only trope in which the orator may freely indulge. Every thing marks the man intent upon serious business, whose sole anxiety is to convey his meaning with as much precision and energy as possible to the minds of his auditors. But with the poet, whose very object is to delight us, or even with the prose writer, in those species of prose which have the same object, the case is widely different. He may employ two or more images, if they are but appropriate and elegant, where the orator would employ but one, and that perhaps the simplest and homeliest; he may throw in an epithet merely to suggest some picturesque circumstance, or to give greater minuteness and vivacity to description; he may sometimes indulge in a more flowing and graceful expression than the orator would venture upon; that is, whenever harmony will better answer his object than energy. What does it matter to him who is walking for walking's sake, how long he lingers amidst the beautiful, or how often he pauses to drink in at leisure the melody and the fragrance of nature? But the man who is pressing on to his journey's end, cannot afford time for such luxurious loitering. The utmost he can do is to snatch here and there a homely floweret from the dusty hedgerow, and eagerly pursue his way. So delicate is the perception attained by a highly cultivated taste of the proprieties of all grave and earnest composition, that it not only feels at enmity with the meretricious or viciously ornate, but immediately perceives that the greatest beauties of certain species of prose composition would become little better than downright bombast, if transplanted into any composition the object of which was serious. We may illustrate this by referring to a passage of acknowledged beauty—the description, in the *Antiquary*, of the sunset preceding the storm there so grandly delineated.' The sun was now 'resting his huge disc upon the edge of the level ocean, and 'gilded the accumulation of towering clouds through which he 'had travelled the livelong day, and which now assembled on 'all sides, like misfortunes and disasters around a sinking empire 'and falling monarch. Still, however, his dying splendour gave 'a sombre magnificence to the massive congregation of vapours, 'forming out of their unsubstantial gloom the show of pyramids 'and towers, some touched with gold, some with purple, some 'with a hue of deep and dark red. The distant sea, stretched 'beneath this varied and gorgeous canopy, lay almost portentously still, reflecting back the dazzling and level beams of the 'descending luminary, and the splendid colouring of the clouds 'amidst which he was setting.' No one in reading this passage

can help admiring its graphic beauty: the numerous epithets, considering the purpose for which they are employed,—that of detaining the mind upon every picturesque circumstance, and giving vividness and fidelity to the whole picture,—appear no more frequent than they ought to be. But suppose some naval historian, who has occasion to narrate the movements of two hostile fleets, (separated on the eve of battle by a storm,) should suddenly pause to introduce a similar description—would not the effect be so ridiculous that no one could read to the end of the passage without bursting into laughter?

It is against such a style that the young preacher, especially if he has, or thinks he has a brilliant imagination, is called to be jealously on his guard; and the more so, as the very themes on which he is often called to speak, really require a certain fulness of description to bring them with sufficient fidelity and vividness before the mind of the hearer. But let him beware how he throws in epithets, and employs images, merely because he thinks them beautiful, or picturesque. As regards real impressions, there is no style which has so little practical effect even when there is real genius in it. In general, that style is characterised by any thing but genius. There are some examples of it, however, to which this remark would not apply: it certainly would not to some of the sermons of Jeremy Taylor. That this style is often extravagantly admired is quite true, nay even the downright florid is not without its admirers; but it is not the less ineffective for all that. This very admiration—as it is too often the subtle motive which has beguiled the speaker into such a vicious mode of treating his subject—so it at once affords a solution of the seeming paradox; for it shows that the minds of the auditors are fixed rather upon the man than upon the subject—less upon the truths inculcated than upon the genius which has embellished them. The speaker has been ambitious to attract the eye to himself and his doings, and it must be admitted that he too often succeeds; but it is at the expense of what is his *avowed*, and ought to be his *real* object. If we cannot endure this style in the public speaker, even where there is intrinsic beauty in it, simply because we do not think it natural that a man in earnest should indulge in all this wanton dalliance with imagination, how much more repulsive is that far more frequent style which is but a mockery of it, in which there is a constant *effort* to be fine; where there is not only excess of ornament, but all of a bad kind? The former style may be natural to the *man*—as in the case of Jeremy Taylor—however unnatural in relation to the subject and the occasion; the latter is alike unnatural in relation to both.

As the severe style for which we contend is best illustrated by examples, we shall mention two or three of those who have exemplified it. And, as we are speaking simply of style, the authors to whom we shall refer are selected without relation to the systems of doctrine which they preached, and without implying either approbation or censure, in that point of view. If we were to mention the whole of those who have illustrated the principles here expounded, the catalogue would not be very long. It is true, that this style is more frequently cultivated than it was; and, if it were not invidious, we might mention not a few living preachers, both in the Establishment and out of it, who have attained it in a very high degree; some few in whom it is found nearly in perfection. But if we search the printed literature of the pulpit, it is not one sermon in a thousand that possesses any traces of it. The style is often that of stately or elegant disquisition—often of loose and florid declamation—but rarely, indeed, do we recognise the qualities of what Aristotle has happily and aptly called the 'agonistical' or 'wrestling' style;—that style by which a speaker *earnestly strives* to make a *present* audience see and feel what he wishes them to see and feel. A large portion of our sermons differ not at all in style from that of a theological treatise, or a philosophical essay. They may be read by the individual in the closet, too frequently without the slightest suspicion, were it not for the assurance on the title-page, that they were discourses delivered to a public audience. We would fain believe that the printed sermons of many of our preachers have in this respect done injustice to their ordinary discourses, and that they have been greatly altered previous to publication. In one case, and that a striking one, we know that this belief is well founded. We allude to, perhaps, the greatest of modern English preachers, the late Robert Hall. The few discourses which he so elaborately prepared for the press, are full of the most exquisite thoughts, expressed in the most exquisite language; but the style is almost every where that of disquisition, and in no sensible degree different from what he has exemplified in his *Apology for the Freedom of the Press*, or his work on *Terms of Communion*. Now we know that his ordinary discourses were distinguished by a much higher degree of those qualities of style for which we have been so earnestly contending; and we do not hesitate to say that, *in this one point of view*, we prefer many of the sermons which were imperfectly taken down in shorthand from his own lips, to the most polished of those compositions which he slowly elaborated for the press.

But though it is difficult to point out many specimens of the style in question, such specimens are to be found. Of all the

English preachers, probably those who have been most strongly marked by the peculiarities of the true genius for public speaking, are Latimer, South, and Baxter; and, notwithstanding some defects, and those not inconsiderable, they are also probably the preachers in whom specimens of the style we are speaking of will be found the most frequent and perfect.

The first of these certainly possessed talents for the most effective eloquence in a high degree. Indeed it may be said of many of the preachers of the Reformation, that though their uncouthness, quaintness, ridiculous or trivial allusions, wearisome tautologies and digressions, incessant violations of taste and disregard of method, render it difficult to read them, they are in many important points very superior to the more erudite and profound preachers of the next century. The subjects they selected were such as more generally interested the public mind. These subjects are briefly touched and rapidly varied. Though the structure of the sentences is often most uncouth, (as might be expected from the state of the language,) the diction is more idiomatic and purely English; while the general manner is decidedly more that of downright earnestness—more direct and pungent. This effect is in a great measure to be attributed to the circumstances in which they were placed. In that great controversy to which they consecrated their lives, they appealed to the *people*, and were naturally led both to adapt their subjects to the popular mind, and to express themselves in the popular dialect. The preachers of the next century were men who lived in seclusion—far from common life, buried among books, and incessantly reading and often writing in a foreign language. To all this it is owing that their subjects and their style are too often as little adapted to produce popular impression as those of Thomas Aquinas himself.

Of all the English preachers, South seems to us to furnish, in point of *style*, the truest specimens of the most effective species of pulpit eloquence. We are speaking, it must be remembered, simply of his style: we offer no opinion on the degree of truth or error in the system of doctrines he embraced; and for his unchristian bitterness and often unseemly wit, would be the last to offer any apology. But his robust intellect—his shrewd common sense—his vehement feelings—and a fancy ever more distinguished by force than by elegance, admirably qualified him for a powerful public speaker. His style is accordingly marked by all the characteristics which might naturally be expected from the possession of such qualities. It is every where direct, condensed, pungent. His sermons are well worthy of frequent and diligent perusal by every young preacher. He has himself taught,

both by precept and example, the chief peculiarities of that style for which we are pleading, in a discourse on Luke xxi. 15; on the words,—'For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your 'adversaries shall not be able to gainsay or resist.' In one passage of this sermon he takes occasion to expose the folly of that florid declamation to which his manly intellect and taste were so little likely to extend indulgence. In doing this, he introduces some brief specimens of the style which he condemns. Though he mentions no names, and though we might be unable to refer the expressions to any particular author, any one might be sure, from the expressions themselves, that he intended his admonitions for the special benefit of his illustrious contemporary, Jeremy Taylor. More bold than courteous, he has been at no pains to *invent* expressions for the purpose, but has actually selected them out of Taylor's own writings. There is certainly some malice in the passage; but it is itself so impressive an example of the style he is recommending, that we cannot refrain from extracting it:—

'*I speak the words of soberness*, said St Paul, and I preach the 'gospel not with the *enticing words of man's wisdom*. This was 'the way of the Apostle's discoursing of things sacred. Nothing 'here *of the fringes of the north star*; nothing *of nature's becoming* 'unnatural; nothing of the *down of angel's wings, or the beauti-* 'ful locks of cherubims: no starched similitudes introduced with 'a "Thus have I seen a cloud rolling in its airy mansion," and 'the like. No—these were sublimities above the rise of the apos- 'tolic spirit. For the apostles, poor mortals, were content to 'take lower steps, and to tell the world in plain terms, that he 'who believed should be saved, and that he who believed not 'should be damned. And this was the dialect which pierced the 'conscience, and made the hearers cry out, Men and brethren, 'what shall we do? It tickled not the ear, but sunk into the 'heart; and when men came from such sermons, they never com- 'mended the preacher for his taking voice or gesture; for the 'fineness of such a simile, or the quaintness of such a sentence; 'but they spoke like men conquered with the overpowering force 'and evidence of the most concerning truths; much in the words 'of the two disciples going to Emaus—*Did not our hearts burn* 'within us while he opened to us the scriptures?

'In a word, the Apostles' preaching was therefore mighty and 'successful, because plain, natural, and familiar, and by no means 'above the capacity of their hearers: nothing being more prepos- 'terous, than for those who were professedly aiming at men's 'hearts, to miss the mark by shooting over their heads.'*

* South's *Sermons*, vol. iv. pp. 152, 153.

We are tempted to give another short extract from this great preacher; we might select some which would still better illustrate our present subject, but they would be too long. The following is from his sermon entitled 'Good Inclinations no excuse for Bad Actions:'—'The third instance, in which men use to plead the 'will instead of the deed, shall be on duties of cost and expense. '—Let a business of expensive charity be proposed; and then, 'as I showed before, that in matters of labour the lazy person 'could find no hands wherewith to work, so neither in this case 'can the religious miser find any hand wherewith to give. It is 'wonderful to consider, how a command or call to be liberal, 'either upon a civil or religious account, all of a sudden impove-'rishes the rich, breaks the merchant, shuts up every private 'man's exchequer, and makes those men in a minute have nothing 'at all to give, who, at the very same instant, want nothing to 'spend. So that, instead of relieving the poor, such a command 'strangely increases their number, and transforms rich men into 'beggars presently. For, let the danger of their prince and 'country knock at their purses, and call upon them to contribute 'against a public enemy or calamity, then immediately they 'have nothing, and their riches (as Solomon expresses it) never 'fail to make themselves wings, and to fly away.'*

Of all the preachers of the seventeenth century, Baxter possessed as largely as any those endowments which are essential to the best kind of popular eloquence. He presents the same combination of vigorous intellect and vehement feeling which distinguished South; but conjoined with these a devotion far more pure and ethereal, and a benevolence most ardent and sincere. It is a pity that the slovenly manner in which he threw off his works, and which was too commonly the fault of the age in which he lived, has deformed so large a portion of them by repetitions and redundancies. Continuous excellence is not to be looked for, indeed, in any of the writers of that period. There are single passages of great power occurring here and there, but imbedded in a mass of deformities—gems of marvellous value and splendour incrusted in their native earth. But numerous as Baxter's defects in point of style are, he often presents us with passages which are genuine examples of the most effective pulpit eloquence, and if we had space should be glad to insert some of them. Baxter was almost equally distinguished by those talents which go to form a great public speaker, (hence his constant desire to make a direct and practical use of all his knowledge,) and by that excursiveness and subtilty of intellect

* South's *Sermons*, vol. i. pp. 278, 279.

which impels to a thorough investigation of every subject, however worthless. It is not a little ludicrous sometimes to see these two propensities of his intellect struggling for the mastery. At one time he forms a magnanimous resolution to forego speculations which are curiously useless, and the next is found deep in the discussion of them. Thus in his 'Dying Thoughts,' after telling us of the futility of the greater part of those questions which relate to the *modes* of existence in a future world, he proceeds very deliberately to expend about threescore pages in the examination of some of them!

Even in Jeremy Taylor, the exuberance of whose imagination too often betrayed him into puerilities and extravagances which are utterly inconsistent with true eloquence, and whose cumbrous erudition perpetually suggested allusions and phraseology equally inconsistent with it—passages which in a considerable degree illustrate the style in question are not seldom to be found. Take the following from his sermon entitled 'Christ's Advent to 'Judgment':—'And because very many sins are sins of society 'and confederation, it is a hard and a weighty consideration what 'shall become of any one of us who have tempted our brother or 'sister to sin and death: for though God hath spared our life, 'and they are dead, and their debt-books are sealed up till the 'day of account, yet the mischief of our sin is gone before us, 'and it is like a murder, but more execrable; the soul is dead in 'trespasses and sins, and sealed up to an eternal sorrow; and 'thou shalt see at doomsday what damnable uncharitableness 'thou hast done. That soul that cries to those rocks to cover 'her, if it had not been for thy perpetual temptations, might 'have followed the Lamb in a white robe; and that poor man, 'that is clothed with shame and flames of fire, would have shined 'in glory, but that thou didst force him to be partner of thy 'baseness. And who shall pay for this loss? a soul is lost by 'thy means; thou hast defeated the holy purposes of the Lord's 'bitter passion by thy impurities; and what shall happen to 'thee, by whom thy brother dies eternally?'

Of recent writers there is none with whom we are acquainted who, in point of *diction*, so well deserves to be a model as the late Augustus William Hare, to whom reference has been already made. We by no means assert that (as was the case with Latimer, South, or Baxter) the general structure of his intellect was that which plainly predestines a man to be a great public speaker. Of many of the qualifications of one, he was certainly possessed; and it is equally certain that his early death, and the humble sphere to which his talents were restricted, render it impossible to say what he might have become. He possessed, in an eminent degree, the art of making difficult things

plain; of setting obvious truths in novel lights; of illustrating them by familiar images; and of expressing them in a style habitually animated, and now and then singularly vivacious. His sermons to a 'Country Congregation' will probably disappoint, by their very simplicity, the highly cultivated and intelligent—for whom, indeed, they were never intended; although we cannot conceal our opinion, that the extreme simplicity of the language would often deceive even such readers as to the value and importance of the thoughts it expresses. But for an illiterate audience—an audience of rustics—they appear to us, in point of *diction*, perfect models of what discourses ought to be.

Their author was a man of powerful intellect, and of the most varied accomplishments, and affords a striking example of the success with which high endowments may be made subservient to a very humble object whenever a man is honestly bent upon so employing them. His great knowledge, instead of being employed for ostentation's sake, only taught him more precisely what was to be done, and how he ought to set about it. To the most extensive acquaintance with ancient and modern literature, he added no inconsiderable knowledge of Anglo-Saxon, and consequently possessed (what no speaker should be without) an acquaintance with the capabilities and resources of his mother tongue—with the vocabulary and idioms of the *people*. When he left Cambridge to undertake the charge of a congregation in a remote rural district, he resolved so to express himself that all should understand him; and his eminent success shows what may be done by one who forms a definite notion of the style he ought to adopt, and deliberately bends his best energies to attain it. The above-mentioned sermons to a 'country congregation,' we consider a greater triumph of his genius than all the splendid acquisitions he had made; and, if Dr Johnson's sentiment be true, that a 'voluntary descent from the dignity of science is 'perhaps the hardest lesson that humility can teach,' the triumph of his humility was still greater than that of his genius.

We are well aware of the many difficulties which beset the man who honestly resolves to speak only in the style we have recommended;—difficulties sometimes arising from the intellectual pursuits to which he has been necessarily addicted—sometimes from the peculiarity of his own mental character. Nursed in the lap of learning, and familiar with the language of science and literature; necessitated in the very course of those preparatory studies which form an essential part of his professional education, to read much in foreign languages, and to prosecute profound or abstruse enquiries, he will be apt, insensibly, to select subjects, or adopt a style utterly inconsistent with pulpit eloquence. He may still more frequently be betrayed into such conduct by affectation

and vanity. The very peculiarities of his own mental constitution may expose him more fatally to the danger, and require continual efforts to counteract them. If he be a philosopher, he will be tempted to indulge too much in abstruse speculation, or to treat those subjects on which he may rightfully expatiate in a *philosophic manner*, in language too abstract and remote from common life. If he have a brilliant imagination, he will often be tempted to employ it inopportunely or to excess, and will find it hard to restrain it within the moderate limits in which alone it can be useful. In order to counteract the accidental evils arising from the necessary prosecution of various branches of study, which, in relation to public speaking, may injuriously affect the habits of thought or of expression, it is proper that every one who is destined for such engagements should cultivate acquaintance with the most idiomatic writers—understand the genius and resources of his own language—the modes of thought and expression prevalent amongst the common people—and, above all, be diligent in the perusal of the best models of that severe and manly eloquence of which we have said so much. The success of Mr Hare may serve to show how much may be done by honesty and diligence. Nor can it fail to encourage the young preacher to know, that if he gets but a clear idea of the task which he has to perform, and honestly resolves to perform it, there is not one of those things which we have mentioned as possible impediments, that may not be made to facilitate his object. All that is requisite is a determination, that, as he has a practical object in view, every thing shall be strictly subordinated to it. Philosophy, for example, may be made useful; but it must be principally by teaching him to understand the mechanism and movements of that mind on which he is to operate. The audience must not perceive or suspect that the speaker is following the suggestions of any such invisible guide; or, if it be employed directly at all, it still must be unsuspected by the common people to *be* philosophy: it must be employed merely to insure greater accuracy and comprehensiveness in the views propounded; and to determine the circumspect limits within which every subject must be treated;—that is, so far, and so far only, as it may be made conducive to a practical end. In a word, it must be philosophy without the forms of it; philosophy in its working dress; philosophy that has learned one of its hardest lessons, that it is often the truest philosophy not to appear such. In like manner, the speaker may have a knowledge of Logic; but it must be seen only in the greater perspicuity of his statements and the greater closeness of his reasoning. He must never trouble the people with the mysteries of mood and figure, or bewilder them with a single unintelligible

technicality. He may possess a knowledge of Rhetoric; but he is not to confound his audience with the distinctions of trope and metaphor—with the uses of synecdoches or metonymies—with those principles of the human mind which give them energy—or the rules by which, at the very time he is speaking, he is regulating his own taste in the employment of them. Here is a 'hard lesson! who can hear it?' To be employing profound and extensive knowledge without suffering those you address to know any thing of the matter! To be contented to produce results which seem cheap and common, without once lifting the curtain to bewilder and dazzle the multitude with a sight of the imposing and complicated machinery which is revolving behind it!

It is happily unnecessary to caution the modern preacher against many of the abuses which pervade our older pulpit literature—especially that of the seventeenth century;—a period, notwithstanding, in which our most eminent preachers for the most part flourished. We allude more particularly to the abuse of *learning*. Many of the sermons of that age are full of quotations, absolutely unintelligible to the common people. Numberless passages of Jeremy Taylor, in particular, are little better than a curious tesselation of English, Greek, and Latin. The people, however strange the fact may appear, came not merely to like these displays, but to be sometimes discontented if they did not hear a great deal which they could not understand! It is recorded of the profoundly learned Pococke, that when he successfully studied to divest his pulpit style of the traces of erudition, and, with a magnanimity and good sense very unusual in that age, made it a point to say nothing but what the people could understand, his congregation absolutely despised his simplicity, and said that 'Master Pococke, though a very good man, '*was no Latiner.*' And South tells us, 'that the grossest, the 'most ignorant and illiterate country people, were of all men the 'fondest of high-flown metaphors and allegories, *attended and set* '*off with scraps of Greek and Latin*, though not able even to 'read so much of the latter as might save their necks upon 'occasion.'

Equally unnecessary is it to caution the preacher against those complicated divisions and subdivisions into which our forefathers thought proper to chop up their discourses, to the entire frustration of the very object they had in view, and the utter discomfiture of the most retentive memory. In one discourse of Bishop Hall's, we have counted no less than eighty heads, principal and subordinate—in one of Baxter's, not less than one hundred and twenty, besides a formidable array of 'improvements.' But the most amusing examples of this abuse are those recorded in Robinson's notes to Claude's Essay 'On the Composition of

'a Sermon.'—'But allowing the necessity of a *natural* and easy 'division, it does by no means follow that these are to multiply 'into whole armies. A hundred years ago most sermons had 'thirty, forty, fifty, or sixty particulars. There is a sermon of 'Mr Lye's on 1 Cor. vi. 17, *the terms of which*, says he, *I shall 'endeavour, by God's assistance, clearly to explain.* This he does 'in thirty particulars, *for the fixing of it on a right basis*, and then 'adds fifty-six more to *explain* the subject, in all eighty-six. 'And what makes it the more astonishing is his introduction to 'all these, which is this:—Having thus *beaten up and levelled* 'our way to the text, I shall not stand *to shred the words into 'any unnecessary* parts, but shall *extract* out of them such *an ob-'servation* as I conceive *strikes a full eighth* to the mind of the 'spirit of God.

'If Mr Lye is too prolific, what shall we say to Mr Drake, 'whose sermon has (if I reckon rightly) above a hundred and 'seventy parts, besides queries and solutions; and yet the good 'man says he *passed sundry useful points, pitching only on that 'which comprehended the marrow and substance.*'

Equally superfluous would it be to caution the modern preacher against the quaintnesses, the quirks and quibbles, the fantastic imagery, the alliterations, and other curious devices of composition, in which many of our older writers so much delighted. In truth, the tendency is all the other way. In the laudable effort to avoid the *vulgar*, there is not unfrequently a danger of sinking down into tame propriety. Our older writers, in their free and reckless resort to every mode of stimulating attention, were often, it is true, betrayed into gross violations of taste; but the very same audacity of genius also often produced great felicities, both of imagery and diction. The too frequent characteristic of modern discourses is what the Germans would denominate 'wasserigkeit,' 'waterishness:' there is little to *strike*, either the one way or the other; all is blameless commonplace, accurate insipidity.

We now proceed, conformably with the intention mentioned at the commencement of this article, to offer a few remarks on what we conceive to be the two chief causes of the mediocrity of the generality of sermons. One of them in our opinion is, that too little time is given to the preparation of public discourses. Far be it from us to involve in indiscriminate censure the thousands of preachers whom we have never heard, or to pronounce absolutely on the indolence or the industry even of those to whom we have listened. We only think that the failing in question is not a very partial one, from the internal evidence supplied by the sermons of no inconsiderable number of the different preachers whom we have heard. We are also willing

to admit, that the duties of the pulpit are not the only duties which claim the attention of the Christian minister; and that his other engagements, in an age like this, are neither few nor small. But we must also contend, that as his principal office is that of public instructor, the duties of that office must ever be his chief business; and that, to whatever extent he may undertake other engagements, he should sacredly reserve sufficient time for the due discharge of his proper functions. For ourselves, we must confess that the construction of a discourse which shall be adapted in matter, arrangement, and style, to produce a strong impression upon a popular audience, seems a task which requires much more time and labour than, as we conceive, are generally bestowed upon it. But we are convinced that this task, difficult as it is, might be performed much better than it generally is. We are well aware, of course, that there must always be an immense interval between the productions of a man of genius and those of a man who has no genius at all—between those of a fertile intellect and those of a barren one; but there are few men possessed of that measure of vigour and elasticity of mind, without which they have no business out of the rank of handicraftsmen, who could not, with diligence, compose a discourse which might be generally useful and interesting, at least much more so than discourses are often found to be. Prolonged study and meditation are never without their reward. Either some new materials are collected, or they strike by a new arrangement of them, or some new truth is elicited, or some old truth is exhibited under a new aspect, or illustrated in a manner which gives it an importance never felt before, and extends its influence from the understanding to the imagination, and thence to the affections. Such sources of interest as these are sure to reveal themselves, sooner or later, to the mind that honestly and diligently sets itself to seek them with the conviction that they are to be had, and that they must be obtained.*

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* How much force is imparted to the most familiar and obvious truths in the following passages, merely by the novel mode of exhibiting them? —'Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest.—If an inhabitant of some distant part of the universe —some angel who had never visited the earth—had been told that there was a world in which such an invitation had been neglected and despised, they would surely say,—The inhabitants of that world must be a very happy people; there can be few among them that "labour and are heavy laden." No doubt they must be strangers to poverty, sorrow, and misfortune; the pestilence cannot come nigh their dwelling, neither does death ever knock at their doors, and of course they must be unconnected with sin, and all the miseries that are its everlasting attendants.'—Wolfe's *Remains.*

Without intending to implicate Christian ministers generally in the charge now made, it will not be denied that the internal evidence of many a discourse justifies us in saying that it is widely applicable. In the first place, it can hardly be affirmed that those give time enough to their sermons who give none at all; who, if they are ever eloquent, are eloquent at other peo-

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'Though the arguments which the Christian hath for his faith may not be the strongest, yet a tree but weakly rooted often brings forth good fruit; and if it doth, will never be hewn down and cast into the fire.'—SECKER'S *Sermons*, vol. i. p. 20.

The following is a passage from Hare's sermon on the text, 'And forgive us our sins; for we also forgive every one who is indebted to us:'—

'Conceive a revengeful unforgiving man repeating this prayer, which you all, I hope, repeat daily. Conceive a man with a heart full of wrath against his neighbour, with a memory which treasures up the little wrongs, and insults, and provocations he fancies himself to have received from that neighbour. Conceive such a man praying to God Most High to forgive him his trespasses as he forgives the man who has trespassed against him. What, in the mouth of such a man, do these words mean? They mean—but, that you may more fully understand their meaning, I will turn them into a prayer, which we will call the prayer of the unforgiving man,—"O God, I have sinned against thee many times, from my youth up until now. I have often been forgetful of thy goodness; I have not daily thanked thee for thy mercies; I have neglected thy service; I have broken thy laws; I have done many things utterly wrong against thee. All this I know, and besides this, doubtless, I have committed many secret sins which, in my blindness, I have failed to notice. Such is my guiltiness, O Lord, in thy sight. Deal with me, I beseech thee, even as I deal with my neighbour. He has not offended me one-tenth, one-hundredth part as much as I have offended thee; but he has offended me very grievously, and I cannot forgive him. Deal with me, I beseech thee, O Lord, as I deal with him. He has been very ungrateful to me, though not a tenth, not a hundredth part as ungrateful as I have been to thee; yet I cannot overlook such base and shameful ingratitude. Deal with me, I beseech thee, O Lord, as I deal with him. I remember and treasure up every little trifle which shows how ill he has behaved to me. Deal with me, I beseech thee, O Lord, as I deal with him. I am determined to take the very first opportunity of doing him an ill turn. Deal with me, I beseech thee, O Lord, as I deal with him." Can any thing be more shocking and horrible than such a prayer? Is not the very sound of it enough to make one's blood run cold? Yet this is just the prayer which the unforgiving man offers up every time he repeats the Lord's prayer; for he prays to God to forgive him in the same manner in which he forgives his neighbour. But he does not forgive his neighbour; so he prays to God not to forgive him. God grant that his prayer may not be heard, for he is praying a curse on his own head!'—HARE'S *Sermons*, vol. ii. pp. 297-9.

ple's expense; who are contented to be wholesale plagiarists, and to shine Sunday after Sunday in borrowed finery—

> 'And cheat the eyes
> Of gallery critics with a thousand arts.'

We well know all the arguments by which this combination of vanity and indolence usually supports itself. The principal is, that a man of little talent can buy or borrow a much better sermon than he can make. We freely acknowledge it, and should not make so great an objection to the practice, if the preacher would avow the fact. This we think common honesty requires; but if it be felt, as every one must feel, that such an avowal would put the speaker to shame, or if *he* were past that, would make his audience ashamed for him, it is a tacit admission of the impropriety of the practice.

But we think the argument altogether fallacious. Supposing the preacher not to be destitute of that measure of talent without which he has no business to assume the office of a public instructor at all, we deny *in toto* that a borrowed discourse, whatever its merit, can be so impressive as one, even though intrinsically inferior, which has been made his own by conscientious study. The latter is the fruit of diligent effort; prolonged meditation will insure familiarity with the subject, and both together insure what nothing else can, adequate *emotion*. It will accordingly be delivered with an earnestness and glow of natural feeling, of which the reading of a borrowed discourse is altogether destitute. The treasures of theological literature—whatever is valuable in other men's thoughts—are freely open to the preacher; but he should ever seek to make them his own by new combinations, arrangement, and expression. The matter he borrows should be made his by chemical affinities with his own thoughts, not by mere mechanical appropriation.

As to those discourses which are commonly called extemporaneous, we mean extemporaneous with regard to the *expression*, for the bulk of the thoughts ought never to be extemporaneous, it is our firm belief that no inconsiderable portion to which the Christian communities of this country are treated, are hastily huddled up on the evening preceding their delivery. But we believe that not a few are quite as extemporaneous in relation to the *thought* as they are in relation to the expression. When this is the case, the fact usually proclaims itself with sufficient clearness; the painful process by which the mind is endeavouring to manufacture the material as the discourse proceeds, is abundantly visible both in face and manner. The frequent hesitation, the curiously bewildered look, the endless repetitions of common place, the wire-drawing of obvious truths—all unequivocally pro-

claim the speaker's unenviable confusion and embarrassment,—his utter bankruptcy of intellect. The wonder is, that any man who has felt the misery of such an exhibition, or subjected his congregation to the pain of witnessing it, should ever again allow himself to be found in such a painful situation.

Even of discourses, where the thoughts are not properly extemporaneous—and if the subject has been duly pondered, the matter properly distributed, and the principal illustrations selected,—we cannot but think this the most effective, as it is certainly the most natural mode of preaching—very few, comparatively speaking, are prepared with the requisite degree of deliberation and care. Owing to the hasty manner in which they are *got up*, the subjects are rarely sufficiently digested; the several parts of the discourse do not present themselves to the mind with sufficient distinctness; and, what is as bad, the great task of selection is not adequately performed after the materials have been got together. Knowing that he must have a sufficient mass of matter of some kind or other, conscious that there is not much time to get it in, and grievously fearing lest he should not have enough, the preacher takes every thing that offers, relevant or irrelevant, simply because it cannot be dispensed with. The process too often adopted in the manufacture of these extemporaneous discourses, we take to be this. A text is selected; critics and commentators hastily consulted; and as it is felt that every thing must be used, all that is collected about the text, whether relevant or not, whether calculated to instruct and edify, or quite unlikely to do either the one or the other, goes into the notes, simply because it cannot be spared. It is owing to this that we have sometimes heard preachers occupy a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes, exhausting the patience and dissipating the attention of their flocks in disposing of some whimsical, farfetched, and palpably untrue interpretation of the text; benevolently assuring them, at the same time, that such interpretations are utterly worthless, never dreamt of except by the solitary author who originated them, and perfectly inconsistent with common sense!

There are not a few fallacies by which some preachers impose upon themselves the belief, that less preparation is necessary than is really indispensable. They think that the topics on which they have to insist are so familiar and obvious, that it is easy to discourse about them to any extent. We should have imagined that this argument would have told just the other way; that it is precisely because the topics on which the Christian minister has to expatiate are so familiar and obvious, that the more diligence is requisite to set them in new lights;—to devise new modes of illustration, and to secure the requisite variety, by changing the

form where we cannot change the substance. In this way only can exhausted attention be stimulated and renewed; but in this way it can. As the instances already adduced will show, even the most obvious and threadbare truths may be made striking and forcible by a new setting.

Sometimes men will tell us that they prefer a *natural* and *artless* eloquence, and that very diligent preparation is inconsistent with such qualities. We verily believe that this fallacy, though it lurks under an almost transparent ambiguity, is of most prejudicial consequence. Nature and art, so far from being always opposed, are often the very same thing. Thus, to adduce a familiar example, and closely related to the present subject—it is *natural* for a man who feels that he has not given adequate expression to a thought, though he may have used the first words suggested, to attempt it again and again. He, each time, approximates nearer to the mark, and at length desists, satisfied either that he has done what he wishes, or that he cannot perfectly do it, as the case may be. A writer, with this end, is continually transposing clauses, reconstructing sentences, striking out one word and putting in another. All this may be said to be *art*, or the deliberate application of means to ends; but is it art inconsistent with nature? It is just such art as this that we ask of the preacher and no other; simply that he shall take diligent heed to do what he has to do as well as he can. Let him depend upon it, that no such *art* as this will ever make him appear the less natural.

A similar fallacy lurks under the unmeaning praises which are often bestowed upon *simplicity*. We love simplicity as much as any of its eulogists can do; but we should probably differ about the meaning of the word. While some men talk as if to speak naturally were to speak like a natural, others talk as if to speak with simplicity meant to speak like a simpleton. True simplicity does not consist in what is trite, bald, or commonplace. So far as regards the thought, it means, not what is already obvious to every body, but what, though not obvious, is immediately recognised, as soon as propounded, to be true and striking. As it regards the expression, it means, that thoughts worth hearing are expressed in language that every one can understand. In the first point of view, it is opposed to what is abstruse; in the second, to what is obscure. It is not what some men take it to mean, threadbare commonplace, expressed in insipid language. It can be owing only to a fallacy of this kind, that we so often hear discourses consisting of little else than meagre truisms, expanded and diluted till every mortal ear aches that listens. We have heard preachers commence with the tritest of truths—'all men are mortals'—and proceed to illustrate it

with as much prolixity as though they were announcing it as a new proposition to a company of immortals in some distant planet, brought with difficulty to believe a fact so portentous, and unauthenticated by their own experience.

True simplicity is the last and most excellent grace which can belong to a speaker, and is certainly not to be attained without much effort. Those who have attentively read the present article, will not suspect us of demanding more deliberate preparation on the part of the preacher that he may offer what is profound, recondite, or abstruse; but that he may say only what he ought to say, and that what he does say may be better said. When the topics are such only as ought to be insisted on, and the language such as is readily understood, the preacher may depend upon it that no pains he may take will be lost—that his audience, however homely, will be sure to appreciate them—and that the beter a discourse is the better they will like it.

We have stated as the other great cause of the failure of preachers, that they are not sufficiently instructed in the *principles* of pulpit eloquence. We are far from contending that a systematic exposition of the laws, in conformity with which all effective discourses to the people must be constructed, should be made a part of *general* education; or that it ought to be imparted even to him who is destined to be a public speaker till his general training—and that a very ample one—has been completed. But that such knowledge should be acquired by every one designed for such an office, and that all universities and colleges should furnish the means of communicating it, we have no manner of doubt. But it is sometimes said, that all systematic instruction of this sort tends to spoil nature, prevent simplicity, and encourage vanity;—in short, that it is sure to produce one or other of the forms of spurious or artificial eloquence. Now we ask, does the objector mean any such system as approves of such things, or one that condemns them? If the former, we know of no such system—if the latter, then he must defend the paradox, that such systems have, somehow or other, a tendency to produce the very faults which they expose and denounce, and to prevent the attainment of those very excellences which they describe as the only ones worth seeking! Now, is it possible for any sane mind to conceive that the ridicule which Campbell and Whately, for example, pour upon such faults, can foster in any youth a perverse passion for them? Or that the severity, simplicity, earnest business-like style, which these writers every where enjoin as essential to all effective eloquence, should provoke any man to the imitation of the opposite vices? The supposition is an absurdity. So far as such writers produce any effect at all, it must be to prevent the follies which they so unsparingly condemn.

Those who attribute vicious eloquence to sound criticism, have been guilty merely of the common blunder of assigning effects to wrong causes; only it must be confessed that, in the present case, they show singular ingenuity in referring them to the only causes which could not by possibility produce them. The simple truth is, that the bent of the young mind is so strong towards various forms of this spurious eloquence, that it resists the most powerful counteraction; and time and experience alone will avail, and not always even these, to give precepts their due weight and their just practical influence. To charge such effects upon such causes, is about as wise as it would be to say of some spot which had been but partially cultivated, and from which the weeds which nature had so prodigally sown had not been completely eradicated—'This comes of gardening and artificial culture.'

Youthful vanity and inexperience alone sufficiently account for the greater part of the deviations from propriety, simplicity, and common-sense, now adverted to. Those who laud nature in opposition to art, are too apt to forget that this very vanity forms a part of it. It is natural for a youth, whether with or without cultivation, to fall into these errors; and all experience loudly proclaims that, on such a point, nature alone is no safe guide. Who, that has arrived at maturity in intellect, taste, and feeling, does not recollect how hard it was in early life to put the extinguisher upon a fine metaphor or dazzling expression—to reject tinsel, however worthless, if it did but glare; and epithets, however superfluous, if they but sounded grand? How hard it was to forget one's self, and to become sincerely intent upon the best, simplest, strongest, briefest mode of communicating what we deemed important truth to the minds of others! Surely it is not a little ridiculous then, when so obvious a solution offers itself, to charge the faults of young speakers upon the very precepts which condemn them. It is sufficient to vindicate the utility of such precepts, if they tend only in some measure to correct the errors they cannot entirely suppress; and to abridge the duration of follies which they cannot wholly prevent.

But it is further said, that, somehow or other, any such system of instruction does injury, by laying upon the intellect a sort of constraint, and substituting a stiff mechanical movement for the flexibility and freedom of nature.

We reply, that if the system of instruction be too minute, or if the pupil be told to employ it mechanically, we can easily conceive that such effects will follow, but not otherwise. We plead for no system of minute technical rules; still less for the formal application of any system whatever. But to imbue the mind with great general principles, leaving them to operate

imperceptibly upon the formation of habit, and to suggest, without distinct consciousness of their presence, the lesson which the occasion demands, is a very different thing, and is all we contend for. One would think, to hear some men talk, that it was proposed to instruct a youth to adjust beforehand the number of sentences of which each paragraph should consist, and the *lengths* into which the sentences should be cut—to determine how many should be perfect periods, and how many should not—what allowance of antitheses, interrogatives, and notes of admiration, shall be given to each page —where he shall stick on a metonymy or a metaphor, and how many niches he shall reserve for gilded ornaments. Who is pleading for any such nonsense as this? All that we contend for is, that no public speaker should be destitute of a clear perception of those principles of man's nature on which conviction and persuasion depend; and of those proprieties of style which ought to characterise all discourses which are designed to effect these objects. General as all this knowledge must be, we cannot help thinking that it would be most advantageous. One great good it would undoubtedly in many cases effect;—it would prevent men from *setting out wrong*, or abridge the amount or duration of their errors;—in other words, prevent the formation of vicious habits, or tend to correct them when formed. Nothing is more common than for a speaker to set out with false notions as to the style which effective public speaking requires—to suppose it something very remote from what is simple and natural. Still more are led into similar errors by their vanity. The young especially are apt to despise the true style for what are its chief excellences—its simplicity and severity. Let them once be taught its great superiority to every other, and they will at least be protected from involuntary errors, and less likely to yield to the seductions of vanity. Such a knowledge would also (perhaps the most important benefit of all) involve a knowledge of the best models, and secure timely appreciation of them.

But it is frequently urged that, after all, the practical value of all the great lessons of criticism must be learned from experience, and that mere instruction can do little. Be it so. Is this any reason why that little should be withheld? Besides, is it nothing to put a youth in the right way?—to abridge the lessons of experience?—to facilitate the formation of good habits, and to prevent the growth of bad ones?—to diminish the probabilities of failure, and to increase those of success? Is there any reason why we should suffer the young speaker to grope out his way by the use of the lead-line alone, when we could give him the aid of the chart and compass; or to find his way to truth at last by a series

of painful blunders, when any part of the trouble might be spared him? Can any one doubt that a great speaker might be able to give a young beginner many profitable hints which would save him both much time and many errors, and make the lessons of experience not only a great deal shorter, but vastly less troublesome? And if this be so, we cannot see how it should be denied that instructions founded on an accurate analysis of eloquence, and compiled and digested by critics like Campbell and Whately, should altogether fail of producing similar benefits.

Lastly, it is urged that such instructions are of very little benefit, because, do what we will, we cannot *make* great speakers; that nature has the exclusive patent for the manufacture; that, like the true poet, the true orator is 'born, not made'—facts which we fully admit, but deny to be relevant. The argument contains a twofold fallacy. First, it is not true that even those to whom nature has imparted this heaven-born genius, can do themselves full justice without assiduous cultivation; or afford to dispense with early instruction. Certain it is, that none of them have ever thought it wise to venture upon such a display of independence. Secondly, if it were ever so true that such men could do without instruction, the cases are so few, that they would in nowise affect the general question. The highest oratorical genius is of the very rarest occurrence—it is as rare as the epic or dramatic, if not more so—there being but two or three tolerably perfect specimens to be found in the whole cabinet of history. The great question is, how to improve to the utmost the talents of those who must be public speakers, but who yet have no pretensions to the inspiration of genius;—on whom, in truth, no one ever suspects that the mantle either of Demosthenes or of Cicero has descended. Nor should it ever be forgotten, (for it powerfully confirms the correctness of the views now insisted upon,) that though the constitution of mind which is necessary for the highest eloquence, is very seldom to be met with, there is no faculty whatever which admits of such indefinite growth and development, or in which painstaking and diligence will do so much, as that of public speaking.

ART. IV.—GOETHE'S *Theory of Colours. Translated from the German, with Notes,* by CHARLES LOCK EASTLAKE, R.A., F.R.S. 8vo. London: 1840.

WE rose from the perusal of Goethe's *Theory of Colours,* in a frame of mind but little adapted for a dispassionate analysis of its doctrines; yet, certainly, with no desire either to expose the ignorance, or reprove the presumption of its celebrated author. Had this work emanated from an individual unknown to fame, or had its heresies been wrapped up in the idiom of a foreign language, we should not have contributed, in the one case, to force them into notice, or in the other, to drag them from their native and uninviting abode.

Although we have been long acquainted with the optical lucubrations of Goethe, yet it was only through brief details of hi experiments, and meagre accounts of his speculations; and neither we nor any of our brother critics felt ourselves called upon to enter into the controversy which he had excited. Our sympathy, indeed, with the genius of the poet, had overborne our dissatisfaction with the errors of the philosopher; and we were rather disposed to welcome into our sombre territory the bold, though unbidden minstrel, who could set to music the abstractions of science. This spirit of toleration, however, had its limits. His *Contributions to Optics* were alarming neither to the ear nor to the eye; but a large volume addressed to us in our mother tongue, and adorned with a name already embalmed for posterity, assumed the aspect of a challenge which seemed to admit of no compromise. Nor was this attitude belied by its words and its doctrines; and when we found that its author had assailed the mild precepts of Newton with the shafts of sarcasm and ridicule, and had marshalled against them all the mysticism of an unbridled imagination—all the ambiguities of allegory and symbol—and all the sophistries of German metaphysics, we felt it an especial obligation to arrest the currency which was thus given to error; and to protect our Inductive Philosophy from the inroads of a new school, in which the reason and the imagination were permitted to exercise a mingled and a dangerous control.

Nor has the force of this obligation been diminished by the perusal of the annotations of Mr Eastlake. In matters of taste we would cheerfully defer to the opinion of so distinguished an Academician; but when he maintains that the experiments and views of Goethe are more applicable to the theory and practice of painting than the doctrines of Newton and his followers, we must consider him as placing the principles of his art in direct alliance

with error; and as authorizing us to draw the conclusion, which, however, we do not draw—that the art of painting has no principles at all, or at least none which can claim kindred either with the results of science, or the deductions of reason.

Goethe appears to have first submitted his opinions to the public in two short essays, under the modest title of *Contributions to Optics;* but though they met with rather a severe reception from his scientific countrymen, they were yet sufficiently lauded by his worshippers to induce him to publish, in 1810, an enlarged work entitled *Farbenlehre*, or the *Doctrine of Colours*, occupying *two* volumes octavo, and a separate volume of sixteen plates, with descriptions, in quarto. This work is divided into *three* parts, DIDACTIC, CONTROVERSIAL, and HISTORICAL; but Mr Eastlake has translated only the first of these portions, 'with such ex-'tracts from the other two as seemed necessary, in fairness to the 'author, to explain some of his statements.' In later editions, when the discovery of the polarisation of light, and its remarkable phenomena and laws, had given a new form to optical science, Goethe found it necessary to insert an additional chapter on ENTOPTIC colours, from which Mr Eastlake has given some extracts in the Notes.

The volume now before us is divided into six parts, viz.:—1. *Physiological and Pathological Colours;* 2. *Physical Colours;* 3. *Chemical Colours;* 4. *General Characteristics;* 5. *Relation to other Pursuits;* 6. *Effect of Colour, with reference to Moral Associations;* and the doctrines expounded under these heads are, when necessary, illustrated with coloured diagrams, which occupy *four* plates. Mr Eastlake has added at the end of the work a few good notes by a scientific friend, and a considerable number by himself; the object of which is to point out the connexion between the theory of Goethe and the practice of the Italian painters. These notes are written with modesty and good taste, and evince the learning and talent of their accomplished author. The translation itself is admirably executed, and is, indeed, one of the best which we have seen of any German work.

Previous to entering upon an analysis of the work before us, we must endeavour to make our readers acquainted with the objects which the author had in view, and with the temper and spirit in which he has carried on his researches. This information will, we doubt not, be obtained more correctly through the following extract from his Preface, than from any observations of ours:—

'In the second part we examine the Newtonian theory; a theory which, by its ascendency and consideration, has hitherto impeded a free inquiry into the phenomena of colours. We combat that hypothesis; for, although it is no longer found available, it still retains a traditional autho-

rity in the world. Its real relations to its subject will require to be plainly pointed out; the old errors must be cleared away, if the theory of colours is not still to remain in the rear of so many other better investigated departments of natural science. Since, however, this second part of our work may appear somewhat dry as regards its matter, and perhaps too vehement and excited in its manner, we may here be permitted to introduce a sort of allegory in a lighter style, as a prelude to that graver portion, and as some excuse for the earnestness alluded to.

'We compare the Newtonian theory of colours to an old castle, which was at first constructed by its architect with youthful precipitation; it was, however, gradually enlarged and equipped by him according to the exigencies of time and circumstances, and moreover was still further fortified and secured, in consequence of feuds and hostile demonstrations.

'The same system was pursued by his successors and heirs: their increased wants within, the harassing vigilance of their opponents without, and various accidents, compelled them in some places to build near, in others in connexion with the fabric, and thus to extend the original plan.

'It became necessary to connect all these incongruous parts and additions by the strangest galleries, halls, and passages. All damages, whether inflicted by the hand of the enemy or the power of time, were quickly made good. As occasion required, they deepened the moats, raised the walls, and took care there should be no lack of towers, battlements, and embrasures. This care and these exertions gave rise to a prejudice in favour of the great importance of the fortress, and still upheld that prejudice, although the arts of building and fortification were by this time very much advanced, and people had learned to construct much better dwellings and defences in other cases. But the old castle was chiefly held in honour because it had never been taken, because it had repulsed so many assaults, had baffled so many hostile operations, and had always preserved its virgin renown. This renown, this influence lasts even now: it occurs to no one that the old castle is become uninhabitable. Its great duration, its costly construction, are still constantly spoken of. Pilgrims wend their way to it; hasty sketches of it are shown in all schools, and it is thus recommended to the reverence of susceptible youth. Meanwhile, the building itself is already abandoned; its only inmates are a few invalids, who in simple seriousness imagine that they are prepared for war.

'Thus there is no question here respecting a tedious siege or a doubtful war; so far from it, we find this eighth wonder of the world already nodding to its fall as a deserted piece of antiquity, and begin at once, without further ceremony, to dismantle it from gable and roof downwards; that the sun may at last shine into the old nest of rats and owls, and exhibit to the eye of the wondering traveller that labyrinthine, incongruous style of building, with its scanty make-shift contrivances, the result of accident and emergency, its intentional artifice and clumsy repairs. Such an inspection will, however, only be possible, when wall after wall, arch after arch is demolished, the rubbish being at once cleared away as well as it can be.

'To effect this, and to level the site where it is possible to do so, to

arrange the materials thus acquired, so that they can be hereafter again employed for a new building, is the arduous duty we have undertaken in this second part. Should we succeed, by a cheerful application of all possible ability and dexterity, in razing this Bastille, and in gaining a free space, it is thus by no means intended at once to cover the site again and to encumber it with a new structure; we propose rather to make use of this area for the purpose of passing in review a pleasing and varied series of illustrative figures.

'The third part is thus devoted to the historical account of early inquirers and investigators. As we before expressed the opinion that the history of an individual displays his character, so it may here be well affirmed that the history of science is science itself. We cannot clearly be aware of what we possess, till we have the means of knowing what others possessed before us. We cannot really and honestly rejoice in the advantages of our own time, if we know not how to appreciate the advantages of former periods. But it was impossible to write, or even to prepare the way for a history of the theory of colours, while the Newtonian theory existed; for no aristocratic presumption has ever looked down on those who were not of its order, with such intolerable arrogance as that betrayed by the Newtonian school in deciding on all that had been done in earlier times, and all that was done around it. With disgust and indignation we find Priestley, in his History of Optics, like many before and after him, dating the success of all researches into the world of colours, from the epoch of a decomposed ray of light, or what pretended to be so; looking down with a supercilious air on the ancient and less modern enquirers, who, after all, had proceeded quietly in the right road, and who have transmitted to us observations and thoughts in detail which we can neither arrange better, nor conceive more justly.'—(AUTHOR'S *Preface*, pp. xxi–xxv.)

These observations are, as the author himself states, a suitable 'prelude to the graver portions' of the Treatise, and we willingly leave them, without any comment, to make their natural impression on our readers. We shall therefore proceed to examine the 'pleasing and varied series of illustrative figures' which Goethe promises to pass in review before us; but, previous to doing this, we must notice the objects which Mr Eastlake contemplated in bringing before his countrymen the speculations of the German poet, and the general advantages which, as an artist, he conceives them to possess over the Newtonian doctrines. We had at first intended to devote the second part of the article to a separate examination of Mr Eastlake's annotations, as connected with the observations in the text; but we found that this would expose us to much needless repetition, in which our limits will not permit us to indulge.

'It may require,' says Mr Eastlake, 'some magnanimity in English scientific readers, to do justice to the merits of one who was so open, and in many respects, it is believed, so mistaken an opponent of New-

ton; *but it must be admitted that the statements of Goethe contain more useful principles in all that relates to harmony of colour, than any that have been derived from the established doctrine.* It is no derogation of the more important truths of the Newtonian theory to say, that the *views it contains seldom appear in a form calculated for direct application to the arts.* The principle of contrast so universally exhibited in nature, so apparent in the action and reaction of the eye itself, is *scarcely hinted at.* The equal pretensions of seven colours, as such, and the fanciful analogies which their assumed proportions could suggest, have rarely found favour with the votaries of taste; indeed, they have long been abandoned even by scientific authorities. And here the translator stops: he is quite aware that the *defects* which make the Newtonian theory so little available for *æsthetic* application, are far from invalidating its more important conclusions in the opinion of most scientific men. In carefully abstaining, therefore, from any comparison between the two theories in these latter respects, he may still be permitted to advocate the *clearness and fulness of Goethe's* experiments. The German philosopher reduces the colours to *their origin and simplest elements; he sees and constantly* bears in mind, and sometimes ably elucidates, the *phenomena of contrast and gradation, two principles which may be said to make up the artist's world,* and to constitute the chief elements of beauty. These hints occur mostly in what may be called the *scientific* part of the work. On the other hand, in the portion *expressly devoted to the æsthetic application of the doctrine,* the author seems to have made but an inadequate use of his own principles.'—(TRANSLATOR'S *Preface,* pp. xi–xiii.)

On a superficial perusal of the preceding passage, it may probably occur to our readers, as it did to us, that the alleged superiority of Goethe's optical views to those of Newton, in reference to art, may have arisen, not from any superiority, or even difference of a scientific nature; but from Goethe's having studied the style of colouring of the ancient masters, and availed himself of truths common to all optical doctrines. This explanation, however, is entirely set aside by the concluding sentence, where Mr Eastlake distinctly ascribes the superiority in question to the 'clearness and fulness of Goethe's *experiments,*' and to his 'reducing the colours to their *origin and simplest elements;*' and where he charges his author with making an inadequate use of his own principles. This will appear still more clearly from the following paragraph in Mr Eastlake's preface:—'But one of the most interesting features of Goethe's theory, although it cannot be a recommendation in a scientific point of view, is, that it contains, undoubtedly with very great improvements, the general doctrine of the ancients and of the Italians at the revival of letters. The translator has endeavoured, in some notes, to point out the connexion between this theory and the practice of the Italian painters.'—(*Preface,* p. xiii.)

Now these observations clearly convey the idea, that Goethe's theory possesses much merit in reference to art; because it was held by the Italians at the revival of letters, when the art of painting had attained a high degree of perfection, and because it stands connected with the practice of the Italian painters. Mr Eastlake's allusion to the *seven* colours of the Newtonian spectrum, and the proportional spaces which they occupy, as points abandoned by the 'votaries of art,' and by 'scientific authorities,' is an unfortunate one; not only because it has no connexion whatever with the relative merit of the two theories, but because the votaries of taste and the scientific authorities are in the wrong. Who ever doubted that there are *seven* coloured spaces in the spectrum? Frauenhofer, the most distinguished philosopher who in our day has particularly studied the spectrum, and who has given a beautiful coloured representation of it, enumerates *seven* colours; and though it is no doubt true, as the late Sir John Leslie, quoted by Mr Eastlake, has stated, that the colours slide into each other by indefinite shadings; yet when Newton said,* that by observations which agreed *well enough* with each other, the boundaries of the colours divided the spectrum 'after the manner of a musical chord,'—he stated only a fact which was true in reference to the spectrum which he studied.

That we may not again refer to the *seven colours* denounced by Mr Eastlake, we may observe once for all, that science and art are not at variance when philosophers say that there are *seven* colours in the spectrum, and when the painter alleges that all possible colours may be produced by *three* primitive ones, *red*, *yellow*, and *blue*. It has been recently found, indeed, that though there are certainly *seven* colours in the spectrum, yet all these *seven* arise from the superposition of *three* spectra of equal lengths, viz. a *red*, a *yellow*, and a *blue* spectrum. These *three* mixed in different proportions make *seven*, and the only defect in Newton's doctrine on the subject is in his statement, 'that to 'the same degree of refrangibility ever belonged the same colour, 'and to the same colour ever belonged the same refrangibility.' This, however, was a defect, not an error, and we may add, that the superposition of colours in the spectrum was as little known to Goethe as it was to Newton.

We come now to the examination of the original work. In the *first* part, or that which is devoted to *physiological* and *pathological* colours, Goethe treats of various subjects which are known in this country under the name of *accidental colours*, or

* Optics, Book i. Part ii. Prop. iii.

ocular spectra, irradiation, the *insensibility of the eye to particular colours, &c.* These interesting subjects are treated very briefly and imperfectly. A number of well-known facts are described with tolerable accuracy, and explained in the ordinary way; but we look in vain for many of those curious facts which abound in various works in our own language. The phenomena which Goethe has himself observed, are not described with accuracy; and when he ventures to give a new explanation of any physical wonder, we are sometimes left in doubt as much with respect to the accuracy of his facts, as we are with respect to the soundness of his reasoning. The following example of this may be both amusing and instructive to the reader:—

'A phenomenon which has before excited attention among the observers of nature, is to be attributed, I am persuaded, to the same cause.

'It has been stated that certain flowers, towards evening in summer, coruscate, become phosphorescent, or emit a momentary light. Some persons have described their observation of this minutely. I had often endeavoured to witness it myself, and had even resorted to artificial contrivances to produce it.

'On the 19th of June 1799, late in the evening, when the twilight was deepening into a clear night, as I was walking up and down the garden with a friend, we very distinctly observed a flame-like appearance near the oriental poppy, the flowers of which are remarkable for their powerful red colour. We approached the place and looked attentively at the flowers, but could perceive nothing further, till at last, by passing and repassing repeatedly, while we looked sideways on them, we succeeded in renewing the appearance as often as we pleased. It proved to be a physiological phenomenon, such as others we have described, and the apparent coruscation was nothing but the spectrum of the flower in the compensatory *blue-green* colour.

'In looking directly at a flower the image is not produced, but it appears immediately as the direction of the eye is altered. Again, by looking sideways on the object, a double image is seen for a moment, for the spectrum then appears near and on the real object.

'The twilight accounts for the eye being in a perfect state of repose, and thus very susceptible, and the colour of the poppy is sufficiently powerful in the summer twilight of the longest days to act with full effect, and produce a compensatory image. I have no doubt these appearances might be reduced to experiment, and the same effect produced by pieces of coloured paper. Those who wish to take the most effectual means for observing the appearance in nature—suppose in a garden—should fix the eyes on the bright flowers selected for the purpose, and immediately after look on the gravel path. This will be seen studded with spots of the opposite colour. The experiment is practicable on a cloudy day and even in the brightest sunshine, for the sun-light, by enhancing the brilliancy of the flower, renders it fit to produce the compensatory colour sufficiently distinct to be perceptible even in a bright light. Thus peonies produce beautiful green, marigolds vivid blue spectra.'—(Pp. 23, 24.)

There can be no doubt that the accidental colours of bright flowers may be seen under the circumstances described in the latter portion of the preceding paragraph; but we cannot conceive how the *very faint* impressions thus produced in the twilight, could be mistaken by any accurate observer either for phosphorescence, or coruscations, or a momentary light. When the truth of the original fact is well ascertained, it will not be difficult to find out its cause.

In his annotations on this part of Goethe's work, Mr Eastlake has treated of *two* subjects as connected with the art of painting, which we must discuss at some length. The *first* of these is the relation of *colour* to *shadow*, and the *second* the application of *accidental* or *harmonic colours* to painting.

1. Mr Eastlake's observations on the first of these topics are suggested by the following singular propositions of Goethe. 'Colour,' says he, 'is itself a degree of darkness. Hence Kircher is perfectly right in calling it *lumen opacatum*. As it is allied to shadow, so it combines readily with it.' And in another place, 'Shadow is the proper element of colour.' Now, the meaning of these cabalistic expressions is neither more nor less than this:—If we reflect a coloured light upon a colourless object, the reflection, if it falls on light surfaces, will be so far overpowered that we can scarcely perceive the accompanying colour; but if it falls on shadowed portions, 'a sort of magical union 'takes place with the shadow;' it lights it, it tinges and enlivens it. Now all this is true, or rather it is a truism; but it is true, not because the reflected light is coloured, but because it is luminous; and it is equally true of *white reflected light* as it is of *coloured reflected light*. The proposition, therefore, 'that colour 'is allied to shadow,' and that 'shadow is the proper element of 'colour,' is not more true than the proposition, that 'light is 'allied to shadow,' and 'that shadow is the proper element of 'light.' The general proposition ought to be, that 'light, whether 'coloured or colourless, is best seen where there is no other light 'to extinguish it by its reverse impression on the retina;' but it is still a mere truism which no artist needs to learn, and from which no artist can derive advantage. That 'colour is a degree of darkness,' is a proposition of the same character as 'that light is a 'degree of darkness.' If colour is obtained from *white light* by prismatic refraction, absorption, or any other method of *decomposing* it, or of insulating one or more of its elements, then the colour, or each of the colours thus produced, must be darker than the original white light, and in so far as they are so, they may be called *degrees of darkness;* but the same colours may be brighter than an inferior *white light*, and in so far as they are so they may

be called *degrees of light*. The next proposition of the poet is equally strange. 'As light,' says he, 'is allied to shadow, (or 'is a degree of shadow,) so it combines readily with it.' Now, we cannot see any connexion between this alliance and that combination; but, even if it did exist, we must draw the analogous conclusion, 'that because colour is allied to light, so it combines 'readily with it.'

Such are the absurd data which are regarded as auxiliaries to art, and on which Mr Eastlake descants at considerable length.* He begins by stating, that the opinions of Goethe seem at first sight to be at variance with a received principle of art, namely, the principle stated by Du Fresnoy in his *Ars Graphica*, and thus translated by Mason,—

> 'Know, first, that *light displays and shade destroys*
> Refulgent nature's *variegated dyes*.'

But he regards this opinion as much too positive and unconditional; and finally concludes that Goethe's 'idea of colour in 'shadow *is not irreconcilable* with the occasional practice of the 'best painters.'

In the course of his discussion Mr Eastlake informs us, that 'Leonardo da Vinci frequently inculcates the general principle 'of Du Fresnoy, but he as frequently qualifies it; for he not only 'remarks, that the highest light may be comparative privation 'of colour, but observes with great truth, that some hues are best 'displayed in their fully illumined parts, some in their reflections, 'and some in their half lights; and again, that *every colour is* '*most beautiful when lit* by reflections from *its own surface*, or 'from a *hue similar to its own*.'† These observations of Leonardo are full of science acquired from observation, and therefore perhaps are more valuable to the artist who acquires them; but the science of Modern Optics, utterly unknown to Goethe, will enable us to place all these flickering opinions, and contradictory statements, in a clear and unerring light.

It is well known, or it ought to be, that the colours of the spectrum itself may be formed out of light so dazzling that they overpower themselves, or they make the eye incapable of perceiving their own tints. This is especially the case with the *blue* portion, which under these circumstances appears a bright white light. In the case of reflected light, or, to speak more correctly, in the case of colours seen by *white* light reflected from the *colouring materials* used in painting, the effect depends wholly on

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* Note E. par. 69, p. 364.

† *Trattato della Pittura*, pp. 103, 120, 121, 324, &c.

the ground upon which the colour is laid; on the brightness of that ground, and on the colour and brightness of the adjacent parts of the picture. If the colour is laid in *shadow*, then, abstracting the influence of the adjacent parts on the retina, it is obvious that an increase of illumination—such as the light of the sun reflected from a single surface of glass—will increase the clearness and fulness of the colour; a second reflection of the sun certainly will, no doubt, still farther heighten the colour; and it is quite possible that a metallic reflection may still augment the effect. Nay, it is possible that the condensed direct light of the sun may still add to the fulness of the colour; but the *result* in all these cases depends wholly on the *depths* of the shadow in which the colouring matter is laid. But if we repeat the same experiments by illuminating the same colour when the light reflected from the adjacent parts reaches the eye, the results will be entirely changed, and the effect produced will depend on the brightness, colour, and extent of these adjacent parts.

In these remarks we have supposed that the illuminating colour is *white* light, which, as it contains all possible colours, must increase the effect of all the colours in a painting in the same proportion in which they are contained in white light. But when the illuminating colour is *not white*, a new principle comes into play, and new effects are produced. Leonardo da Vinci has expressed the general effect with great beauty and truth in the passage already quoted, when he says, 'that every colour is most 'beautiful when lighted up by reflections from *its own surface*, or 'from a *hue similar* to its own.' This result he, of course, derived from experience; but the science of this important part of the art of painting rests on the discoveries of Newton; and on the recent discoveries respecting the absorption of light. Goethe knew nothing of it whatever; though he might have acquired some knowledge of it had he paid more respect to the name and the discoveries of Newton.

The doctrine of Leonardo da Vinci is obviously contained in the following proposition of Newton,* which is universally true, and which, though applied by him only to reflected light, is equally true when applied to light transmitted through transparent coloured media. *Every body reflects the rays of its own colour more copiously than the rest, and from their excess and predominance in the reflected light, has its colour.* To illustrate this let us suppose that *white* light illuminates a mass of *red* lead: the red powder absorbs all the *blue* end of the spectrum, and reflects all the *red* end. If we now illuminate the red lead with light re-

* Optics, Book i. Part ii. Prop. x.

flected from another mass of *red* lead, or any other *red* powder which reflects the same rays, its *red* colour will be singularly increased; as it is capable of reflecting the rays which now fall upon it more copiously than any other. If we place the *red* lead in the dark, and illuminate it solely with light reflected from *ultramarine*, it will appear perfectly black, as it is not capable of reflecting one of these blue rays. Hence it follows, that if one side of a fold of red drapery is illuminated with red light reflected from the other side of the fold, the reflected red will be far richer and more brilliant than if the same side of the fold had been illuminated with even a larger portion of *white* light. But if the same sides of the fold receive rays from an adjacent *blue* drapery, its colour will not be increased at all by the light which falls upon it, as it is incapable of reflecting the *blue* rays. These effects are scarcely seen in the reflections from rich coloured draperies strongly illuminated; but they may be best studied in certain old gilt frames of pictures, in which the light reflected once or twice from one part of the gilding is again reflected from another part. In this case the depth and richness of the colour is surprising, and we would recommend it to modern gilders to avail themselves of this principle in giving an effect to gilding which it has never yet received.

In the case of transmitted light, the proposition analogous to that of Newton, above quoted, is as follows:—*Every transparent coloured medium transmits rays of its own colour, or rays transmitted through another portion of the same medium, more copiously than any other rays, and from the excess and predominance of such rays in the transmitted light, it has its colour.* In illustration of this, let us suppose that we have *two* bottles of each of three coloured fluids, viz.:—

Nos. 1 and 2 of port wine, which is *deep red.*

Nos. 3 and 4 of a solution of ammoniuret of copper, which is *deep blue.*

Nos. 5 and 6 of a solution of nitrate of copper, which is *deep green.*

Then, any white light transmitted through No. 1 will pass freely and copiously through No. 2, and the same is true of Nos. 3 and 4, and of 5 and 6; but not a ray of light which has passed through 2 and 3, or 3 and 4, will pass through 1 and 2, so that *port wine* is absolutely *opaque* to the *ammoniuret* and the *nitrate of copper.* In like manner, the *ammoniuret* will be found to be perfectly opaque to the *port wine* and the *nitrate*, and the *nitrate* perfectly opaque to the *port wine* and the *ammoniuret.* The reason of this is, that the rays transmitted by any one of these liquors are the very rays which the others absorb or stop. These

last results are applicable to cases in painting, where the colours transmitted through coloured glasses, are again reflected from draperies or coloured grounds.

In order that a well-coloured picture may be seen to advantage, it must be placed so as to be seen in light of the same colour and intensity as that under which it was painted. If such a picture is seen in the red light of sunset, all its *reds* and *yellows* will be rendered more intense, and all its *greens* and *blues* more evanescent; and the same effect will take place if it is placed in lamp or candle-light, because the red rays greatly predominate in all such flames. Hence, if a picture is painted for a hall where it is to be chiefly seen by candle-light, all its *greens* and *blues* should be overcharged, and all its *reds* and *yellows* subdued; or, what would be a safer process still, it should be painted in candle-light.

2. We come now to consider the theory of *accidental* or *harmonic* colours, and their application to the art of painting,—

> 'Those friendly colours which shall both unite,
> And each from each contract new strength and light.'

This is a subject of the highest importance in the art of painting, and in all the decorative arts. Few artists sufficiently acquainted with the physiology of vision have studied it; though there are many who have very correct views respecting the proper balance and harmony of colours in the different branches of their art. Nor has the subject of harmonic colours been investigated as it merits by philosophers; they have contented themselves with studying their phenomena and relations as impressions on the retina; but no attempt has been made to determine with accuracy what colours harmonize with each other, what degrees of intensity are necessary to maintain that harmony, and what are the physical circumstances on which their harmony depends. The leading characteristic of harmonic colours is, that they compose white light. Hence *two* colours may harmonize with each other, or *three*, or more. In the case of the pure and homogeneous colours of the spectrum, no *two* colours can harmonize with each other, because no *two* colours of the spectrum can compose white light. All the *seven* colours, however, must harmonize with each other, because *they* compose white light. Nothing, therefore, can be more absurd than the ordinary practice of placing the solar spectrum in what is called a chromatic circle, whose sectors are proportional to the coloured spaces, and then telling us that the two colours of the opposite extremities of any diameter are harmonic colours. They are not harmonic colours, nor accidental colours either, although their tints may have a resemblance to such colours. The colour which harmonizes with any *particular* col-

our in the spectrum, is one compounded of all the other colours but that particular colour. Thus the colour which harmonizes with the *red* of the spectrum is a mixture of the orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, and violet, which will be a *bluish-green*, differing essentially from any individual colour in the spectrum. In order to pursue this principle, let us suppose the spectrum to be *seven* inches long, and each of the seven colours to occupy an inch; then half an inch of the red will have for its harmonic colour a mixture of the other half inch of the red with all the other six colours; for since all the colours compose *white* light, the half inch of red, together with all the other colours, are the complement of the first half inch of red to white light. But if we take the 100th of an inch of the red space, then its harmonic colour will be a mixture of all the other colours, including 99-100ths of the red space. That is, the harmonic colours will in this case be 1-100th of red, with a mixture of 99-100ths red, with 6 inches of orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, and violet. But this last mixture must be *nearly white*, as it differs from white only by the abstraction of 1-100th of an inch of the red space, which will leave the mixture with an almost imperceptible tinge of *green*. Now, if we were to abstract from this mixture all the *pure* whitelight, and contract the remaining *green* into a line of 1-100th of an inch in breadth, it would form white light where it crossed the line of red light above mentioned. This result leads us to consider how far harmony of colour depends on the relative intensities of the contrasting colours; how far it depends on the masses, or extent of the two colours; and whether or not a large extent of one colour, greatly diluted, will balance a similar extent of the brighter colour. Before we enter upon this discussion, however, we must lay before our readers the following views of Mr Eastlake:—

'Every treatise,' says he, 'on the harmonious combination of colours contains the diagram of the chromatic circle, more or less elaborately constructed. These diagrams, if intended to exhibit the contrasts produced by the action and reaction of the retina, have one common defect. The opposite colours are made equal in intensity; whereas the complemental colour pictured on the retina is always less vivid, and always darker or lighter than the original colour. This variety undoubtedly accords more with harmonious effects in painting.

'The opposition of two *pure hues of equal intensity*, differing only in the abstract quality of colour, would immediately be pronounced crude and inharmonious. It would not, however, be strictly correct to say that such a contrast is too violent: on the contrary, it appears the contrast is not carried far enough; for, though differing in colour, the two hues may be exactly similar in purity and intensity. Complete contrast, on the other hand, supposes dissimilarity in all respects.

'In addition to the mere difference of hue, the eye, it seems, requires difference in the lightness or darkness of the hue. The spectrum of a colour relieved as a dark on a light ground, is a light colour on a dark ground, and *vice versa*. Thus, if we look at a bright red wafer on the *whitest* surface, the complemental image will be still lighter than the white surface; if the same wafer is placed on a black surface, the complemental image will be still darker. The colour of both these spectra may be called greenish; but it is evident that a colour must be scarcely appreciable as such, if it is lighter than white and darker than black. It is, however, to be remarked, that the white surface round the light greenish image seems tinged with a reddish hue, and the black surface round the dark image becomes slightly illuminated with the same colour, thus in both cases assisting to render the image apparent.

'The difficulty or impossibility of describing degrees of colour in words has also had a tendency to mislead, by conveying the idea of more positive hues than the physiological contrast warrants. Thus, supposing scarlet to be relieved as a dark, the complemental colour is so light in degree, and so faint in colour, that it should be called a pearly grey; whereas the theorists, looking at the quality of colour abstractedly, would call it a green-blue, and the diagram would falsely present such a hue equal in intensity to scarlet, or as nearly equal as possible,

'Even the difference of mass which good taste requires, may be suggested by the physiological phenomena, for unless the complemental image is suffered to fall on a surface precisely as near to the eye as that on which the original colour was displayed, it appears larger or smaller than the original object, and this in a rapidly increasing proportion. * * * * That vivid colour demands the comparative absence of colour, either on a lighter or darker scale, as its contrast, may be inferred again from the fact that *bright colourless* objects produce strongly coloured spectra. In darkness, the spectrum which is first *white*, or nearly white, is followed by *red*; in light, the spectrum which is first *black*, is followed by *green!*' *—(*Note C*, p. 358.)

In this passage Mr Eastlake has apparently decided *two* of the questions which we have proposed for discussion. He is of opinion that *two pure hues*, of equal intensity, differing only in the abstract quality of colour, would be pronounced *crude and inharmonious*. We presume that by *pure*, Mr Eastlake does not mean *homogeneous*; because, as we have already shown, *two homogeneous* colours cannot harmonize. If *one* is *homogeneous*, the

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* Mr Eastlake here treads on dangerous ground. In these cases the eye is in a morbid state, from the excess of action of bright light; and hence the law of accidental colours is here wholly overturned, *white* not giving *black*, as it ought, but various colours in succession. An argument, therefore, drawn from the effects exhibited in such a state of the retina, has no force.

In this note Mr Eastlake does not mention Goethe's opinions at all. We presume that, like ourselves, he could not understand them.

other must be a *compound* colour. This want of harmony, however, he does not ascribe to the *contrast* being too violent; on the contrary, he regards the contrast as not carried far enough; 'complete contrast supposing *dissimilarity in all respects.*' This position he corroborates by adducing the fact, that in the *physiological phenomena* (namely, of accidental colours) the complementary colour is so faint, that in the case of *scarlet* the harmonic colour is only a *pearly grey*, whereas, by the chromatic circle, it should be a *green blue.* On the same principle, Mr Eastlake decides that good taste requires a difference of mass in the *two* harmonic colours, 'as suggested by the physiological phenomena.'

Before we examine these conclusions, we must endeavour to ascertain as far as possible the principle, either optical or physiological, or both united, which renders *two* colours harmonic to each other. These colours must be compound, and they must together compose white light. But, in order to have this last property, the simple colours, which are the elements of each of the two compound colours, must have the same ratio to each other that they have in the spectrum; that is, they must have very different intensities. Hence it follows that the *two* compound colours can never be equal in intensity—that is, in their illuminating power—for we cannot measure intensity in any other way than by illuminating power. Here, then, a difference of intensity, or a contrast in intensity, as well as in colour, is provided for in the very nature of harmonic colours. Now the only reason that has ever been assigned for the harmony of two complementary or accidental colours is, that the physiological impression made by one of them has the same hue as the other; and consequently, when the eye is transferred from the one colour to the other, the coloured impression which is left on the retina will not cover the other colour with spots of a different tint. This principle explains clearly why two adjacent harmonic colours appear *brighter* by their contrast; and why any definite part of an object, such as the *gilt* index of a town clock, appears more distinctly on a *blue* ground than on any other. This is probably all that we shall ever know of the subject; but even this knowledge clearly indicates that the intensity of each of the harmonic colours should *far exceed* their intensity in the physiological phenomenon. Taking Mr Eastlake's example of *scarlet*, with its physiological contrast of a *pearly grey* colour, it is obvious that these cannot harmonize on either of the two principles of harmonic colours. In the *first* place, the union of the *pearly grey* and the *scarlet* will not make *white light;* for when we are impressing the retina by looking steadily at the *scarlet* spot, the *pearly grey*, which co-exists

with the scarlet impression, has no other effect in the combination than to deaden or whiten a little the scarlet impression. In the *second* place, if we put the *scarlet* and *pearly grey* tints to be seen side by side, the ocular impression of the *pearly grey* will not be scarlet, but will be *blackish*, and will therefore *spot* the scarlet when the eye is transferred to it.

From these considerations we infer, that an approach to *equal intensity* is necessary in *two* harmonic colours, and that the physiological phenomena cannot be a guide in this question. For this we may assign another reason. On Mr Eastlake's retina the physiological impression of *scarlet* is *pearly grey;* but in certain states of the body this *pearly grey* would rise to a decided *green;* and if we were to suppose the human *retina* to be quadrupled in sensibility, or in susceptibility of ocular impression, this could not alter the physical principle of harmonic colours. It would only bring the physiological principle into a closer approximation with the physical one. If, on the other hand, the insensibility of the retina was such that no ocular spectra were produced, would the eye perceive the harmony of *two colours* which compose white light? It certainly would not, unless there is some other principle which renders one colour harmonic to another beside the physiological one.

The next question relates to the *proportional intensity* of the two contrasting colours. It is clear that the *physiological* principle does not enable us to determine this. We must, therefore, consult the *physical* principle, and the result at which we arrive is, that the relative intensity varies with the nature of the colours placed in contrast; that the difference of intensity may be very great; and that each of the simple colours which compose the harmonic colours, must have the same ratio in their illuminating powers as they have in the solar spectrum.

The question regarding the *difference of mass* in the harmonizing colours is not so easily solved. We do not see the force of Mr Eastlake's argument on this subject derived from the physiological phenomena; and we dare not venture to call in question his decision, that *good taste* requires a difference of mass. Two equal, or nearly equal masses of harmonic colours in a picture may be disagreeable; but it may be also true, that *one* mass of a brilliant colour is *more* disagreeable, even though balanced by a large extent of a subdued harmonic colour. In a portrait, for example, where a *red* military dress is a necessary part of it, we cannot see that a *bright green* curtain of the proper tint, or an ornamental *green* cloth as a table-cover, would be in bad taste. We know a case, indeed, in which a large *red* morocco chair, which the sitter required for his seat, could not be placed in

harmony but by a *bright green* cloth upon the table. There was, in this case, no other way of obtaining a sufficient quantity of the harmonic colour: A neutral background, in which green predominated, would not have balanced the brilliant red; and in this case, as in many others, the artist is fettered by the nature of the scene which he is called upon to portray.

In a historical picture, where the principal figure requires a brilliant drapery of one colour, we cannot see any good objection, either to the use of a bright harmonic colour in another part of his dress, or in the dress or dresses of the subordinate figures; and we think we have seen modern pictures, in which the finest effect was produced by several such contrasts in the dresses of the figures, where there was little difference in the intensity and in the extent of the balancing colours. In many of the ancient masters these contrasting colours are often very intense and striking; but they are frequently *red* and *blue*, two colours which are always harsh when placed in juxtaposition, especially when the blue borders more upon *violet* than upon *green*.

We have hitherto supposed the harmonizing colours to be only *two;* but it may often be convenient, and frequently necessary, that *three* should be employed. If, for example, one of them is *scarlet*, then, in place of balancing it with *green*, we may do it by suitable *blues* and *yellows*, which, together, constitute the harmonic *green*, and which, along with the *scarlet*, would make *white*. The general principle, then, of harmonic colouring is, that *all* the different colours of every picture should, together, constitute *white* light.

In all these observations we have referred to *pure* colours, such as those produced by the combination of the prismatic colours; or by periodical colours, like those of polarized light; but as the artist is limited to the use of colours of a very different kind, great difficulty must be experienced in applying the principles of science to the practice of his art. There is no method but the usual physiological one of determining what are the harmonic tints of any of the colouring materials used in painting; and the painter must consult his past experience as his only guide in the future. We conceive, however, that some assistance, and that not inconsiderable, might be derived from direct experiments, in which the painter himself should judge of the relative effects of different colours, when placed in juxtaposition. In order to do this, we must combine *colours* with *form*, and the only ready way of effecting this is to place the actual colours on the palette, and reflect them into symmetrical forms by the kaleidoscope. In this manner we shall be able to judge of their mutual influence, and the more so, as we have it in our power to combine the harmonic colours in any proportions with regard to mass, and in any inten-

sities with regard to illumination. In the symmetrical forms which appear on carpets, and also in the decorative arts, we can judge of the harmony of colours as effectually as in a landscape or a historical painting.

The next part of Goethe's work relates to *physical* colours, or those produced by media which have no colour themselves; and these are again subdivided into *dioptrical colours* of the *first* and of the *second* class;—those of the first class being produced by means of 'imperfectly transparent, yet light-transmitting media;' and those of the second class by media in the highest degree transparent. The section which treats of the first of these classes of colours, is considered by Mr Eastlake as containing information of high value in reference to painting; and he has accordingly illustrated it with two long and interesting notes.

The doctrines laid down by Goethe in this section, are thus expressed in two distinct propositions:—

1. The highest degree of *light*, seen through a medium but very slightly thickened, appears to us *yellow*. If the density of the medium is increased, or if its volume become greater, the light will gradually assume a *yellow-red* hue, which at last deepens to a *ruby* colour.

2. If *darkness* is seen through a semi-transparent medium, which is itself illuminated by a light striking on it, a *blue* colour appears; which becomes lighter and paler as the density of the medium is increased; but, on the contrary, appears darker and deeper the more transparent the medium becomes. In the least degree of dimness, short of absolute transparency, this deep *blue* approaches the most beautiful *violet*.

One of the cases adduced by our author in illustration of these two propositions is that of the atmospheric colours, which are *yellow*, *orange*, and *red*, in proportion to the mass of air through which the light passes, and *blue*, such as that of the sky or of high mountains, when the darkness of space is seen through atmospheric vapours illuminated by the daylight. Smoke affords another example of appearing *yellow* or *red* before a *light* ground, but *blue* before a *dark* one. The blue colour at the lower part of the flame of a candle, is a third case of *blue* being seen opposite a *dark* ground. After mentioning other examples, our author gives the following interesting account of what he considers an analogous phenomenon:—

'A portrait of a celebrated theologian had been painted, some years before the circumstance to which we allude, by an artist who was known to have considerable skill in the management of his materials. The very reverend individual was represented in a rich velvet dress, which was not a little admired, and which attracted the eye of the spectator almost more than the face. The picture, however, from the effect of the smoke of

lamps and dust, had lost much of its original vivacity. It was, therefore, placed in the hands of a painter, who was to clean it and give it a fresh coat of varnish. This person began his operations by carefully washing the picture with a sponge. No sooner had he gone over the surface once or twice, and wiped away the first dirt, than, to his amazement, the *black velvet dress* changed suddenly to a *light blue plush*, which gave the ecclesiastic a very secular, though somewhat old-fashioned appearance. The painter did not venture to go on with his washing: he could not comprehend how a *light blue* should be the ground of the deepest black, still less how he could so suddenly have removed a glazing colour capable of converting the one tint to the other.

'At all events, he was not a little disconcerted at having spoiled the picture to such an extent. Nothing to characterise the ecclesiastic remained but the richly curled round wig, which made the exchange of a faded plush for a handsome new velvet dress far from desirable. Meanwhile the mischief appeared irreparable, and the good artist, having turned the picture to the wall, retired to rest with a mind ill at ease. But what was his joy the next morning, when, on examining the picture, he beheld the *black velvet dress* again in its full splendour. He could not refrain from again wetting a corner, upon which the *blue* colour again appeared, and after a time vanished. On hearing of this phenomenon, I went at once to see the miraculous picture. A wet sponge was passed over it in my presence, and the change quickly took place. I saw a somewhat faded, but decidedly light blue plush dress, the folds under the arm being indicated by some *brown* strokes.

'I explained this to myself by the *doctrine of the semi-opaque medium.* The painter, in order to give additional depth to his black, may have passed *some particular varnish* over it: on being washed, this varnish imbibed some moisture, and hence became semi-opaque, in consequence of which, the *black* underneath immediately turned *blue.* Perhaps those who are practically acquainted with the effect of varnishes, may, through accident or contrivance, arrive at some means of exhibiting this singular appearance, as an experiment, to those who are fond of investigating natural phenomena. Notwithstanding many attempts, I could not myself succeed in reproducing it.'—(*Art.* 172, p. 69-71.)

As there is no gum, or resin, or varnish of any kind that possesses the property of yielding blue or any other colour by being wetted, and as an extremely thin solution would not have exhibited that colour even if the faculty of producing it existed, we have no doubt whatever that the picture had either never been varnished, or that the varnish had been worn off; both of which conditions are extremely common. Taking this for granted, the following is, we think, the explanation of the above remarkable phenomenon; the accuracy of which we could easily have determined, had the picture been in our possession. The particles of bodies which produce blackness, on the usual theory, are smaller than those which produce *blue* or any other colour; and if we increase the size of the particles which produce blackness by the smallest quantity, they yield the *blue* colour described by Goethe

in the above experiment. The action of the water on these particles swelled them a little, and thus gave them the size which fitted them to reflect *blue* light. The following interesting experiment, which we have frequently made, will illustrate this explanation. Cut off the back of the eyeball of an ox or horse, so as to expose the tapetum or coloured membrane; when its anterior surface is perfectly dry, nay, when it has been dried for twenty years, it will appear entirely of a deep *black;* but if we wet it, it will gradually become of a pale *blue*, exactly like the black velvet dress, and the *blue* will sometimes rise to *green.* In this case, the colouring particles which give black, or reflect no light at all, are swelled by the moisture so as to reflect the rays next to black. When the tapetum is again dry, it resumes its black colour.

Before we proceed to consider the application of the influence of *semi-transparent* or *semi-opaque* media upon light and darkness, to the art of painting, we must inquire into the real physical circumstances of the phenomena described under dioptrical colours of the first class. Goethe wishes us to consider his two propositions above explained, (p. 116,) as describing an *universal* fact, a '*primordial* and *elementary phenomenon*,' 'at the limits of experimental knowledge.' 'We call these *primordial* phenomena,' says he, 'because nothing appreciable by the senses lies beyond them; on the contrary, they are perfectly fit to be considered as a fixed point to which we first ascended, step by step, and from which we may, in like manner, descend to the commonest case of everyday experience. Such an original phenomenon is that which has lately engaged our attention. *We see on the one side* LIGHT, BRIGHTNESS; *on the other* DARKNESS, OBSCURITY: *we bring the semi-transparent medium between the two, and from these contrasts and this medium the colours develop themselves, contrasted, in like manner, but soon, through a reciprocal relation, directly tending again to a point of union.*' *

Now, this property of semi-transparent media to which so lofty a position is assigned, is neither an *universal* fact, nor a *primordial* phenomenon. It is a mere *scrap* of knowledge, in which we neither recognise the system of facts to which it belongs, nor the physical law by which they are explained.

The physical principles which regulate the phenomena described by Goethe, are *absorption* and *opalescence.* In some media, both of these principles are operative, and in others, only

* 'That is, (according to the author's statement, 150, 151,) both tend to *red*, the *yellow* deepening to *orange* as the comparatively dark medium is thickened before *brightness;* the *blue* deepening to *violet* as the light medium is *thinned* before *darkness.*'—TRANS. Note on § 175, p. 72.

one. In the facts adduced by our author, the effects of both principles are more or less combined. In the case of our semi-transparent atmosphere, it is quite true that light transmitted through different thicknesses of it is *yellow*, *orange*, and *red*—varying according to the thickness passed through—and it is equally true, that when a dark space or *darkness* is seen through it, a *blue* colour appears; but the proper mode of expressing these two physical facts is this: When white light is incident on our atmosphere, *red rays* predominate in the light transmitted through it; and *blue rays* in the light reflected either from the particles which constitute its substance, or from particles suspended, or otherwise contained in it. *Darkness* has *nothing* to do with the matter. The *blue* rays are reflected as copiously whether darkness is present or not. When darkness is not present, the blue rays become invisible from being mixed with other light; and when darkness is present, they are distinctly seen, because there is no other light to render them invisible. If we now analyze the *blue* rays which have been so mystically associated with *darkness*, we shall find that they contain a great deal of *red* light; and if we analyze the *red* rays so mystically associated with *brightness*, we shall find in them a great quantity of *blue* light. When we proceed a step farther in the analysis of the *orange* and *red* light of the atmosphere, we find that the spectrum is crossed with black bands at different parts of its length—the *blue*, the *green*, the *yellow*, the *orange*, and *red* being more absorbed at one part than at another.

The next case described by Goethe, is that of the water of the ocean. 'The bottom of the sea,' he says, 'appears to divers of 'a *red* colour, in bright sunshine. In this case the water, owing 'to its depth, acts as a semi-transparent medium. Under these 'circumstances they find the shadows *green*, which is the com-'plemental colour.' Now this case is quite hostile to the *primordial phenomenon;* for it is well known that light, transmitted through a long tract of pure water, is *bluish*—becoming *bluish-green* and *green*, and *dirty yellow*, according as there is more or less vegetable matter combined with the water. The red light seen by the divers, if it was seen at all, was the *reflected* light. Here, then, in place of *darkness* appearing *blue*, it would have appeared *red*, and, instead of *brightness* appearing *red*, it appears *green*.

Modern science furnishes us with several very remarkable cases of *opalescence* in coloured media,* where one colour is reflected from particles of the medium, and another transmitted. If we dissolve

* As Goethe applies his primordial phenomenon to the effects of pigments, we are entitled to adduce the phenomena of coloured media in the discussion of the subject.

the juice of the chopped leaves of the *common laurel* in alcohol, we shall have a beautiful and brilliantly *green* fluid of great purity. When it is poured from the leaves, place it on a table, taking the cork out of the bottle which contains it; allow the sun to shine through the coloured fluid, and upon looking into the bottle through the neck, the most beautiful *red* tint will be seen radiating, as it were, from the fluid. This is *darkness* appearing *red*, to use Goethe's expression. When the fluid has lost its green colour by long exposure to the light, and is almost colourless, this *red* tint is still visible. The best way of displaying the *red* tint, in this and other cases, is to make the rays of the sun, when condensed by a convex lens, fall on the surface of the fluid, or through the glass vessel that contains it. The cone of condensed light will then appear redder and redder as it enters the fluid mass. The same property is possessed by a number of vegetable solutions, in which the colours of the reflected and transmitted lights are very various.

Another striking exemplification of this principle occurs in the green *fluor spar* of Alston-Moor, which is of a beautiful pale *green* by transmitted light; but, when properly examined, of a brilliant *blue* by reflected light. When a beam of condensed rays is sent through this spar, or through other varieties of a purple or bluish colour, its path is marked with the brightest *azure*. The same phenomenon is seen more delicately, but not with less beauty, in the most transparent pieces of the siliceous *tabasheer* found in the joints of the bamboo. The most beautiful and delicate *blue* is reflected from its interior, while the transmitted light is of a *yellowish* hue.

When opalescence occurs in very transparent media, the colour transmitted is, in all probability, the mere effect of the absorption of the colour reflected: that is, if *blue* is the reflected tint, the transmitted light is white light, deprived of that precise quantity of blue rays; but in coloured media, where there is no reflected light, the strong transmitted colours are mainly the effect of *absorption*. In a great variety of coloured media, no reflected light can be detected by the nicest contrivances; and therefore the transmitted tints must be considered as due wholly to absorption.

Such of our readers as regard Goethe's physical phenomenon as applicable to painting, will be desirous of knowing something more of its theoretical bearings. The subject of absorption has baffled the most distinguished philosophers of the present day; but particularly that class of phenomena in which nitrous acid gas, and certain other bodies, stop or absorb definite lines of light situated in different parts of the spectrum. In such cases there is a general and a specific absorption going on simultaneously, as we in-

crease the thickness of the medium; the more refrangible end of a spectrum gradually disappearing, while the specific absorption is extending on each side of other lines, till the gas becomes absolutely *black*, either from heat or thickness.

With regard to the phenomena of *opalescence*, which corresponds with Goethe's 'darkness appearing blue,' we think some light may be thrown upon it. It must have its origin in one of two causes:—1. The light may be reflected from heterogeneous particles disseminated through the medium, and leaving such a difference of refractive power for the *blue* rays, (when they are *blue*,) that these rays are reflected from every part of the medium. This doctrine may be illustrated in the following manner:—If we place *oil of cassia* in a thin film between two prisms of *flint-glass*, and examine the light reflected from the surface of the oil, we shall find it to have a decided *blue* colour. Now, the refractive power of oil of cassia and of flint-glass is exactly the same for the *red* rays, and consequently the *red* rays of the white light will not suffer reflection when incident on the oil; but as the refractive power of the oil and the glass differs for all the other rays, and most of all for the *blue* and *violet*, these last will be copiously reflected from the oil; and hence the transmitted light will have a *yellowish* or *reddish* hue. All this is equally true if the glass and oil possess *absolute transparency*. If we now suppose that the oil is diffused through the substance of the glass in atoms, and if we suppose a beam of light to traverse such a body, it would exhibit in the most perfect manner all the phenomena of *blue opalescence;* the transmitted light becoming *yellower* or *redder* in proportion to the thickness. 2. The medium exhibiting opalescence may not contain heterogeneous particles, but its own particles may be separated by vacuities; so that some of the light passing through the vacuities, and incident on the particles, may suffer reflection at their surface. That this is the case in *tabasheer*, and in certain *hydrophanous opals*, is almost demonstrable; for if we fill the pores of the *tabasheer* with water or alcohol, the *blue* light wholly disappears. On the other hand, in certain hydrophanous *opals* the absorption of water or oils is the means of producing the *opalescence*.

Fortified with the preceding facts and views, we are now in a condition to estimate the value of Goethe's doctrine *as an auxiliary to the artist*. The physical doctrine is, that a semi-transparent medium placed over darkness produces a bluish hue, or a cold effect; while the same medium placed over brightness produces yellowness or redness, or a warm effect: And this is supposed to explain what Mr Eastlake calls 'the very common, 'but very important, fact in painting, that a *light warm colour*, 'passed in a semi-transparent state over a dark one, produces a 'cold, bluish hue; while the operation reversed, produces extreme

'warmth. On the judicious application of both these effects, but 'especially of the latter, the richness and brilliancy of the best 'coloured pictures greatly depends.'*

Now we must deny, in the broadest terms, that there is any connexion whatever between Goethe's doctrine and the fact in painting now referred to. Goethe's primordial phenomenon is strictly limited to a *semi-transparent but colourless medium;* and how a property of such a medium should be gratuitously transferred to *a coloured pigment*, or 'to a light warm colour in a 'transparent state,' as Mr Eastlake calls it, we do not understand. But, admitting the propriety of the transference, it is incumbent upon the maintainers of this doctrine to prove that the semi-transparent pigments are *opalescent*, and actually reflect from their substance the *blue* rays which produce the cold effect. Our belief is, that they do not; and it would be quite easy to determine this by throwing a condensed beam of light upon a mass of the semi-transparent pigment, so that the superficial reflection should not reach the eye.

We therefore maintain, without the fear of contradiction by any competent authority, that Goethe has not explained the 'important fact in painting;' and that his doctrine has as little to do with *painting* as it has with *sculpture.* Nay, we go much farther, and maintain, that even if semi-transparent pigments were opalescent—if they did reflect *blue* light like smoke and air, and if this blue light so reflected were the cause of the coldness produced in the picture—still Goethe's doctrine would have possessed no peculiar merit; for the common doctrine of opalescence and absorption would have furnished the true explanation. An explanation, however, couched in the guarded language of science, is not apt to suit the taste of those who love paradox, whether in words or in sentiment. The bold charlatan who utters his dogmas in extempore responses, or in oracular antithesis, becomes in our day the accepted philosopher. Hence the value of the cabalistic formula, 'that dark over light is red, and light over dark is blue.'

Although it is hazardous to attempt an explanation of phenomena produced by substances which are not within our reach, and whose general properties have not been determined with accuracy; yet, after what has been said, the artist is entitled to ask for an explanation of the fact said to be universally admitted in his art—that light semi-transparent warm pigments over dark-

* Note L. p. 376, 377. It appears distinctly from Mr Eastlake's notes, that Leonardo da Vinci and Aristotle were well acquainted with this fact in painting, and that Goethe's ideas are frequently borrowed directly from the Greek philosopher.—See note M. p. 379.

ness are *blue* or *cold*, and dark semi-transparent pigments over brightness *red* or *warm*. In the first of these cases, where 'a light warm colour, passed in a semi-transparent state over a dark one, produces a cold, bluish hue,' the light which, when mixed up with the light warm colour, makes it cold, can be derived only from three sources:—1st, From opalescence in the colouring particles of the pigment; 2d, From the dark or black ground reflecting a bluish light, which many blacks do; or 3d, From a reflection of bluish light from the separating surfaces of the colouring particles, and the vehicle with which they are mixed up. There are no other possible sources from which light can reach the eye; for we, of course, suppose that the *outer* surface of the pigment reflects no light whatever that can arrive at the eye of the spectator. Now, the first of these sources of light is excluded, because nobody ever heard of the property of opalescence being possessed by colouring materials used in painting; and therefore the blue light, if it exists at all, can be supplied only from one of the two other sources, or from both of them.

With regard to the cause of the warmth produced by painting over *light* or *brightness*, there can be no difference of opinion. The colours of semi-transparent media can only be seen to advantage by transmitted light; and transmitted light can only be obtained from the white ground upon which the pigment is laid. The brilliancy of colour thus produced, overpowers any blue or cold colour that may arise from any other cause; in the same manner as the *blue* light reflected from *smoke* ceases to be visible, though it does exist, when a strong light passes through the smoke, and exhibits its *red* colour by transmitted light. A certain thickness of pigment that could give no colour at all but the faint reflected hues produced by the causes above mentioned, will display the richest and deepest tints when placed upon a luminous ground. Nay there are green colours, especially vegetable ones, in which the *red* rays are the last that are absorbed, and hence a pigment which may be *green* over *white* when thinly laid on, might be *red* over *white* when the rays had passed through a sufficient thickness of it.* There are also *blue* colours, such as glass coloured blue by *cobalt*, in which at small thicknesses the tint is *blue*, but at great thickness a *bright red*. If pigments, therefore, exist possessing the same property, the *coldest blue* colour would, when passed over a bright white ground, be rendered *warm* by the gradually increasing absorption of the blue rays.

These remarks, if they have no other value, will we think sufficiently establish the position, that no optical views, whether

* With such a pigment, (if opalescent,) the reflected rays from darkness would be *red*, contrary to Goethe's theory.

they be the crude suggestions of a poetical fancy, or the calm deductions of physical truth, are entitled to derive support from any peculiar relation they may bear to the manipulations of art.

If we have succeeded in impressing upon our readers the convictions of our own minds, they will naturally ask themselves the question, how men of acknowledged genius like Goethe and many of his disciples, should be so much misled in matters of physical science which can admit of no difference of opinion? The question is one not difficult to answer. Poets and painters have, generally speaking, very imperfect conceptions of the force of mathematical and physical evidence. The predominance of the imagination over the judgment indisposes them for patient and profound thought. The slightest resemblances, the most fortuitous associations, are linked together as cause and effect; and even words unburdened with meaning, and sentences unfreighted with thought, suggest to their fancy ideas and propositions blazing with all the lustre of truth. We are convinced, indeed, that many individuals of high genius and learning are absolute sceptics regarding many of those parts of physics which do not afford the evidence of ocular or experimental demonstration. Nay, we venture to state, that such persons do not believe in the grand doctrines of astronomy, in the stability and magnitude of the sun—in the motion, distance, and size of the earth and the planets, or in the comparative remoteness of the sidereal universe.

In illustration of these opinions we must quote the following singular passage from Goethe, entitled, '*the facility with which colour appears.*'

'We have observed, that colour under many conditions appears very easily. The susceptibility of the eye with regard to light, the constant reaction of the retina against it, produce instantaneously a slight iridescence. Every subdued light may be considered as coloured, nay, *we ought to call any light coloured, inasmuch as it is seen.* Colourless light, colourless surfaces, are, in some sort, abstract ideas; *in actual experience we can hardly be said to* be aware of them.'—(P. 274, § 690.)

Now we venture to say, that there is not a single syllable of scientific truth in the preceding passage. The susceptibility of the eye, here said to be an 'instantaneous' source of 'iridescence,' (or rather *colour*, as the meaning requires,) has, on the contrary, a *tendency* to *whiten*, rather than to *colour* what is *white*. If the object is supposed *perfectly white*, but not bright,* the suscepti-

* When bright light acts physiologically on the retina, it produces morbid effects exhibited by a succession of colours, and sometimes by permanent consequences; the spectrum, on the contrary, of a pure white surface of moderate brightness, is colourless black.

bility of the eye tends only to reduce the whiteness of its light. If, on the other hand, the *whiteness* tends to a *reddish* hue, the susceptibility of the eye will neutralize, to a certain degree, this *redness* by the spectral *bluish green*, and therefore *whitens* the object; and if the *whiteness* tends to *blue*, the *blueness* will to a certain degree be neutralized by the *ruddiness* of the spectral tint. The other statement, that in 'actual experience' we are not 'aware of colourless light or colourless surfaces,' is equally strange. We are sure that *white lead* is sufficiently white to paint the drapery of angels. We have seen artificial flames so white, that no eye could trace in them the slightest vestige of colour. We can make them assume a slightly *bluish* tinge, and then pass from this state to another in which the tinge is slightly *reddish;* and we may safely say, that the *transition tint* is a *colourless white* to the eye, which is the *sole judge of whiteness.* The driven snow might have been appealed to on this occasion; but we are aware that Goethe would have been ready with the reply, that the *whiteness* of snow must either border upon *blue*, from the gelid reflection from his semi-transparent medium, or upon the *red* from its influence of warmth. Our answer would have been, that the *blue* and the *red* might have so neutralized each other as to leave the *snow* in full possession of its perfect whiteness.

But though we cannot find any meaning in the above quoted passage, Mr Eastlake has found much—not only much to understand, but much to admire.

'The author,' says Mr Eastlake, '*appears to mean* that a degree of brightness which the organ can bear at all, must of necessity be removed from dazzling, white light. The slightest tinge of colour to this brightness, implies that it is seen through a medium; and thus, in painting, the lightest, whitest surface should partake of the quality of depth. Goethe's *view here again accords*, it must be admitted, *with the practice of the best colourists*, and with the precepts of the highest authorities.'—(*Note Z*, p. 417.)

The practice of the best colourists in excluding brilliant whites from their pictures, is surely not founded on the idea that colourless light is an abstraction never occurring in nature! If colourless surfaces did occur, painters could not have painted them for want of colourless materials. But actual experience furnishes us with *whites, too white* to be used in a well-toned picture; and therefore the reason why painters give the quality of depth to the whitest surface, and use white very sparingly, is, (to adopt the language of Scarmiglione, quoted by Mr Eastlake,) because *white is the poison of a picture;* and we may add, that *white* would be equally *poisonous*, whether colourless surfaces were *abstractions* or *realities.*

The next subject discussed by Goethe, is that of dioptrics'

colours produced by *refraction.* In this part of his work he treats of the grand discoveries of Newton on the different refrangibility of light, of the prismatic spectrum, and of achromatic refraction. He refers all the phenomena of the prismatic colours to the '*primordial phenomenon of light, and darkness,* as affected 'and acted upon by semi-transparent media,' which he has already examined; and he experiences no difficulty in explaining every phenomenon that presents itself to his notice. We cannot condescend to analyze and expose speculations which can mislead nobody but the ignorant, and which evince an intellectual organization of the most singular kind.

But as our readers may have some curiosity to know how such important subjects are handled by a poet, we shall endeavour, though it is not an easy task, to give a short account of his procedure. Having placed a light disc, such as a circular piece of white paper, upon a black ground, he views it through a prism. It is displaced by refraction; but the displaced mass is *yellow* on the side nearest the original white disc, and *blue* on the other side. 'These two appearances, the *blue* and *yellow,* exhibit themselves 'in and upon the white: they both assume a reddish hue in 'proportion as they mingle with the black.' 'In this short 'statement,' he continues, 'we have described the primordial phe-'nomenon of all appearance of colour occasioned by refraction.' * * * 'In examining the process of the experiment, we find 'that in one case we have to appearance extended the white edge 'upon the dark surface, in the other we have extended the dark 'edge upon the white surface, supplanting one by the other, push-'ing the one over the other.' He then refers to a former experiment, from which it appears that a dark object appears smaller than a bright one of the same size; and he considers this as exhibiting 'a sort of conflict, in regard to the retina, between a light 'object and its dark ground, and between a dark object and its 'light ground.' The figures thus expanded and contracted are, he says, not strongly distinguished from the ground, 'but ap-'pear with a kind of grey or verdigris-coloured edge; in short, 'with an accessory image.' Hence he considers the 'prismatic 'appearance,' as 'in fact an accessory image corresponding ex-'actly with the form of the object,' and partaking of its other qualities, such as its brightness or faintness. He then states that the general characteristic of accessory images is semi-transparency, and that transparent media tend to become only half transparent or merely light-transmitting. 'Let the reader,' says he, 'assume that he sees within or through such a medium a 'visionary image, and he will at once pronounce this latter to 'be a semi-transparent image.'

Having by this strange process—a process as visionary as the

image of which he speaks—inferred that the purest crystal and the purest water are semi-transparent media, he then derives the colour of his accessory images from his former primordial phenomenon of light and darkness, as acted upon by semi-transparent media,*—believing that he has traced the prismatic colours to an antecedent and more elementary principle!

Such is the theory of the prismatic colours brought forward in the nineteenth century, to supplant the doctrine of the different refrangibility of the rays of light;—a doctrine which, while it has immortalized its author, has been the source of many of the grandest discoveries and the happiest applications of science! Had the theory of the German sage referred to any branch of knowledge on which the scientific tribunal of Europe had pronounced no decision;—had the subject of it bordered on that neutral territory where poetry moulds its creations, or into which metaphysics pushes its outposts, we might have cherished some sympathy for the vagrant who had reeled into its peaceful domains. But the whole range of human knowledge presents no subject on which there is less doubt and less difference of sentiment. The doctrine of the different refrangibility of light, was held in equal estimation by the undulationists as by the philosophers who believe light to be radiant matter; and even those persons who could not feel the force of mathematical or physical reasoning, had no difficulty in recognising, in the prismatic analysis of light, and in its subsequent recomposition, the truth of the proposition, that white light consists of rays of different refrangibility.

But a theory may be ingenious that is not true. It may be founded on beautiful and original experiments. It may embrace subordinate principles, and even laws established on impregnable evidence, and yet the theory which they are brought to support may be false and visionary. Such, however, is not the character of Goethe's speculations. His experiments are ridiculous—his assumptions are miserable subterfuges, under which he escapes from truths within his reach—his details are without knowledge—his syllogisms without major or minor propositions; and his disciples, if he has or ever had any, objects of the deepest sympathy which we can extend to the unfortunate.

Under the same hallucination, and in the same spirit, our author proceeds to treat of the subject of the *Diffraction* or *Inflexion* of light, under the name of *Paroptical* colours, a topic nearly exhausted by the genius of Newton, Young, and Fresnel. He treats also of the subject of *Striated surfaces*, under the head of *Catoptrical colours;* and of the colours of thin and thick plates, and of oxidated surfaces, under the denomination of *Epoptical*

* See page 116, *supra.*

colours. In discussing these various and intricate subjects, our author frequently gives tolerably correct descriptions of individual phenomena; but even in these cases the facts are generally tinged with a poetical hue, under which they are not easily recognised. The explanation which is given of the various phenomena, is founded more or less on the doctrine of secondary images or shadows, and the *primordial phenomenon* of the mutual action of light and darkness.

As Goethe's work was published before the discoveries of Malus, Arago, and Biot had laid open the wide and beautiful field of the polarisation of light, its author naturally thought that his speculations would be incomplete, and his theory exposed to criticism if it should fail in explaining the wonderful phenomena of colour which crystallized bodies exhibited in polarized light. He therefore added a new chapter in a subsequent edition of his work; and Mr Eastlake has favoured us in a note with a specimen of Goethe's lucubrations on this subject, under the name of *Entoptical* colours.

Mr Eastlake seems to be aware of the imperfection of this part of Goethe's labours; but he has been induced to publish a small part of them, in consequence of an observation which has a reference to the arts, and by means of which the author proposed to explain a singular variation of light in a painter's studio. The passage is very curious, as it is applicable, if true, to all studios, and can scarcely fail to interest the reader.

'An excellent artist, Ferdinand Jagemann, who, with other qualifications, had a fine eye for light and shade, colour and keeping, had built himself a painting room for large as well as small works; the single high window was to the north, facing the most open sky, and it was thought that all necessary requisites had been sufficiently attended to.

'But after our friend had worked for some time, it appeared to him, in painting portraits, that the faces he copied were not equally well lighted at all hours of the day, and yet his sitters always occupied the same place, and the serenity of the atmosphere was unaltered.

'The variations of the favourable and unfavourable light had their periods during the day. Early in the morning the light appeared most unpleasantly grey and unsatisfactory; it became better, till at last, about an hour before noon, the objects had acquired a totally different appearance. Every thing presented itself to the eye of the artist in its greatest perfection, as he would most wish to transfer it to canvass. In the afternoon, this beautiful appearance vanished,—the light became worse, even in the brightest day, without any change having taken place in the atmosphere.

'As soon as I heard of this circumstance, I at once connected it in my own mind with the phenomena (of polarisation) which I had been so long observing, and hastened to *prove by a physical experiment*, what a clear-sighted artist had discovered entirely of himself, to his own surprise and astonishment.

'I had the second * entoptic apparatus brought to the spot, and the effect on this was what might be conjectured from the above statement. At mid-day, when the artist saw his model best lighted, the north, direct reflection gave the white cross; in the morning and evening, on the other hand, when the unfavourable oblique light was so unpleasant to him, the cube showed the black cross; in the intermediate hours the shade of transition was apparent.'—(Note, p. 396, 397.)

The author proceeds, says Mr Eastlake, to recall to his memory, instances where works of art had struck him by the beauty of their appearance owing to the light coming from the quarter opposite the sun, 'in direct reflection;' and adds, 'since 'these decided effects are *thus traceable to their cause*, the 'friends of art, in looking at and exhibiting pictures, may en-'hance the enjoyment to themselves and others by attending to 'a fortunate reflection.'—(Note S., p. 397.)

The phenomenon thus discovered by the painter, and described by the poet, would doubtless have been a very interesting one if it really existed. That a room looking to the north should be better illuminated by a meridian sun, than by the same luminary in his morning and evening phases, we most readily allow; but we cannot admit that there was any other difference in the two lights than one of intensity. It is quite true that the light which entered the window at noon, in so far as it was polarized, was polarized by reflection from the air in a plane different from the plane in which it would be polarized in the morning and evening; but this could produce no effect on the illumination of the human face, depending on the position of the plane of the polarized rays. A few rays might, in the one case, be absorbed by the superficial reflection of the skin, whereas they would be reflected in the other case; but we believe the difference to be inappreciable. The experiment, however, is easily made by illuminating the human face successively with light polarized in different planes; and if Goethe wished to give currency to his explanation, he should have made this experiment and reported the result of it. With regard to the effect of polarized light upon pictures, it may be stated in general, that when the plane of reflection from the picture is at right angles to the plane in which the incident light is polarized, the picture will be seen to the greatest advantage; as the strong lights that might otherwise reach the eye from the varnished surface, will in this case disappear. This, however, again depends on the position of the secondary lights which fall upon the canvass. By looking at the picture through a polarizing

* A polarizing apparatus containing a cube of glass quickly cooled, which gave the optical figure of a black cross with light polarized in one plane, and of a white cross with light polarized in a plane at right angles to the former.—*Rev.*

prism its effect may be improved, provided the spectator is not directly opposite to it.

The last great division of colours, of which our author treats, is that of *Chemical Colours*, their *contrast*, their *first excitation*, their *augmentation*, their *culmination*, their *fluctuation*, their *passage through the whole scale*, their *inversion*,* their *fixation*, their *intermixture real*, their *intermixture apparent*, their *communication actual*, their *communication apparent*, their *extraction*, and their *nomenclature;* and from these topics he passes to the colour of *minerals*, *plants*, and *animals*.

As in the physical colours produced from a white disc, our author found a principle of elementary chromatic contrast between the *yellow* and the *blue*, which he characterised, 'in confor-'mity with all other physical contrasts, as a *more* and *less;* ascrib-'ing the *plus* to the *yellow side*, the *minus* to the *blue;*' so he now finds, 'that these two divisions correspond with the chemical 'contrasts.' According to this principle, the *yellow* and *yellow-red* affect the *acids*, the *blue* and *blue-red* the *alkalis*. In thus treating of chemical colours, our author assumes *white* and *black* as *colours* already produced and fixed; and the only question that he has to deal with is, how *colour* can be *excited* in *them*. This he does not find to be a difficult task, because '*white* that be-'comes *darkened* or *dimmed* inclines to *yellow;* and *black*, as it 'becomes *lighter*, inclines to *blue!*' '*Yellow* appears on the *active* '(*plus*) side, immediately in the *light*, the *bright*, the *white*.' . . . 'So again the excitement on the *passive* side, the tendency to '*obscure*, *dark*, *black*, is immediately accompanied with *blue*, or 'rather with a *reddish blue*.' Such is the nature of *chromatic excitation!* It would occupy too much space, and exhaust too much patience, were we to run over the catalogue of changes which chemical colours are destined to undergo in the poetical alembic of our author. The following summary, in which no science is lost by condensation, will, we trust, satisfy the desire of all readers.

'When colours *first* have *Excitation*,
Colours then get *Augmentation*,
Less or *more* yields *Fluctuation*,
And *most* of all gives *Culmination*;
Then, since there is no Defalcation,
There must be *Real Communication*,
And if we've proper *Intermixtures*,
Tints will prove becoming *Fixtures*,
Chameleon-like, from due *Inversion*,
Colours thus afford some real Diversion.

* The *chameleon* mineral changes, by wetting, from *green* to *red*.

In drawing up the preceding analysis of the *Farbenlehre*, we have more than once asked ourselves the question—Why have we undertaken such a task? and the only answer that presented itself was contained in another question of more difficult solution—Why did Goethe write such a book? It was not certainly to widen the boundaries of optical knowledge; for he had never been within sight of its frontiers. It was not to obtain rank, or wealth, or office; for he was the patriarch of German literature, and the companion and minister of the reigning sovereign. It was not to levy from the republic of science the tribute which he had drawn from the regions of fancy; for he had rebelled against all the rules and statutes of the Inductive Philosophy. Crowned with laurels as the rightful successor of *Homer* and *Shakspeare*, he coveted also the diadem of *Newton;* and if he could not command its materials from the virgin gold of a profound intellect, he hoped to receive them, grain by grain, from the transmutation of the baser metals. Like Aristotle, whom he seemed ambitious to rival, he appears to have 'intentionally obscured what he could not illustrate, 'and to have affected to be profound when he was only disguis-'ing his ignorance;' and he will certainly succeed in doing for his future admirers in science, what one of his latest biographers alleges he has already done for his present admirers in literature. 'He has designedly thrown into his later works a 'quantity of enigmatical and unintelligible writing, by way of 'keeping up a system of discussion and strife upon his own 'meaning among the critics of his country. These disputes, had 'his meaning been of any value in his own eyes, he would natu-'rally have settled by a few authoritative words from himself; 'but it was his policy to keep alive the feud in a case where it 'was of importance that his name should continue to agitate the 'world, but of none at all that he should be rightly inter-'preted.'*

When Pope is speaking of the influence of the mighty Stagirite, he seems to have seen Goethe 'casting his shadow before 'him':—

> 'Poets, a race long unconfined and free,
> Still fond and proud of savage liberty—
> Received his laws, and stood convinced 'twas fit,
> Who conquer'd nature should preside o'er wit.'

* Life of Goethe, *Encyclop. Britannica*, 7th Edit. Vol. x. p. 603.

ART. V.—*Lectures on Biblical Criticism, exhibiting a Systematic View of that Science.* By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Royal Academical Institution, Belfast. 8vo. Edinburgh: 1839.

THIS work is of the same class with Mr Hartwell Horne's well-known 'Introduction to the Scriptures.' Its author is a Professor in the College of Belfast, where he gives lectures on Biblical Criticism to the clerical students belonging to that body of Presbyterians which accords in doctrine and discipline with the Established Church of Scotland. The finances of this class of students will seldom admit of their purchasing Mr Horne's four volumes; and as the part which treats of Biblical Criticism, less than an eighth of the whole, has not been published separately, a cheap treatise, which might be substituted for it was obviously required.

This want Dr Davidson has endeavoured to supply, and at the same time to produce a better book than Mr Horne's; of which he says, that 'he found it behind the state of theological 'learning. Having access to the latest investigations of Ger-'man authors, he discovered Mr Horne's total silence respecting 'them. Inaccuracies, which old writers fell into, were not cor-'rected; and many errors in discussing subjects were commit-'ted.' In this judgment we entirely concur; with this addition, that Mr Horne's work is, for the most part, a compilation made up of passages from different authors, which are often inconsistent; and that we cannot trace in it that pervading influence of a clear and vigorous mind, by which alone these discordant elements could be blended together.

All the subjects connected with Biblical Criticism, which are within the pale of what a parochial minister may advantageously know, are fully discussed in the present volume; and the information which it contains, while it is sufficiently copious for any ordinary student, is much more to be depended on, than that in the larger work of Mr Horne. The examination of those passages in the received text of the New Testament (and of course in our authorized translation) which have been impeached either as spurious or as incorrect, occupies a considerable portion of the work, and is by no means the least valuable part of it. Eight passages, which have been alleged to be interpolations, are examined; and, after a full statement of the evidence for and against them, a decision is given in favour of all; except the Doxology in Matt. vi. 13, and the well-known text, 1 John v. 7,

relating to the 'heavenly witnesses.' We should observe that the words in the narration of the conversion of St Paul, (Acts ix. 5, 6,) which are not known to exist in a single Greek manuscript, are not one of the eight passages examined. Of the spuriousness of these words, there can be no question among critics. Their supposed unimportance has hitherto preserved them from animadversion; but, after the argument drawn from them by a late infidel writer against the truth of the whole narration, they ought certainly to have been noticed as a third interpolation. Of texts, in which the correct reading is disputed, the author only notices the two celebrated ones, Acts xx. 28, and 1 Tim. iii. 16. After stating the arguments in support of each reading, he decides, in the former case, in favour of κυρίου, and in the latter in favour of Θεός. We do not happen to agree with him in *all* these conclusions; but we must admit that he has given a correct view of the evidence in each case; and his decisions will probably be acquiesced in by a large proportion of his readers.

Having made these general observations, we shall now, without following the author either in his arrangement or his arguments, proceed to notice some of the more interesting topics which he brings before, or suggests to us.

The advanced state of the criticism of the New Testament, as compared with that of the Old, can scarcely be disputed. Dr Davidson accounts for this by saying, that 'it was begun earlier, 'and was more vigorously prosecuted.' We must, however, go deeper into the matter than this. The truth is, that since Biblical Criticism began to be cultivated, there have always been persons of consideration in every Church, by whom its application to the Old Testament has been regarded as an unhallowed work. The time has indeed gone by when the absolute integrity of the Hebrew text was contended for by Protestant Churches as an article of faith; but even at this day, Jewish and ultra-Jewish prejudices on this subject prevail among many Christians; and the criticism of the Old Testament will only be tolerated on the condition of its being rendered absolutely inefficient. The grand distinction between the criticism of the Old Testament and that of the New, appears to be this:—In the former, we meet with a far greater number of cases than we do in the latter, where there exists an *exigency* for departing from the received reading;—where the text, as it now stands, admits of no satisfactory interpretation; or is inconsistent with a parallel passage or with chronology; or with the alphabetical arrangement or parallelism, in passages where the context shows that such originally existed. There are a few instances in the New Testament, where, of two

or more competing readings, one appears more suitable to the context, or more conformable to the *usus loquendi* of the author; but such exigencies are neither so frequent nor of so decided a nature as those which occur in the Old Testament, especially in the books posterior to the Pentateuch. The consequence of this has been, that, in determining the genuine reading of a passage in the New Testament, the thing chiefly attended to has been the *evidence;* that is, the number and goodness of the MS. versions and quotations in which each reading is known to be found; and that a conjectural reading, that is, a reading for which no evidence of this kind can be produced, has been rejected by most critics as inadmissible.

This might pass without much animadversion, as it would occasion but little practical inconvenience, if the New Testament alone were to be the subject of criticism; but when it is proposed to apply the same mode of proceeding to the Hebrew Scriptures, its unsoundness and its consequent inefficiency are so apparent, as to impose on us the necessity of recurring to first principles, and of examining the grounds on which it rests, with a view to discover the latent fallacy. We object, then, to the assumption, that it is by *evidence* alone that we should determine which is the genuine reading of a disputed passage. Even in cases where no preference is to be given to any of the readings on account of its intrinsic goodness, we ought certainly to attend to the probability of each reading giving occasion for the others;—taking into account the known ways in which the text has been corrupted, in other instances, by careless transcribers or critical revisers; and we ought also to attend to the probability of each reading prevailing over the others from causes independent of its genuineness.

We ought, in short, to consider the observed state of the evidence as a phenomenon, of which the genuineness of each reading is a possible cause. We want to determine the probability of each of these possible causes being the true cause of the phenomenon; and for this mathematical science furnishes us with the following rule: We must estimate, as well as we can, first, the probability of the existence of each cause; and secondly, the probability that each cause, if in existence, could produce the phenomenon. The product of these two probabilities for any cause, divided by the sum of all similar products, expresses the probability of that being the true cause of the phenomenon. In the case supposed, the first probability, which we may call the internal probability of the reading, depends on the exegetical, chronological, or other exigency, which leads us to reject a reading as what could not be genuine; or on the consideration of style, parallelism, antithesis, or subsequent reference, which

lead us to prefer one to another of readings, which are both or all of them admissible. In the New Testament, the internal probability of one reading is seldom very much greater than that of the reading which competes with it; and therefore, in the New Testament, it is the relative magnitude of the other factor—the external probability—which almost always determines the relative magnitude of the product. But not so in the Old Testament. In a vast number of cases, the internal probability of one reading is so much greater than that of another, that a very slight degree of external probability will suffice to give the latter reading a decided preponderance.

We will illustrate what has been said, by an example taken from each part of the Sacred Writings. We do not at present recollect an instance in the New Testament, in which there is a greater degree of internal probability in favour of a reading, which is not also supported by strong external evidence, than in the case of ἀληθινὸς for ἀγαθὸς in John vii. 12. The former word is a favourite one with St John, occurring above twenty times in his writings; while the latter is in no other place used by him as an adjective, his word for 'good' being elsewhere always καλὸς. Again, the sentence was evidently intended to contain an antithesis, and this is much stronger and clearer if we read ἀληθινός. 'Some said, He is *true*; others said, Nay; but 'he *deceiveth* the people.' Lastly, if we adopt this reading, the 18th verse will appear to contain a reference to this saying of some of the multitude; and it is not unnatural to suppose, that the Evangelist mentioned it for the sake of that reference; but there can be nothing of this if ἀγαθὸς be genuine. These considerations, combined together, certainly produce a very high degree of internal probability in favour of ἀληθινὸς; but we suspect that very few critics would consider it as sufficient to place that reading in competition with the received one. There is evidence for it—evidence which ought not to have been overlooked by Griesbach and Scholz; but certainly not sufficient to allow the internal probability in its favour to decide the question. This may be eight or ten times as great as the internal probability for ἀγαθὸς; but it is twenty or thirty times more probable that ἀληθινὸς should have been once or twice erroneously written for ἀγαθὸς, than that, being the genuine reading, and having nothing to render it unpopular, it should have been completely supplanted by a word which originated in the mistake of a transcriber.*

* In this instance, the consideration has no place on which in other instances so much depends;—from which of the two readings would the

The total probability for ἀγαθὸς, obtained by multiplying the external and the internal probabilities, is thus far greater than that for ἀληθινὸς; and it would have been so, beyond all comparison, had ἀληθινὸς been altogether unsupported by evidence.

In this last instance, and, we may say, generally in the New Testament, when there is an internal probability for preferring a new reading to that which is generally received, the choice is between a good reading and a better. The received reading was in this instance unexceptionable: no one would have thought of *searching* for another; but, when another offered itself to our notice in ancient documents, we could not but be struck with its superior excellence; it commended itself to our judgments as more likely to be genuine. In the Old Testament it is often very different. In numbers of instances the received reading is such as we cannot conceive it possible that the sacred penman could have written; it bears on the face of it some evident mark of corruption. In such cases, we anxiously search the MSS. and ancient versions, in hopes of finding there some trace of a different reading; and very frequently we are not disappointed: some one or more of these documents contains a reading which satisfies the exigency that we have observed to exist, and which, at the same time, might easily have been corrupted into the received reading. The amount of external evidence in favour of a reading like this, is of little importance. A single version may be conclusive. Nay, the exigency may be so strong, that a reading, which will meet it in a satisfactory manner, may have irresistible claims to be received into the text of a critical edition, though sanctioned by no existing MS. or version.

We stated that we should give an illustration of our views from the Old Testament. In 1 Chron. vi. 28, the sons of Samuel are said to be 'the first-born, And-the-second, and Abiah;'—we merely substitute for the Hebrew word וְשֵׁנִי its English equivalent. This Hebrew word is quite as unlikely to be a proper name, as its translation into English would be; and, besides, we are elsewhere told that the sons of Samuel were Joel and Abiah. Can we hesitate then to pronounce that the genuine reading in this place was 'the first-born Joel, and the second Abiah?' A careless transcriber allowed the word 'Joel' to drop from the text; and a stupid reviser inserted between the two remaining words the conjunction, which he supposed to be wanting. Neither

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other most naturally arise? Whichever reading was genuine, the other probably arose from a misunderstood abbreviation: $\overline{\text{A}\Theta}^{\text{oc}}$ may have anciently stood for both adjectives.

MS. nor version favours the proposed reading; it is a *conjecture*, and, as such, would be unceremoniously rejected by many. It is, however, absolutely required in order to reconcile the passage with the other texts where the eldest son of Samuel is named. The internal probability in favour of its being the genuine reading, even when multiplied by the small fraction which expresses the probability that, being so, it should be found in neither MS. nor version, is still vastly greater than the internal probability in favour of the received reading.

This last observation suggests a second reason why, in common with Bishop Marsh and other eminent critics, we would admit conjecture in dealing with the text of the Old Testament, while we would reject it in respect to the New. We have already said that the exigency for altering the received reading, is often far stronger in the Old Testament than in the New. We add that the probability of the genuine reading having disappeared altogether both from MSS. and versions, though small in the case of the Old Testament, is not any thing like *so* small as it is in the New. Now, in order that a conjectural emendation should be preferable to the received reading, the exigency which it satisfies must be so great, that its internal probability, multiplied by the small fraction which expresses the probability last described, exceeds the internal probability of the received reading. In the Old Testament, where the interval between the completion of the canon and the earliest version was between two and three hundred years; while the recension* or revision of the text, which is followed by every known MS., is still more recent, this must be admitted to be a very possible case; but we deny its possibility in the New Testament. The MSS. and versions of the latter have probably no common origin more recent than the autographs of the inspired writers; at any rate, they have none more recent than the two collections, known by the names of the *Evangelion* and the *Apostolos*, which were made in the beginning of the second century. The probability of a corruption having taken place in any particular instance, in passing from the autograph to the collection, is very slight; and the probability is slighter still, that a reading should be absent from *all* the copies with which

* This word, in the sense of a revision of the text of an ancient author by a critical editor, and of the form of the text when so revised, is perhaps not yet sufficiently established in our language for general use. It has been used, however, by many writers before us; and we cannot dispense with it without very inconvenient circumlocution.

we are acquainted, if it were found in their common origin. We think that the very small probability of this being the case, cannot, in any instance, be counterpoised by the internal probability in favour of a conjectural emendation; but in the Old Testament it is, as we have said, otherwise. The external probability to be overcome is less, while the internal probability arising from the exigency is often much greater. Let it be observed too, that, even in the case of the New Testament, it is only such emendations as are unsupported by *any* evidence that we consider inadmissible. The authority of a single ancient version, or the distinct testimony of a single Father, proving that the reading *once* existed in Greek MSS., though it is not known to exist in any that we now possess, may reduce the external probability against the emendation so much, as to allow the internal probability in its favour to prevail; more especially, if the reading which has disappeared should have been an unpopular one, and if the derivation from it of that which is found in our present copies can be accounted for in a probable manner.

The objection which has been frequently urged against the use of conjecture in the criticism of any part of Scripture, grounded on the care which, it may be presumed, the providence of God would take of its text, appears to us to have no solidity. We tread on dangerous ground, when we attempt to prescribe what Divine Providence *ought* to do. No doubt, the Almighty, by a continued succession of miracles, might have transmitted his word, pure from the slightest corruption, to each individual of our race, in his own tongue. No one, however, will pretend that He has done this, or any thing like it; and at what point short of it He has stopped, it would be presumptuous for any one to decide. If it be alleged, that, by preserving to us ancient MSS., versions, and quotations, He has given sufficient means of restoring the genuine text, to those who know how to use them, and that, therefore, conjecture must be unnecessary; the reply is obvious. The critical sagacity which leads to a conjectural emendation, is as much the gift of God as a MS. or a version. Besides, it is begging the question to say that the means of restoring the genuine text, which have just been enumerated, are sufficient. In the case of the Old Testament, we deny that they are so.

Among the kinds of exigency which give rise to an internal probability in favour of a reading, we have designedly omitted to mention theological and grammatical exigencies. It is very evident that the former of these should not be acknowledged in criticism. The object of criticising the sacred text is to ascertain how it was originally written, with a view to take that as

the rule of our faith and practice. It would be obviously absurd to reverse this process, and to set out with assuming the existence of a necessity for moulding the text to a conformity with our preconceived notions. The only use that we can legitimately make of theology in criticism, is of an historical nature. The views that we know to have prevailed at the times and places at which MSS. or versions were made, may account for a preference having been given to that reading of a disputed passage which would be most popular with those who held such views. This consideration may have great weight, when we come to estimate the probabilities of the observed state of the evidence having resulted from the genuineness of the different readings. For example, in Acts xvi. 7, it is a question whether we should or should not read Ἰησοῦ at the end of the verse. We have no right to say that the internal probability of either of these readings is greater than that of the other; the question must be decided by external probability alone. The disputed word occurs in our five most ancient MSS., and in some few modern ones; in all the ancient versions, in the quotations of several of the Fathers, and in the recorded proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon;—it is wanting in the great majority of the MSS. written in the ninth and following centuries, after the procession of the Holy Ghost had become a subject of controversy between the Greek and Latin churches. We need scarcely say that the greater part of our later MSS. were written by members of the Greek church; and that the omission of the word in question would be considered by them as favouring their peculiar opinions. This divided state of the evidence being considered as a phenomenon to be accounted for, we think it will be generally admitted, that the genuineness of the disputed word is a far more probable cause of it than its spuriousness. If it be not genuine, no motive can be assigned for its being fraudulently inserted; and its being introduced accidentally into so large a number of independent ancient documents, is improbable in the highest degree. On the other hand, if it be genuine, its omission in the later Greek MSS. is easily accounted for by what we know of the theological views of the writers. If they would not strike it out of the text, they would, at any rate, have little scruple in preferring the reading of a MS. in which it had accidentally been omitted. It must be recollected, however, that it is not necessary that there should be a *probable* way of accounting for the phenomenon, using the word in its popular sense. The ways of accounting for it may all be, considered in themselves, highly improbable. Still, as the phenomenon has taken place, and as they are supposed to be the only ways of ac-

counting for it, one of them must be the true way; and which way that is, must be decided by estimating their relative probabilities. If it could be shown, that it was a hundred to one that the word Ἰησοῦ, if genuine, could not be absent from so many late MSS., we should still be compelled to pronounce it genuine; because it is many thousands to one, that, if it were spurious, it could not be found in so many ancient documents.

With respect to grammatical exigencies, a little explanation is necessary. We have already admitted that the *usus loquendi* of an author, or the style of a particular book, may produce an internal probability in favour of one reading as compared with another; and, if the author be in the habit of using strictly grammatical language, a deviation from it will certainly render a reading suspicious. But the reverse of this may as readily occur. When there are two readings expressing the same sense; one of which involves a solecism, while the other does not; there may be cases, as in the Apocalypse, where even the internal probability may be in favour of the former. But in all cases, when we come to weigh the external probability, we have to take into account the greater likelihood that a critical reviser would substitute a grammatical for an ungrammatical expression; than that the latter should, either by accident or design, take the place of the former.

It is, however, chiefly in the criticism of the Old Testament, and of the Pentateuch in particular, that an appeal has been made, we think most improperly, to grammatical exigencies. The text of this very ancient part of the Bible, has been tried by those rules of grammar which prevailed at a subsequent period when the language was settled; and, where these rules have been violated, it has been pronounced by hasty critics to be unquestionably corrupted; more especially if the Samaritan MSS. are in those places in accordance with the rules of grammar. A sounder judgment would, we think, draw a different inference;—that the Hebrew text in these places preserves ancient forms, which were disused when the language attained to maturity; while the Samaritan has been corrected at a late age by one who saw nothing in these ancient forms but blemishes. It may be said that it is a matter of no importance, whether the Hebrew or the Samaritan text be right in such cases as these. The sense is the same; and the Hebrew, though written in the ancient form, is read in the modern. הוּא, for example, is written for the feminine gender; but it is pointed, and must be read, as if it were הִיא, which is what we find written in the Samaritan MSS. We grant, that, so far as respects these particular words, it is unimportant which reading we adopt; but our decision as to

them materially affects the credit to which the Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch is entitled. Its correctness, in point of grammar, and, we may add, in point of orthography, (so far, at least, as respects the quiescent letters,) has led some critics to regard it as exhibiting the ancient text, as well as the ancient characters, of the Hebrews, in a state of the greatest purity. We can scarcely think that any one will persist in this opinion, who has read the masterly dissertation of Gesenius. It has been shown by this eminent critic, that the Samaritan text every where exhibits traces of the reviser's pen. Its characteristic readings have not been derived from an ancient source; but have originated, at a comparatively late period, in attempts to improve the text, and to remove its supposed blemishes. Its unsupported authority in favour of any reading can be worth little; though, when it agrees with the Septuagint, it must be regarded as materially confirming the testimony of that version. That two independent documents should coincide in an erroneous reading is improbable; but, if the reading of the Septuagint were genuine, the old Samaritan text must have agreed with it; and it may have passed through the revision, without being altered in this particular instance.

Of the several kinds of exigency which remain, the strongest is certainly that which arises from a comparison of parallel passages in the Old Testament. These parallel passages are of a totally different nature from those which we meet in the writings of the contemporary Evangelists. Slight discrepancies among the latter are to be expected, and show the independence of the writers; while minute coincidences are to be regarded with suspicion, and if they occur in only some copies, while others exhibit a different reading, it is in general most probable that the latter is what the Evangelist wrote, and the former the emendation of some misjudging critic. But the case is widely different, when the books, in which the parallel passages occur, make no pretension to having been written in the same age; when the later writer had an opportunity to copy, and when he evidently did copy from the earlier. In such instances, it is reasonable to expect an exact correspondence between the two documents in respect to the facts recorded, and a correspondence to a very great extent in respect to the expressions employed in recording them. The writer of 'Chronicles,' for instance, has evidently copied long passages from the earlier historical books. In doing so, he no doubt occasionally omitted an incidental proposition, without which the sense would be perfect; or he inserted an explanatory gloss; he substituted a more modern word for one that had become antiquated; or a plainer for a more obscure expression,

But we cannot suppose that he altered the sense of a passage; that he related an action in a manner substantially different; that he attributed it to a different person, or represented it as occurring in a different place. If, on comparing the two passages, we perceive such a difference as this, we cannot hesitate as to the conclusion that one of them has been corrupted by a transcriber; and a critical examination of the two will frequently enable us to point out precisely what the corruption has been.

The examples of this mode of proceeding, which Kennicott gave in his first Dissertation on the state of the printed Hebrew Text, might, we should think, have satisfied any one as to its utility in removing, as well as in detecting, corruptions. It is now, however, the fashion to disregard the valuable dissertations of Kennicott; as if the statements which they contain were overthrown by the result of his subsequent collation of MSS. The truth is, that this collation only proved that the emendations of the Hebrew text, which could be made by the help of *MSS.*, were few and unimportant. It could not disprove, what had been previously established, that the Hebrew text needed emendations; and that they might often be obtained from other sources—from the ancient versions, and from the comparison of parallel passages. We have, unfortunately, no Hebrew MSS. which deserve to be called *ancient;* we have none which can compete in point of antiquity with our older Greek MSS., either of the New Testament, or of the Septuagint version of the old. And, still more unfortunately, those Hebrew MSS. which are in our possession, have all been derived from a text that was adopted as a standard by Rabbinical authority;—it is not easy to say at what precise period, but certainly after the preaching of Christianity. Of course, any criticism founded on MSS. can only restore this standard text, in the comparatively few instances in which our present editions have deviated from it. It can be of no avail with respect to those numerous corruptions which originated prior to, or at the time of, the recension from which this standard text derived its authority.

In order to purify the text from this last class of corruptions, we must have recourse to the ancient versions. We must not expect that these will in every case be available for our purpose; but we ought certainly to make all the use of them in our power, before, as a last resource, we apply for the aid of conjecture. It is not, however, so easy a matter as it might at first be considered, to use the ancient versions aright in the criticism of the sacred text. The versions themselves need criticism. As they appear in our Polyglots, they are very different from what they were when they left the hands of the original translators. Not one among

them all has escaped corruption in the shape of correction. The Chaldee paraphrases, the Septuagint, the Syriac, and the Latin, have all been, at one time or another, or rather at many different times, more or less altered, in order to assimilate them to the Hebrew text; which was universally regarded, from the sixth century or thereabouts till a very recent period, as an invariable standard. Many editors, too, of these versions, adopted the false principle, that the more nearly a version approached to the present Hebrew text, the more excellent it must be; and accordingly, when they had a choice of MSS., they followed those which deviated least from this standard, even when they were modern, and otherwise of little authority. Hence, the need of critical editions of the ancient versions, and the consequent importance of secondary versions in Biblical criticism. It has often been rashly said, that no version could be of any value in criticism, which was not made immediately from the original. A little reflection will, however, show the unsoundness of this remark. A primary version may be much more recent than a secondary one; it may be so recent, as to have no greater critical value than an ordinary MS.; while the secondary one may preserve original readings of the primary version from which it was derived, which have since been rejected. Thus, for example, the Arabic version of the Pentateuch, which is an immediate version, made in the beginning of the tenth century, is, in a critical point of view, of no value whatever. We have other means of knowing what the text of the Pentateuch was at the time when it was translated into Arabic; and we are sure that those emendations, as an authority for which it has been quoted, will not restore the text as it stood in that age. If they restore the text as it was originally written, which, however, we are far from admitting, it can only be because the translator had some sagacity in conjecturing. On the other hand, the Arabic version of Chronicles, which is a mediate version, taken from the Peshito Syriac, is a very valuable document. It preserves readings which were in the Peshito at the time when it was translated from it, and in the Hebrew at the time when the Peshito was translated; but which are no longer to be found either in the Hebrew text or in the intermediate version.

Of all the primary versions the Septuagint is in the most satisfactory state—thanks to the critical labours of Holmes; but there is still much wanting before we can obtain such an edition of it as we desire. We want an edition which shall exhibit with accuracy the text of the old Greek translators; which shall point out the words and sentences that Origen marked with an obelus, as being wanting in the Hebrew of his day; or with a lemniscus,

as being there read in a different manner; and which shall also contain in a different character, or between brackets, the additions which Origen introduced with an asterisk from Theodotion or Symmachus. Such an edition as this cannot be prepared from Greek manuscripts alone. The aid of the secondary versions is necessary; and this has already furnished us with what we want for large portions of the Old Testament, and may be confidently expected to do so for more. The versions on which most dependence is to be placed, are the two Egyptian, which were made before the revision of Origen, and which are consequently free from his interpolations; and the Syriac of Paul of Tella, which was made from an exact transcript of Origen's text, and contains his critical marks, and, in many places, the variations of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus. In this country the Egyptian versions have attracted most attention. Mr Tattam, who has already rendered good service to the cause of Biblical criticism by his publication of their fragments, has just returned from Egypt, whither he went in search of manuscripts which might contain the deficient portions. We have been favoured with the perusal of catalogues of the MSS. which he has procured, both Egyptian and Syriac; and, so far as we can judge from these, we consider him to have been eminently successful. The portions of the Coptic scriptures, which have been recovered by him, will of course be published; the publication commencing, as we understand, with the book of Job. The Ethiopic version was brought into notice some twenty years ago, by the agents of a missionary society. For *their* purposes, however, it was useless, the language being no longer spoken; and it is doubtful if it is of so early a date as to be of much value in the criticism of the Septuagint. On the continent, the Syriac manuscripts, which contain the Hexaplarian version, are regarded as of the highest value; and, we think, with good reason. Masius, so long ago as 1574, gave an account of the book of Joshua as it stood in one of them; the unaccountable disappearance of which, in the middle of the last century, is so deeply to be regretted. Others have followed his steps, and with better judgment. The books edited by Middledorpf are peculiarly valuable. He has completed the publication of all the portions of this version, which are contained in MSS., the existence of which was known to him. Two other MSS. have, however, been just brought from Egypt by Mr Tattam, containing the books of Exodus and Joshua. We trust that they will be edited without delay; and that the publication will be as creditable to this country, as those of Middledorpf have been to his.

So far as we can judge from these Syriac manuscripts, there

is little difference between the Hebrew text as it stood in Origen's copy, and that which would be obtained by a critical collation of Hebrew manuscripts. The marks of Origen appear to have been placed much in the same manner as a critic of the present day, who should compare this Hebrew text with the old Greek version, would place similar marks.*

It follows from this, that the recension of the Hebrew text, which we have already mentioned, was more ancient than the age of Origen. We do not speak of the Masoretic recension, which was much later, and possessed much less authority; but of that, which was the common parent of all our existing MSS., masoretic and antimasoretic. The probability is, that this recension took place in the second century; and that one at least, and perhaps all, of the Jewish Greek versions which were then made, conformed to the Hebrew text, as it was then settled by the Great Council of the Jews. It was the general opinion among the Christians of the third and fourth centuries, that great changes were then made in the Hebrew text, and that these changes were made out of enmity to them. The Christians charged them in particular with curtailing the patriarchal chronology, and with altering or omitting certain texts that had been quoted in the New Testament. It is truly wonderful how the standard of orthodoxy has varied in respect to such charges. Christians now argue as Jews argued formerly; and the most of them would consider it impious to assert what at one time no uncircumcised person would think of denying.

In our opinion, the truth lies between the erroneous extremes which have successively found favour with the multitude. We do not hold with the orthodox of the third and fourth centuries, that, where the Hebrew and Septuagint differ, the latter was always right; nor with those of the eighteenth and nineteenth, that it was always wrong. We do not, on the one hand, think it a sufficient reason for implicitly following the Septuagint, that it was always in the keeping of the actual Church of God;—of the Jews while they maintained that character, and of the Chris-

* The only very striking instance of the contrary that occurs to us, is the alleged fact of Origen having obelized the 36th and 37th verses of Josh. xxi.;—verses which, though rejected by the Masora, were found by Kennicott and De Rossi in 163 MSS. out of 237 that they examined, and which are admitted by all critics to be genuine. It is, however, not clear to us, that Origen did obelize these verses. Masius does not expressly say that he found them obelized in the Syriac MS.; but that "they ought to be obelized, as they were not in the Hebrew." It is not certain that he intended this assertion to be tantamount to the other and the MS. unfortunately cannot be consulted.

tians after they succeeded to their place; and that God's actual church must not be suspected of falsifying his word, whatever blaspheming Scribes and Pharisees may have done. Nor, on the other hand, can we see the absurdity which Origen imagined that he saw, in the supposition that our Lord and his apostles would bring forward testimonies from the Old Testament, if they knew that these testimonies would be corrupted by the Jews. The same foreknowledge which would make them acquainted with this fact, would inform them also that the corruptors would not have exclusive access to the Greek translation of the Old Testament, and that therefore they could not falsify *it*. To the opposite argument of the advocates of the Septuagint our only objection is, that it is pushed too far. We admit it to have weight; especially when connected with the well-established fact, that, previous to the second century, the Septuagint version was highly approved by the Jews: it was only then that they discovered its grievous errors, that they began to keep a yearly fast for its being made, and that they set up other Greek translations in opposition to it. But a belief in the general integrity of the Septuagint version is not inconsistent with the admissions that it may have originally contained many errors, arising from false readings as well as from misinterpretation; and that even the very correct copy which Origen used may have been in some places accidentally depraved.

We would, then, in every instance where the Hebrew text of the copy used by the Greek translators appears to have differed from that of Origen's copy, endeavour to estimate the internal probability of the two readings, and the probability of each of them having given occasion for the other; which should be considered as in this case expressing the external probability. By combining these two probabilities in the manner already described, we shall obtain the probability of each reading being genuine. A fair application of this method would, we think, decide the majority of the more important questions respecting the differences between the Hebrew and the Septuagint, in a very satisfactory manner. The balance of probability will sometimes be in favour of one, and sometimes of the other. We will mention a few of the cases in which one copy contains more than the other; in which, consequently, either interpolation or mutilation must have taken place. The Septuagint contains matter which was not in the Hebrew in Origen's time any more than in ours—in Josh. xix. 48; xxi. 40; Judg. xvi. 13, 14; 2 Ki. xxiii. 16. In the two latter of these passages we have no hesitation in pronouncing the additional matter to be genuine. Its omission, if so, is easily accounted for by the *homoioteleuton*; while its insertion, if spurious, is inexplicable. Each passage, it is true, is incomplete

without it; but the defect is not so obvious as to tempt a critic to try his hand at amending the text; and it would require the very highest degree of critical skill to produce such an amendment as either of these. On the contrary, in the two former passages, the additional matter is evidently spurious. Its omission, if genuine, is not to be accounted for; while the translator or a copyist may have supplied it from the subsequent history. It would be particularly likely that the translator would do this, if he had no intention of translating the other historical books; and it is obvious, from the difference of style, that these books were not translated by the same individual as Joshua. In other passages, the Hebrew contains matter which the Septuagint wants; genuine matter in the beginning of the 17th chapter of Jeremiah, where a paragraph has been omitted in the translation; and spurious matter in the 17th and 18th chapters of 2 Sam., where the original narrative, as it appears in the Septuagint, has been interpolated and altered from some apocryphal history of David.

In what we have said respecting the criticism of the Old Testament, we have derived no assistance from the volume before us; the views of its author being wholly at variance with ours, in respect to all the topics on which we have touched. Neither can we acquiesce in what he says of the Hebrew language, though his lecture concerning it is perhaps the most laboured and original part of his work. He has made, indeed, some observations respecting the changes that time produced in the language, which we consider well-founded; and which are valuable, as bearing against the notion of the German critics, that the Book of the Law which Hilkiah alleged that he found in the Temple—that is to say, the Pentateuch, as we now have it—was in great part the composition of his son Jeremiah. Dr Davidson is, however, not satisfied with vindicating the genuineness of the Books ascribed to Moses, to Solomon, and to Isaiah, from the cavils of modern critics. He contends that the language in which they were written, is the most perfect and the most ancient of languages. Of course, there is nothing new in this opinion. There is, however, something very strange in its being still entertained by any one who has considered the subject. Now that philology has become a science, and comparative grammar has been extensively studied, we should almost as soon have expected to find an astronomer asserting the superiority of the Ptolemaic system of the universe.

We much prefer what is said of the language and criticism of the New Testament. The lecture on the former explains and describes, in a very satisfactory manner, its three constituent parts;—

the common or Hellenic language, the Jewish element, and the Ecclesiastical element. These elements could only have been blended together in the manner in which they appear in the New Testament, by Christian writers of Hebrew origin; and these writers could only have lived in the age of the reputed authors; as it was ordered by Providence that, immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem, a complete estrangement took place between the Jewish and the Gentile Churches; so that a forgery of a later age, if made by those who were alone competent to make it, could never have gained currency among the great body of Christians. This argument for the genuineness of the writings of the New Testament, is slightly noticed at the conclusion of the lecture; but its full weight is not given to it, as it is in Mr Norton's *Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels*. An apprehension was possibly entertained, that, if the style of these writings in general were recognised as legitimate evidence of their genuineness, the style of some particular portions of them could not fairly be objected to as evidence of their spuriousness. Great pains have been taken by Dr Davidson to refute the arguments of this nature, adduced by Credner, against the genuineness of the history of the Adulteress; and by him and Mr Norton against that of the last twelve verses in our copies of St Mark's Gospel. After all, however, the latter of these two paragraphs remains, and will remain, of very doubtful authority; and probably we may say the same of the former, although we think, that if the original text of the passage were ascertained by a judicious application of the lower criticism, the passage itself would have little to fear from the fair exercise of the higher. Neither Griesbach, however, nor Scholz, who has in this instance servilely followed him, has attempted to restore the genuine text. The former (reserving the consideration of the passage for his critical commentary, which he did not live to carry so far) contented himself with giving, in his edition of the New Testament, first, the received text; secondly, that of the Cambridge MS., which is in this place evidently a re-translation from a Latin version, and is consequently of no authority whatever as respects the phraseology of the passage; and thirdly, a confused medley of the readings of all other MSS., put together without any exercise of critical judgment. The first and third of these contain between them the original text; but neither of them can be regarded as exhibiting it even approximately.

We should have liked to make some remarks on the controversy respecting the Greek article; as Bishop Middleton's theory respecting it has been zealously defended by Dr Davidson against the objections of Professor Stuart; but we think the

classification of Greek MSS. a more generally interesting topic, and our limits will not allow us to enter upon both.

On this subject the information contained in the volume before us, is far more copious and satisfactory than is to be met with in any other English work. The original system of Griesbach, the modification of it proposed by Hug, which has in fact superseded it, the rival system of Scholz and Rink, and that of Professor Lee, who rejects all classification, are severally described; and the author concludes with a modest statement of his own opinion, which is in favour of the classification of Scholz;—or, we should rather say, in decided opposition to those of Griesbach and Hug; —for he seems to think that the views of Professor Lee may ultimately prevail, though as yet he is not prepared to embrace them.

We will endeavour, in as few words as may be, to put our readers in possession of the present state of opinion among the learned, respecting both the classification of the MSS. of the New Testament, and the critical use to be made of this classification; which is a very different thing, though certainly connected with the other, and often confounded with it. The original system of Griesbach may be considered as exploded. The controversy now lies between the advocates of the opposite system of Scholz and those of Hug's modification of Griesbach's system, for such the latter justly considered it to be. In his last published work, the Second Part of his Critical Commentary, he notices the points in which Hug's system and his own agree; and though he cannot bring himself to admit that he was altogether in error as to those in which they differ, he certainly goes very far in acceding to Hug's views; quite as far, we think, as could reasonably be expected. Human nature being what it is, it would be too much to require from the aged critic an abandonment, in express terms, of a theory which he had cherished during his whole life.

Hug's system was, in fact, an ingenious contrivance for evading the objections that had been most successfully urged against that of Griesbach, retaining those parts of the latter which had escaped animadversion. It was objected against Griesbach by Matthæi, and in our own country by the late Archbishop Laurence, that his Alexandrine and Occidental recensions were in reality one and the same; that the line of distinction between the MSS. said to belong to these two recensions was arbitrarily drawn; and that the quotations of the Alexandrine fathers, Clement and Origen, did not materially differ from those of the Western fathers, Tertullian and Cyprian; or rather, that they agreed with these latter much better than they did with

those of the later Alexandrine fathers, Athanasius and Cyril. This last fact was established by Archbishop Laurence, on a comparison of 226 quotations of Origen; 118 of which he found to be supported by Western authority alone, 90 by both Western and Alexandrine, and only 18 by Alexandrine alone; and it bore hard on the theory of Griesbach, who had, in the Prolegomena to his Critical Edition of the New Testament, represented the quotations of Origen and Clement as exhibiting a text 'differing in 'its whole habit and its entire colouring' from that found in the quotations of Tertullian and Cyprian.* The absurd exaggeration of this statement was manifest on the face of it; but it was shown by Archbishop Laurence that it was the very reverse of the truth.

To obviate this objection, as well as that derived from the fact, which could be but ill explained on Griesbach's hypothesis, that the version of the New Testament in the dialect of Upper Egypt exhibited the Occidental, in place of the Alexandrine recension, Hug constructed his amended system of recensions, in which he substituted, for the Occidental recension of Griesbach, a κοινὴ ἔκδοσις, or unrevised text, which he supposed to have been in use in all parts of Christendom before the existence of any recension. This name is, he says, borrowed from that given by the critics of Alexandria to the corrupted copies of Homer's Poems that were circulated among the rhapsodists, as distinguished from the revised text of Aristarchus, Zenodotus, and others. According to him, the New Testament scriptures had, in the third century, been reduced to a condition similar to that in which Homer's Poems are said to have been. Interpolations from various sources were freely introduced into the text; genuine passages which were disliked were erased from it; there was no settled standard; careless transcribers and presumptuous correctors made each new copy a new recension.

Such was the text which the fathers of the third century had in use, and from which the Sahidic and the earliest Latin and Syriac versions were made. It was not the same every where; and hence arises the disagreement between the readings of these fathers, of these versions, and of the Greek MSS. of this class that have come down to us. As Jerome said of the Septuagint that was in use during the same period, it was corrupted '*pro* '*locis et temporibus, et pro voluntate scriptorum*;' † but it is clear that Alexandria was the place in which the greatest license was assumed by transcribers.

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* S. p. lxviii. (London edition.)

† Ep. cvi. ad Suniam et Fretellam.

To remedy this evil, it is supposed by Hug, that, in the latter part of the third century, three eminent men endeavoured to restore the genuine text of the Scriptures, namely, Origen at Cæsarea, Hesychius at Alexandria, and Lucian at Antioch. He supposes, also, that the recensions of these three individuals superseded in great measure the κοιναὶ ἐκδόσεις in their respective countries. That of Hesychius prevailed in Egypt, and corresponds with the Alexandrine recension of Griesbach. That of Lucian extended northwards, and corresponds with his Byzantine recension, while that of Origen was confined to Palestine; and a few MSS. of the Gospels are referred to it, which, though differing in some respects from the Byzantine ones, had been classed with them by Griesbach, who knew not how else to dispose of them.

It is obvious that this last part of Hug's theory is an excrescence which might be removed from it without any injury. There is no direct historical testimony that Origen meddled as a critic with the text of the New Testament; and, taking this into consideration, as well as the multiplicity of his other labours, we think it much more probable that 'the copies of Origen,' to which Jerome appealed as authorities, were copies which he selected and possessed, rather than copies which he revised. In other respects, we consider this a decided improvement on Griesbach's system; and we do not wonder that Eichhorn, who, in the first volume of his Introduction to the New Testament, had followed Griesbach, should in the fourth have gone over to Hug—pronouncing the existence of two very early recensions, an Alexandrine and a Western, to be a dream unsupported by history.*

The statements made by Hug respecting the κοιναὶ ἐκδόσεις, are adopted in great measure by Scholz. Indeed, they are in such complete accordance with those made by Origen, in his Commentary on Matthew xix. 19, where he bears testimony to what fell under his own observation, that we do not see how they can be denied altogether. But Scholz contends that it was only in Alexandria that transcribers assumed this unbridled license; or, at any rate, that it did not prevail in Asia Minor nor Greece. According to him, no recension of the text took place in these countries, because none was required; it had never suffered such corruption as had befallen it in Egypt. Scholz farther denies that any Alexandrine recension existed; that is, as we understand him, (and if this be his meaning we fully agree with him,) he maintains that any revision which Hesychius may have made, possessed no such authority as to cause it to supersede the unre-

* Vol. IV. p. 273.

vised text; nor was it executed by him in a manner materially different from that of other correctors. Like them, he exercised his own judgment or his own caprice, in rejecting what he conceived to be spurious, in supplying what he conceived to be deficient, and in correcting what he conceived to be erroneous or barbarous. His recension was, in fact, nothing more than a variety of the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις. It may have met with greater acceptance than any other single variety of it; but the copies which conformed to it were probably a very small part of the copies transcribed after it was made.

That the recension of Hesychius did not supersede the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις, even in Alexandria, is at once apparent from an undeniable fact. The stichometrical division of the text was invented at Alexandria, by Euthalius, in the latter half of the fifth century, and of course long posterior to the time of Hesychius; yet, the principal MSS. of the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις which are known to us, the Cambridge, Laudian, and Clermont ones, are all stichometrically arranged; and so too was that from which the Boernerian MS., another of the same class, was copied, as Hug himself has remarked.

The conclusion, then, to which we are led, is, that the MSS. which Griesbach distinguished as Alexandrine and Occidental, were not the productions of different countries, according to his original system; nor yet of different ages, according to Hug's modification of it; but of the very same place and time. It was from Alexandria that not only Egypt and the neighbouring countries, but the whole Western world, were supplied with Biblical MSS., and the producers of them in that city took care to have copies prepared, adapted to the tastes of all purchasers. Some, especially those intended for the Western market, exhibited the unrestrained license of the earlier MSS., such as those from which the old Latin version had been made; while in others the corrections of critics were adopted to a greater or lesser extent. We must not suppose, however, that the judgment of Hesychius, or of any other individual, was exclusively relied on. Each corrector had a standard of his own, according to which he prepared those copies which he intended to circulate as revised.

So far then as classification is concerned, we think, with Archbishop Laurence and Scholz, that all the Alexandrine MSS. should be arranged in one *family*, not *recension*; for this word implies uniformity, while it is by a want of uniformity that these MSS. are characterised. We may subdivide them, if we please, into unrevised and revised ones; but the distinction would be of little use. It is of more importance to attend to the peculiar character of each MS., whether its transcriber were more inclined to introduce glosses into the text, or to omit real or supposed ones;

whether his alterations were more generally made with a view to correct unclassical, or to explain obscure expressions.

With respect to the Constantinopolitan MSS., we do not think that Scholz has established his positions; but the controversy as to them does not concern classification. All are agreed that these MSS. constitute a family, or recension, essentially distinguished from the Alexandrine. Whether we suppose them to exhibit the primitive text, with only a few occasional corruptions, or a text obtained from a corrupt κοινὴ ἔκδοσις by the critical revision of Lucian, or one eclectically formed from a comparison of different Alexandrine MSS., we must admit that they concur in exhibiting the same text, and that many of its readings are materially different from those which were most popular at Alexandria.

The classification of MSS. is, however, of little importance, except as it conducts to a critical system. Griesbach's classification did so; and, as his classification is erroneous, so is the critical system to which it led him. Griesbach's leading principles were, that the majority of testimonies belonging to a recension should determine its reading; and that the reading of two recensions should be adopted in preference to that of a single recension. The former of these principles would be correct, if recensions, properly so called, had really existed; that is, if all the documents which are classed together had really a common origin, mediate or immediate, to which they might be referred as a standard. The latter would be correct if the different recensions were really independent. But as neither of these positions can now be maintained; as, even according to Hug's views, they are both substantially incorrect; we must consider the authority of Griesbach, as a critical editor of the New Testament, to be superseded. Many of the corrections which he made in the text were, no doubt, sound; they were such as any critical editor must have made; but a large proportion of them were of a different description; the sole ground for them was his theory of recensions. These corrections must now be considered as having lost all their authority; and as Griesbach made no distinction between them and the others, his decision that a reading is right or wrong can no longer be relied on. We must look to his authorities, and draw our own conclusion in each particular case.

But on what principles is that conclusion to be drawn? No person would, at this time of day, contend that we should *count* testimonies without *weighing* them; and how is their weight to be estimated? There seem to be three opinions current in the critical world. There are some in whose judgment the authority of the most ancient MSS. is every thing; there are others who give a like preference to the Constantinopolitan text; and there

is a third class, who, in deciding between readings which are ascertained to be ancient, are far less influenced by the authorities on each side than by the critical goodness of the rival readings.

As for the first party, it appears to us, that though a great deal may be said by them plausibly, and likely enough to influence the unreflecting, their principles will not bear examination. The reading of an ancient MS. is, *cæteris paribus*, more likely to be genuine than that of a modern one; but it is not necessarily so. It is not certain, nor is it, generally speaking, at all probable, that the less ancient MS. was derived from the more ancient one. For aught that appears to the contrary, it may have been immediately derived from one more ancient still, which is no longer in existence. Thus, even if we were sure that the texts of old MSS. were derived from the texts of older ones by fair copying, the relative antiquity of two readings could not be inferred with any certainty from the ages of the oldest MSS. in which they respectively appear. There is every reason, however, to suppose that the most ancient MSS. which we possess, were not *copied* (in the ordinary sense of the word) from more ancient ones; but that their texts were formed by the exercise of criticism; and we have no reason to confide in the judgments of the critics that formed them. It is the decided opinion of Hug, who paid particular attention to the celebrated Vatican MS., the most ancient of all, that its text was formed from that of a MS. resembling that at Cambridge, by striking out what were supposed to be interpolations—by substituting more classical expressions for such as appeared barbarous—and by other critical changes.

The views of the advocates of the ancient MSS. have, within the last four years, been illustrated, or (as most of them would probably say) caricatured by Mr Granville Penn, who has published a translation of 'The New Covenant,' in which he professes to follow the most ancient, and therefore the most authentic, of all MSS. We say, 'professes to follow;' for, in truth, he is not consistent in following it. In the very first column of his translation, he met with a reading of the Vatican MS., ('Asaph' for 'Asa,') which was too glaringly incorrect to be adopted. Accordingly, in this place he yielded, *but in silence*, to the authority of 'the junior MSS.,' of which he elsewhere speaks so contemptuously. In other instances, he has indulged in the wildest conjecture. He has, in short, without intending it, presented us with a fair specimen of the kind of text that an Alexandrian reviser of the olden time would adopt. He has everywhere given the readings which commended themselves to his

own judgment or taste. Most of these are taken from the favourite MS. which he professed to follow; but where this contained what displeased him, he has introduced the reading of some other MS., or some conjecture of his own.

We now pass to the advocates of the Constantinopolitan text. The first of these that we need mention was Matthæi; but his advocacy was of little service. It consisted chiefly in scurrilous abuse of the Alexandrine MSS. and of their admirers. Their peculiar readings were 'the spittle of Origen,' which those who pleased might lick up. They were 'dunghill MSS.,' through the fumes of which poor Griesbach had lost the use of his eyes. By such language he did more harm than good to the cause he espoused.

In this country, Dr Nolan defended the Byzantine text in a different, and certainly a very curious way. He adopted Griesbach's division of MSS. into three recensions. He maintained that the most ancient of the three should prevail over the other two. He contended that the antiquity of a recension was only to be determined by the antiquity of the Latin version that belonged to it; for it happened, according to him, that there were Latin versions made from MSS. belonging to each of the recensions. And, lastly, he endeavoured to make it appear that the Brescian Latin version, which agrees with the Byzantine recension, is the earliest Latin version that was made. All this is ingenious and plausible; but, like other ingenious and plausible theories which have issued from the same source, it has no solid foundation. The Brescian MS. is, no doubt, a most valuable document. It is decidedly the most so, in our judgment, of all the Latin versions. But the idea of its being the original Latin translation, is preposterous in the extreme. We cannot, therefore, wonder that Dr Nolan's theory found no favour, save among those with whom *any* attempt to 'vindicate the integrity of the authorized text' was sure to be popular.

The *Codices Argentei* of Upsal and Brescia are obviously the work of the same country, the north of Italy; the same age, the latter end of the fifth century, or the beginning of the sixth, when that region was possessed by the Goths; and, we could almost add, the same individuals. There could not well be a greater similarity between documents in different languages, than there is between these precious MSS. The most superficial observer must be struck with their resemblance in outward appearance. The parchment of both is purple; the letters of both are silver. Nor is this all. In both, the gospels are arranged in the same unusual order; in both, the Eusebian harmony is annexed to each page in precisely the same remarkable manner.

When we come to translate them, we still find them to resemble each other; and that in such a way as could only have been occasioned by their having a common Greek original. The Brescian MS. agrees with the Gothic version, in opposition to all the other Latin versions but one, in inserting the doxology in Matt. vi. 13, and in omitting the history of the Adulteress; and it agrees with it, in opposition to all the others, in a variety of remarkable readings;—as 'believe' in Mark iv. 24; 'true' in John vii. 12.; 'heard from' in John viii. 38.; several of which are found in no other document whatever. This is decisive evidence of a common origin; and it cannot, we think, be reasonably doubted that this common origin was the MS., or set of MSS. which Ulphilas brought with him from Constantinople, shortly after the middle of the fourth century; and from which he translated the Scriptures into the Gothic language, according to the testimonies of Socrates and Sozomen. Both the Gothic and Brescian versions have occasionally been interpolated, and otherwise corrupted, from the older Latin versions; but not always in the same places; and by a collation of the two a great variety of the readings of the MS. of Ulphilas (which must have been considerably older than any now in existence) can be determined with the same certainty as the readings of that Coryphæus of the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις, the Antonian MS. of Alexandria, can be determined from the Syriac MSS. of Thomas Harcleensis.

The observations which we have made respecting the Brescian MS., while they tend greatly to enhance its critical value, show how utterly unfounded is the notion of its containing the earliest of the Latin versions. The version which it contains could not have been made before the age of Ulphilas, or the latter part of the fourth century; and we know that Latin versions were in existence as early as the second. There are other positions introduced into Dr Nolan's argument, which might be combated; but we need not slay the slain. Let it suffice to say, that whatever increased popularity the Constantinopolitan text has recently acquired in Germany, is not due, in the slightest degree, to Dr Nolan's theory respecting it.

That an increased deference has been latterly paid to this text is unquestionable. The fact of an edition of the New Testament, in which it has been scrupulously adhered to, having been published by Lachmann, and, we understand, very favourably received by the public, would alone be decisive evidence of it. The cause of this we presume to have been, in the first instance, the reaction produced by the overthrow of Griesbach's system. The practical effect of his mode of criticism was to nullify the testimony of the Constantinopolitan documents. It was

felt that this was unjust; that they were entitled to have a voice; and the transition to the opposite extreme of hearing no other voice than theirs was not an unnatural one. That this error, when once adopted, should gain ground, is just what might be expected. When the current has once set in a particular direction, the feathers are sure to be carried alongst with it.

We cannot, however, discover that any solid arguments have been brought forward by this school of critics, to justify their excessive veneration for the Constantinopolitan text. Those which have been drawn from ecclesiastical history by Scholz and others, to prove the permanence and consequent purity of it, appear to us very unsatisfactory; and Scholz himself, though in his Prolegomena he shows a decided partiality to it, has adopted many Alexandrine readings in the text of his critical edition. He *there* appears to belong to the third of the classes that we have mentioned; but he wants that sound judgment and nice tact which their system particularly requires.

We have, in a former part of this article, explained the mode of proceeding of critics of this class. We have spoken of the external and the internal probability, as being both to be taken into account; and we have described the manner of combining them together. We have mentioned also the principal circumstances, which may produce an internal probability in favour of one reading as compared with another. Of the external probability we have said less. In order to estimate it, it will be necessary first, to ascertain the exact state of the documentary evidence, and then to determine the probability that this state would have resulted from the genuineness of each reading. In doing this, we have to consider both the manner in which one reading may give rise to another reading, through the blunders which a copyist is likely to make in writing by the eye or by the ear; or through the alterations which a critical corrector might make in the MS., or in that from which it was copied; and also the likelihood of one reading prevailing over another, through its superior popularity, when the two had once come into competition.

We might enlarge on the different points which we have mentioned, and illustrate them by examples; but we are here writing a brief review, not a treatise. We have not yet met with any work on this subject, which is satisfactory to us as a whole; though many useful observations on particular branches of it are to be met with in different places. We would especially refer to Michaelis's Introduction, and to the annotations of his English Translator; to the former part of the third section of Griesbach's Prolegomena, and to many illustrations of his rules which are to be found in his Critical Commentary. No critic

seems to have possessed more tact than Griesbach in estimating the probability of one reading having given rise to another; and there is none on whose judgment we should place greater reliance, in cases where we were sure that he was not deceived by his erroneous theory of recensions. Unfortunately, however, we cannot be sure of this in any case which we have not ourselves investigated; and, therefore, while we recommend his criticisms as models to be studied, we protest against implicitly depending on his results. His edition of the New Testament is valuable, only as exhibiting a faithful summary of a large portion of the evidence in favour of each reading, in a vast variety of cases where the MSS. and versions are divided.

Of Scholz's edition we have a still worse opinion. He has shown much industry in the mechanical work of collating MSS., and his volumes are a valuable supplement to those of Griesbach, in respect to the additional evidence which he has thus collected. They profess, however, to give the *entire* evidence in favour of each reading, and for that they must not be depended on. Owing, we presume, to the incompetency of the assistants employed, the evidence before collected, as it appears in Griesbach's edition, is for the most part incorrectly described; and in some cases a completely false view of it is given. The editor's judgment, also, in selecting the best readings for his text, appears to us extremely weak. His preface would lead us to expect that he would prefer the Constantinopolitan, and he has certainly in general done so. He has, however, introduced several Alexandrine readings into his text;—we suppose, in order to show his impartiality;—and we can by no means compliment him on having chosen the best. In more than one instance, too, that we have noticed, from a change of purpose which appears to have taken place while the sheets were passing through the press, and to have only been partially acted on, the same reading appears in both the text and the margin; the rival, perhaps the genuine, reading being omitted altogether.

We have thought it right to give our opinion thus explicitly on the demerits of Scholz's edition, because it has by some means obtained a degree of consideration in this country which it never received on the continent, and which it certainly does not deserve. A good critical edition of the New Testament is yet a *desideratum*, not likely, we fear, to be soon supplied.

ART. VI.—1. *Italien: Beiträge zur Kenntniss dieses Landes.* Von FRIEDRICH VON RAUMER. 2 vols. 8vo. Leipzig: 1840.

2. *Italy and the Italians: translated from the German of* FREDERIC VON RAUMER. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1840.

3. *Letters from Italy to a Younger Sister.* By CATHERINE TAYLOR. 8vo. London: 1840.

VERY many volumes have been written upon Italy which leave on the mind—not from what is said in them, but from what is omitted—a vague impression that the country is a desert. If it is peopled at all, it seems to be only by sacristans, who unlock the churches—and keepers, who watch the galleries of statues and pictures—and ciceroni, who lead the way to antique ruins—and a few peasants, who have no task to perform on earth but to wear picturesque dresses and appear in picturesque groups—and a host of postboys, vetturini, and innkeepers, whose vocation is the only thing like practical business that occurs in the region. If a dictionary were to be constructed for explaining English books like these to foreign readers, it would not contain a single word scientific, political, or commercial. The substantives are either terms of art or of poetry; the adjectives (and these unfortunate parts of speech are made to do harassing service) vary only according to the varying taste of the day;—from the 'genteel' which, a hundred years ago, was worthy Mr Wright's expression of admiration for the Apollo Belvedere, to the 'exquisite,' and 'magnificent,' and 'surpassingly beautiful,' which are favourite phrases in our own less cautious generation. The twenty-two millions of souls who, in the midst of the Roman ruins, the Grecian statues, the paintings of the Catholic altars, live and think and feel, and have rights and duties individual, social, and political, are left as far in the background as if they were a handful of Coptic serfs or Arab robbers.

We would not be misunderstood. We are very far indeed from being insensible of the charm which dwells in Hesperian landscape and Hesperian climate; we are not blind to the importance, to the real and substantive value, of those treasures of art in which Italy is richer than all other countries taken together. These things are the magnets that attract most of us to the sunny side of the Alps; and it is essential that we should possess literary aid which shall enable us to profit by the delightful pilgrimage. The article, when well manufactured, is excellent; the point for the producers to consider is, that the market is overstocked. If we wish

to unite, with our appreciation of Italian scenery, the scientific study of those physical phenomena out of which the picturesqueness is evolved, it costs us no great trouble to discover adequate sources of information. Yet more easy is it to find systematic expositions of the principles of art, specially applied to surviving monuments. For popular use, indeed, the botany and mineralogy of Italy still require to be collected into one view: the numberless works on sculpture, architecture, and painting, could still furnish, by condensation, by closer reference to individual specimens, by freer use of the improved philosophy of æsthetics, something far better than is given us by the whole mass of the existing books. But of these *desiderata* not one is supplied by those incidental, unarranged, hasty notices with which the tourists favour us. Nothing have we (few instances excepted) but descriptions of impressions, often vague, very often fictitious or erroneous; and absolutely, by their infinitely repeated lusciousness, making us sick of those admirable works of nature and of human genius, which, when viewed in reality, fill hours and days and weeks of life with the purest intellectual pleasure.

A second class of travellers there is, which ranks far higher than the preceding. Its writers do not forget that Italy, besides having given birth or shelter to literature and art in some of their most characteristic phases, has been, for twenty-three centuries, the theatre of political events which, never quite obscure or insignificant, were, during several periods, the most important and interesting of any presented by the annals of Europe. Invited by previous studies to particular departments of Italian history, or enabled to expatiate over many departments of the vast field, writers of this sort have given to the subject, with intelligence and industry, and sometimes with much eloquence, that pregnant illustration which facts receive from the personal study of localities and monuments. The antiquities and scenery of the Cisalpine peninsula have been successfully brought into connexion with the incidents that diversified the times of its classical glory; the religion and the polity of the dark ages have found enthusiasts to study their chronicles among the ruins of Theodoric's castle on the rock of Terracina, or amidst those fragments of Gothic or Lombard art which can still be traced in the tombs and *basilicæ* of Ravenna and of Rome; and the spots which witnessed the heroic adventures, the stern virtues, and the deadly sins, that checkered, in the middle ages, the reign of republican independence, have become familiar, through lively and frequent descriptions, to those whose lot has not permitted them to be pilgrims to the distant south. Even when they have ignored the existence of a race of modern Italians, those travellers who

have taken up the trade of historical antiquaries have done valuable service; and their duty has not yet been by any means exhausted.

But more tantalizing than all others are the majority of those travellers, who really do profess to observe and to describe the present state of Italian society. We have, it is true, learned much from writers of this sort; but it may be fairly questioned whether our notions on the subject are not made, by the instruction which we have received, more inaccurate than if we had wanted it altogether. Even those few among our countrymen who have enjoyed good opportunities of observation, are hampered, unwittingly, by a burden of national prejudices which it would take pages merely to enumerate. The Italians are Papists—they spit on the floor—the peasantry draw their knives when they quarrel—the gentlemen do not give dinners: in all classes of society there prevail, as in every other nation of the south, certain habits and forms of speech which offend our Teutonic delicacy—the ladies have loud voices—the lower orders are subject to gross superstitions—the upper ranks are destitute of that dignified reserve which we think both becoming and necessary; for a servant is addressed as 'my dear 'fellow,' and ventures to communicate information as he waits at meals; and a Sicilian prince contentedly sits down to supper at the public table of an inn, while an English tradesman and his wife impatiently demand a private sitting-room. All these things, and many others of a similar sort, are facts, but not facts which justify the inferences drawn from them. On the point of morality, while we condemn what is wrong, we should do well not to provoke comparisons that might be unpleasant. In habits and modes of life we ought to recollect that what is dissimilar to our own is not therefore necessarily wrong. In looking at the religion of Italy, we may content ourselves with conscientiously dissenting from its creed, without believing that all who profess it (that is, one-half of Europe) are either hypocrites or fools; and, while we deplore those superstitions of the people, which the Italian clergy either favour or do not venture to suppress, it may be well for us to recollect that Sir William Courtenay preached not long ago in East Kent, and that in Scotland itself, at this day, witches are sometimes consulted. But the mistakes of our tourists are not confined to a simple misinterpretation of admitted facts; their writings abound in assertions of facts which have no existence; and this is especially glaring, when they venture to deal with such questions as those which relate to the general state of morality among the Italians. Our press, it is true, has not been dis-

graced for some time by volumes like those of which the last century produced many, full of scandalous anecdotes, and inferring or openly alleging that, from Susa to Reggio, from Messina to the farthest corner of Sicily, a chaste female was not to be found; but we have abundance of insinuations on this head in reference to the whole population, which, so far as there is any foundation for them at all, are true only of certain classes in certain towns, while, in regard to the common people in the rural districts, they are utterly false. Assassination, again, which Spanish rule made so common, is still the bugbear of foreigners; and one of the most intelligent of our recent travellers has allowed himself to believe that in Rome there is committed on an average one murder daily. *Brigandage*, the foul birth of the same evil times, and resuscitated by the disorders which attended and followed the restoration of 1814, raised an alarm which, like a circle in the water, grew wider as the exciting cause died away. Travellers became more timorous as the hordes gradually disappeared; while even the less apprehensive, feeling quite at ease on the great post-roads, where they really incurred some danger, hesitated to enter the passes of the mountains, where they would have found nothing but kind hearts and honest indigence.

For the upper classes, in short, while our travellers have perhaps done no injustice to the bad specimens, hardly any one seems to have been fortunate enough to learn the existence of the good ones. As to the people at large, the type of character has been copied in most cases from the postilions, and hotel-keepers, and valets-de-place, and the other members of that numerous order which, congregated in the towns, executes, by petty cheating, the vengeance of the nation against foreign spoilers. Few, very few indeed, have attempted to study the character of the Italian people in those circumstances which permit the study to be repaid; in times when want or oppression has not driven them mad, and in districts where the constant presence of foreigners has not made them mean and mercenary. If we name Simond and Mrs Graham among recent writers, in our own language, and Kephalides, Wilhelm Müller, and Alfred Reumont among the Germans, we have, it is to be feared, nearly exhausted the list of those from whose works can be gleaned much real information regarding the habits and character of that agricultural class which forms four-fifths of the population of Italy; and contains within itself, after all misfortunes, and misgovernment, and mistakes, a sound kernel of national character. And all the knowledge which we gather from such writers as those, leaves us to seek for much more in books that are not tours, but which, we are thankful to discover, convey useful information regarding

the statistical position of the people. Indeed, we recollect no writings that teach us so much in this department as those which professedly treat of Italian agriculture — especially Sismondi's *Tableau*, and Chateauvieux's *Lettres*.

But this is not the worst. In regard to most departments of Italian life and manners, one may contrive to disentangle from our books of travels, except the very worst, many a stray fact worth recovering. But there is one section of the subject as to which our works of this sort are 'silent still, and silent all.' We mean the political *status* of the nation. Not that politics are never broached —very far from it. Not that we want declamations, and personal anecdotes, and expositions of principles, and reflections, and hopes, and fears, and all the parade that a clever man can so easily make in writing about a matter of which he may be profoundly ignorant. Of all these things we have enough and to spare. The pity is that we have not a single word regarding those matters as to which it is of most importance to be rightly informed. We are expected to read a difficult language, without having learned its alphabet.

It would be pleasant to believe that information of this sort is withheld for no other reason but because it is universally possessed —that our travellers omit mentioning the Lombardo-Venetian Edict of 1815, and the Papal Charters of 1816 and 1831, merely because these documents, being as familiar to them as the Reform Act, are presumed to be not less so to their readers—that they waive saying any thing as to the communal administration in the several states, merely because, both to them and to their countrymen, its details are as well known as those of our own municipal corporations. But, we are sorry to say, that neither the knowledge exhibited by the writers, nor that which most of their readers possess, entitles us to retire upon any such charitable supposition. General knowledge on the subject, indeed, is possessed by many people; specific and satisfactory knowledge by very few. In one word, our quarrel with the tourists for what they write, is embittered by our recollection of what they might, but do not write. We could forgive a whole volume of dreamy description, if it were followed but by half as much, nay, by a chapter, containing those statistical details without which the position of the country cannot be really understood—those details which it costs the student such infinite trouble to find out, and in which, after all his toil, he discovers so many gaps to be filled up.

Such a tour-book as we are thus imagining—either devoted exclusively to imparting political information, and adding, to what may be gleaned from historical and other books, that which

is obtainable only on the spot—or uniting with this purpose that of describing other departments in the statistics of the country—would assuredly be *caviare* to the multitude—a dry book to nine-tenths of ordinary readers. Nay more, it would be a book deficient in much that we should wish to find in it, if the region visited were one that had been newly discovered, or if the traveller were the first, or the tenth, or the thousandth person who had described it. We have a strong desire to read a picturesque tour in the interior of China, and should take lively interest in the finding of antique buildings in the heart of Africa. But, when we recollect what has already been done for Italy, and what has not, we must say that the statistical book would be exactly what is wanted; and so great has the improvement lately been in the spirit in which the institutions of foreign countries are studied among us, that we should not be much surprised now were such a work to prove a good speculation for the publisher, while a hundred descriptive volumes might lie unsold. It is time, however, to ascertain how far the works, whose titles stand at the head of this article, come up to our desires.

Miss Taylor's volume may be dismissed briefly, though not without considerable commendation. It is above mediocrity as a specimen of its class, which is a mixture of the first two into which we have divided Italian tours—half picturesque and artistical, half historical;—with a good many lady-like prejudices, and a few lady-like blunders, but with general goodness of writing, and universal goodness of feeling, and altogether well calculated to serve the modest purpose for which the preface announces it to be designed.

Professor Von Raumer's book, as, indeed, we might have expected from its author's name, belongs to a different genus. Our very first glance at it aroused a feeling of real pleasure. Page after page we turned over, and finally closed the volumes with the gratifying belief, that, when we should find time to reopen them, we might do so without being called on, from the beginning to the end, to contribute the usual contingent of raptures. On a second perusal, it is true, we did discover two or three vineyards very green, and an ultramarine sea, and a sunset on the Bay of Naples; but we recollected that the writer, although a learned Professor, is still a mortal—and we passed by the intrusive leaves in silence. The staple of the two volumes, however, is something of a very different cast:—Finances—taxation—national assemblies—municipal elections—schools and shipping—agriculture and illegitimacy—feudalism and lunatic hospitals—tables exhibiting the statistics of crime, and the export-duties payable upon hemp and cow-hides. All this is whimsically

unlike what we are accustomed to see in Italian tours; but, if we hear that the book has met with an extensive sale, we shall believe that our next flock of tourists to the Alps are likely to come back with sounder and more accurate notions than those which have generally fallen to the lot of their predecessors. We have thankfully found in it much curious information—such as many of the details regarding the communal administration—which is absolutely wanting in all books commonly accessible, and very difficult of acquisition even to travellers, if they journey, as our author did not, without special recommendations from members of the Holy Alliance. Much also we have found presented consecutively in a popular shape, which, though obtainable elsewhere, must be gathered from a hundred different sources.

We feel very little inclination to carp at a writer, who has visited Italy expressly for the purpose of examining the social and political state of its inhabitants; and who, at the risk of repelling ordinary readers by the unavoidable dryness of statistical details, has had the courage to fill the greater part of his volumes with the very kind of information in which both his countrymen and ours are most deficient. Still less are we inclined to severe remark, when we recollect what other claims Professor Von Raumer has on the gratitude and respect of literary men and historical students. The general intelligence, the fairness, and the kindly feeling, to which we formerly did justice as characterizing his volumes on England, would be in themselves reasons for desiring to regard his new work in a friendly and becoming spirit. But we must also bear in mind that the observer of the state of Italy in the nineteenth century, is besides the historian of those events which glorified her soil in the middle ages. If the History of the 'Hohenstaufen' is not entitled to stand in the very first rank that can be assigned to compositions of its class—if it does not display the very highest degree, either of philosophical depth or of narrative eloquence—it is assuredly, at least, a work which, generally satisfying all reasonable demands both of the feelings and the imagination, is, as a storehouse of important knowledge on important questions, inferior to no production of the present generation, and superior to all except a very few. In the industry with which he has collected the materials for that great work, M. Von Raumer is exceedingly remarkable:—by the fulness with which he has poured forth his treasures in it, he may have sometimes discouraged a careless student, but has singularly facilitated the researches of those who aim at systematic acquisitions. Its last two volumes are invaluable for their mass of facts and authorities; and the narrative portion which precedes

them has much of the same sort, which is objectionable only because it checks the flow of the adventurous story. We could name few treatises from which the student of Italian history could derive greater profit, than the analysis of the laws and administration of Frederic the Second, or that collection of facts which illustrates the internal polity of the Italian cities.

For all these reasons, we are contented to pass with slight notice several peculiarities and oddities in the present work, which certainly have jarred unpleasantly on our minds. We cannot pronounce arguments to be convincing or profound, of which in some instances we are unable to discover the premises, while in others we cannot perceive the connexion of the premises with the conclusion; but we can allow the arguments to find their way for themselves, whether they relate to art or political economy—to manners or to morals—to Italian constitutions, or to the abolition of our own corn-laws. We cannot give the name of sterling wit to that which seems to us to be arrant flippancy; but we can leave those readers who may be less fastidious, to enjoy the academic sportiveness undisturbed. We are not familiar enough with the statutes of the University of Berlin to form any satisfactory opinion on the question, whether its Professors, ordinary or extraordinary, are expected on their travels to joke about the pantaloons of opera-dancers, and the nudities of antique statues. We shall not, therefore, be so cruel as to extract the observations on the 'bending statue which enchants the world.' We cannot venture to determine, whether it was worth while for the worthy Professor to announce that he carried his dancing-pumps and ball-dress across to Sicily; although (metaphorically speaking) we can hardly believe, when we look to much that is before us, that he ever laid aside that costume during his whole sojourn in the south.

Indeed, the air of easy, nay, foppish indifference, to which we here allude, is, in our eyes, the great fault of the book, and becomes especially annoying from its union with that peculiar mode of treating delicate questions in politics, which these volumes have in common with all their author's preceding speculations. His leading rule—and an excellent rule in some respects it is—directs him always, in the first instance, to attempt ascertaining the point of view in which matters must have appeared to the contending parties at the moment when the contest was going on. In the 'Hohenstaufen,' the characters on both sides deliver themselves in set speeches, like those of Livy or Thucydides; in his 'History of Modern Europe,' devices of a similar sort effect the same end; and, in his 'Observations on England,' the professorial wand calls up a band of shadowy beings, (as impal-

pable as Crambe's abstract idea of a lord mayor,) by whom the opinions of all our political sects are successively expounded, in Parliament or at the Athenæum, at a dinner party or on the hustings. Then, after both counsel have spoken, our author, with judicial impartiality, often chooses to leave the case to the jury without remark. But, since we happen to be aware that all this is mere masquerade—that the judge who fills the bench with such impressive gravity, has previously acted as attorney for both suitors—we are often tempted to steal a sly peep at the briefs, and thus discover that the case is not always put as the client himself would have put it. Unluckily, also, while his opinions in a few matters are very decided, he is extremely indifferent on many others, and does not seem to agree systematically with any party of politicians, either in his own country or in ours; and, consequently, he has never written any work which has not been at the same time attacked upon opposite and contradictory grounds.

To this destiny, of which he has no reason to be ashamed, and on which, indeed, he prides himself, his tour in Italy will scarcely occasion an exception. There are very many opinions and animadversions, especially in his progress through the southern states, in which we cordially agree; and from which, of course, others will as decidedly differ. But, throughout the greater part of the book, there runs a coldness, a caution, a shrinking back from all slippery ground—which may be quite prudent in one who writes at Berlin, though he prints in Saxony, but which, in the eyes of those who have not known Frederic William III., wears an aspect of repulsiveness, not at all abated by the levity with which, as we have hinted, it so often alternates. These features, however, are united with others of a more positive cast, two of which we must briefly indicate—the one affecting the writer's observations on all parts of Italy—the other chiefly operative in what he has to say of the Austrian provinces.

The first is that indifference to constitutional questions, which justified us in characterizing him on a former occasion as essentially a *Conservative*. The improvement which representative constitutions would work on Italy, may have been sometimes over-estimated. Our traveller appears to be satisfied that they would effect no improvement at all. Accustomed at home to watch and aid the development of an intelligent system of *absolutism*, he neither seems to hold that the people have any right to a real representation in the general legislature, nor to believe that the acquisition of such a power would aid in improving either national character or national resources; nor even to sus-

pect (if we may judge from his usual dramatic impersonations) that the Italians themselves entertain any wish of the sort. The municipal administration alone, which he sees well developed in Prussia, and which formed one of the favourite subjects of research in his great work, excites in his mind a genuine interest; and his enquiries on this head are by far the most full and valuable parts of his book.

In the next place, however, he is, and was, with heart and soul, a Ghibelline. Our historical readers may think that this name, and its opposite, are words which had lost their meaning before the end of the middle ages. In our author's mind, they have signification and importance at the present day. When, in the twelfth century, the Guelf cities of Upper Italy rose against the German empire, they resisted a sovereign whose claim, as his Ghibelline adherents represented it, was founded on an ancient title, importing extensive prerogatives over the peninsula and its inhabitants, and fortified by a long though qualified acquiescence. Frederic Barbarossa was the successor of Otho the Great; Otho sat on the throne of Charlemagne; and Charlemagne represented the Roman emperors. The argument which was, or might have been, founded on these premises by the Imperialists, is dramatically recorded by our author in his 'History of the Hohenstaufen:' though we have not space to indicate the grounds on which, notwithstanding the new light which his researches have thrown upon many details, we still venture to think that he has stated imperfectly the defence which might have been set up for the republics; and that, after all, the view taken by Sismondi and Hallam is substantially the correct one. But let that be as it may, can the House of Austria now plead a title identical with, or in any respect similar to, that which was possessed by the Suabian princes? Von Raumer does not say that it can, nor enter into any argument on the subject. And yet (unconsciously, perhaps, in part) he takes up now a station almost precisely the same with that which he formerly occupied. He even, on one or two occasions, introduces the antiquated terms, talking gravely, for example, of the decay of the Guelf spirit in Italy; and it has amused us not a little to recognise other old friends in a new dress—arguments which once did duty as speeches delivered at the diet of Roncaglia, or as letters of negotiation interchanged between Frederic and his vassals, now assuming the modest garb of queries in relation to the present rights and prospects of Austrian Lombardy. In the author's own mind, whether he ever entertained the substantive proposition or not, Ferdinand Emperor of Austria holds the place of the noble-minded Frederic the Second, and

Prince Metternich is the able and enlightened Pietro delle Vigne. When he looks from the past to the future, he assumes an attitude somewhat bolder. The independence or unity of Italy is treated as a chimera; its position is said to offer it but a choice of masters—Germany on the one hand, or France on the other; and, except ameliorations admittedly necessary in details, the only change which seems conceivable is gently suggested in a query, whether the genius of the northern Germans (Prussia, to wit) might not comport better with that of the Italians than the Austrian temper has been found to do. Upon none of the momentous questions, which these remarks suggest, is it necessary for us to say a word. Our views as to Italian affairs have been repeatedly urged, and we have not seen any reason to alter them.

With regard to the present volumes, we are glad to pass from those subjects on which we differ from the writer, and to direct attention once more to the valuable information with which the work abounds. For most of the matters of which it treats, we can do nothing more. Even in Italy itself, statistical information is spreading fast, notwithstanding those obstacles, partly fortuitous and partly interposed by design, of which we recollect a diverting instance in an apology which the editors of the *Biblioteca Italiana* of Milan, writing in 1827, made for not having sooner reviewed an important treatise on Neapolitan roads, published four years before;—namely, that it had but just reached them—a plea which, it was added, the readers would easily admit, from the well-known difficulty of procuring books from Southern Italy. Some of the Italian periodicals and other works, embracing matter of this sort, may be met with in our own country, and our periodical literature occasionally makes use of these; while much more has been made accessible during the last few years by official documents, particularly Dr Bowring's able Report on the Commercial Statistics of several of the Italian States, (to which M. Von Raumer owns obligations,) and the papers periodically printed by the Board of Trade. In regard to commercial affairs, the present volumes are but fragmentary in comparison with information we thus already possess; though even in this department some incidental notices are unanticipated. The account of education adds much supplementary matter to that which had been already communicated by Valery, Serristori, Bowring, and others. The charitable institutions are treated elaborately and satisfactorily.

We shall not attempt at present to use any of the materials thus offered, except those which relate to the share which, in the

principal states, the nation is allowed to take in its own government, general or local. Excepting, however, a few details regarding the Papal and Neapolitan States, (which have a special interest as illustrative of recent occurrences,) we must refer our readers to M. Von Raumer himself for information regarding the communal, or municipal institutions. We pass over Tuscany with reluctance, because the civic regulations now in force throughout that duchy admit of receiving very curious historical illustration, not only from the laws of Leopold, on which they are founded, but from the polity of the free cities in the middle ages. We should have been well-pleased also to describe somewhat at length the municipalities of Piedmont, a section of the work which is not fully rendered in the translation. But we can afford only to glance rapidly at what may be called the Parliamentary History of Italy, which we wish to trace a little farther back than Von Raumer's plan has led him to do. The Austrian Provinces and the Papal States demand notice in our sketch, on account of that mockery of representative constitutions which has been given them in the present generation. The recent history of the Two Sicilies presents an interest of the same kind, while the older annals exhibit baronial parliaments in both sections of the kingdom; and the ancient diets of the Sardinian States claim attention likewise. Such studies are in history what the study of the skeleton is in anatomy. He is a novice who proceeds no farther than this point; but he who neglects it, cannot hope to master the more complex departments of his science.

Austrian Italy, composed entirely of provinces which have passed through the ordeal of subjection either to the oligarchy of Venice, or to the despotism of usurping lords, presented, on its incorporation with a great monarchy, nothing resembling those obnoxious assemblies which we call Parliaments. In these parts of Italy, indeed, such institutions had never properly existed. Feudalism, which was their root in other quarters, had here been early extirpated; and, even while Republicanism flourished throughout the great valley of the Po, society wanted those gradations, public polity that complex unity of structure, out of which arose the baronial parliaments of the middle ages. The Milanese dukes, and the Venetian signori, had merely to suppress, or to modify, or to confine to duties wholly municipal, those civic councils which, seated in the free towns, had been each the administration and legislature of a petty commonwealth; but which, even if the wishes of the conquerors had permitted it, could not easily have been transformed into parts of a great central system.

In the duchies of Milan and Mantua, when the Peace of Utrecht transferred them to the German branch of the House of Austria, the powers of legislation, taxation, and government, were found to be vested exclusively in the sovereign; and only some municipal prerogatives, and civic functionaries, had survived the two centuries of Spanish servitude. A plan, which was early laid before Maria-Theresa, but frustrated for many years by Austrian slowness and Italian mistrust and artifice, at length came into operation in 1755, and reduced Central Lombardy, in respect of the share of the subjects in political power, to a position closely resembling that of the Hereditary Austrian States. Joseph the Second's scheme of centralization, if it had been allowed time to take root in Italy, would have materially modified his mother's polity; but all the institutions of both fell, of course, to the ground, when the Germanic throne itself was overturned by the French Revolution.

After the Peace of 1814, the Emperor Francis introduced a new organization, both in the Lombard provinces which were then restored to him, and in those Venetian territories which he had gained in 1798. The details of the general and provincial administration were prescribed in a proclamation of 24th April 1815, which is a quasi-charter for the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom: the scheme for the communes was subsequently arranged. Maria Theresa's system is the foundation of the whole, being, indeed, copied almost without alteration in the measures regarding the local government, though the central assemblies and some other points of less consequence are innovations.

The proclamation of 1815 sets forth, as its motive, the emperor's desire 'to form colleges of men from the different classes of 'the state, through whom might be learned, in regular form, the 'wishes and desires of the nation.' Accordingly, the kingdom is divided into two general governments, the one of nine provinces, (*Territorio Milanese,*) having its seat at Milan; the other of eight provinces, (*Territorio Veneto,*) having its seat at Venice, and both, of course, subject to the resident viceroy. Founding upon these divisions, the edict directs the formation of two sorts of representative assemblies. The higher are two Central Congregations, one for the government of Milan, the other for that of Venice; the inferior class comprises seventeen Provincial Congregations, being one for each of the provinces. The proclamation specifies six years as the term for which the members of both classes of assemblies are to hold their seats, one-half going out triennially; but our author describes the members of the Provincial Congregations as sitting for only three years. The constitution of the assemblies is as follows:—

In each Provincial Congregation there are, in the first place, four, six, or eight landholders, according to the population of the province, half being nobles and half commoners; and, next, one representative for every city in the province which ranks as a royal borough. The special qualifications for eligibility are several:—the party must be a citizen of the kingdom, and, if noble, must have a patent confirmed by the emperor; he must reside in the province or city which he represents; he must be thirty years of age at least, and possess a capital of two thousand crowns, invested in land, trade, or manufactures. The elections are conducted very cautiously indeed. For filling up the periodical vacancies, (after the first election, over which, for both assemblies, the emperor reserved full right of control,) each commune proposes two names, those of a nobleman and commoner; and the lists so formed are submitted to the Provincial Congregation itself, which selects for each vacant place three qualified candidates, and transmits these purified lists to the Central Congretion; which, again, may either object to any individual, or lay the lists, without remark, before the government at Milan, or Venice, respectively. The government, unless its members choose to exercise a special veto, (the reasons of which they are bound to report to Vienna,) appoint to the vacant places the persons first named in each list. The delegate, or imperial governor of the province, is the president of the Provincial Congregation, and is responsible for the competency of any orders they issue to inferior boards. Its deputies have no salary, but possess honorary rank, and its functions are described by the proclamation under four heads—the business of the taxation of the province; the superintendence of the affairs of the towns and communes, for which purpose the communal councils must annually submit their accounts to it; the superintendence of roads, and of operations regarding the canals and rivers, so far as these belong to the province and not to the general government; the inspection of public charitable institutions. 'On these and other subjects of 'public administration,' adds the next section, 'the Provin-'cial Congregations are entitled to transmit to the Central Con-'gregations, representations assigning reasons; and these assem-'blies may either avail themselves of the representations, or reject 'them as groundless.'

Each Central Congregation contains two deputies, a nobleman and a commoner, for every province which the government contains, and one deputy for each of the royal cities. The qualifications of a deputy are, the possession of real taxable property, worth at least four thousand crowns, the age of thirty years complete, the right of citizenship, with (if the deputy is noble) a

confirmed patent, and residence in the kingdom, or in Austria. For the elections, the initiative is exercised in the same way as in the other class of assemblies; but the lists from the towns are transmitted directly to the Central Congregations, with a recommendation of a particular name; and these bodies are authorized to make a similar recommendation in submitting the reduced lists of the other class to the government; the Emperor reserving to himself the final right of nomination, and the prerogative of expelling any members 'who should show 'themselves' unworthy of the confidence reposed in them.' The deputies of the Central Congregations have honorary rank, and salaries of two thousand florins. Their president is the Governor of the Territorio Milanese, or Territorio Veneto respectively; and their functions are described under six heads:—The assessment and registration of any extraordinary taxes that might be imposed by the sovereign; the completion of the roll for the land-tax; the inspection of the communal revenues, and the consideration of the apportionment of public burdens between the towns or communes, the provinces, and the whole territory of the government; the allotment of the military services; the superintendence of such bridges, canals, and roads, as the government does not choose to take under its own charge; the general inspection and supreme administration of charitable institutions. This assignment of duties looks well so far as it goes; but the explanatory section which follows removes all risk of inconvenience to the government from any proceedings of the deputies: 'Provided that, in all these cases, the Central Congregation shall 'have only the power of superintendence, and only a consultative 'voice, in regard to the establishment and organization of expen-'diture not yet arranged; and that, in the several branches of 'administration above-mentioned, all which relates to resolutions 'already sanctioned, or expenditure already arranged, shall be 'the business of the provincial congregations *under the restric-'tions specified* in the part of the edict which relates to these 'assemblies.'—'We permit the Central Congregation,' it is added, 'to communicate to Us the necessities, wishes, and peti-'tions of the nation, and reserve to ourselves to ask them for 'advice when it shall seem good to us.'—'The Central Congre-'gation can neither issue ordinances, nor impose contributions 'and taxes, nor exercise in its own name any power legislative, 'judicial, or executive; but in regard to all the matters intrusted 'to it, as well as in the explanation of ordinances already sub-'sisting, it must lay the result of its deliberations before the 'government, which will either ratify them, or, if it is not entitled

'to do so, will apply for Our sovereign ratification. In cases, 'where the government refuses ratification, the Central Congre-'gation is entitled to make direct application to Us.'

In the dominions of the King of Sardinia, it costs us even less time than it did in the neighbouring sovereignty, to discover the amount of the popular influence on the government. States-general or provincial there are none, except in the island of Sardinia, the constitution of whose Stamenti, or national parliaments, must be familiar to most of our readers, and need not be described. But some may not be aware that, in the mainland provinces of the kingdom, the extinction of representative assemblies is a fact of no very ancient date. During several centuries there subsisted, under the Savoyard Counts, three separate diets, the relics of early feudal relations — the diet of their hereditary earldom of Savoy; that of Piedmont, whose cities had never been emancipated from vassalage so completely as to lose their obligation to attend the courts of their lord; and the parliament of the small but spirited county of Nice, whose privileges were expressly secured by the convention which, towards the end of the fourteenth century, surrendered the district to the Red Count Amadeus. The middle of the seventeenth century saw the cessation of all these assemblies. When Charles Emmanuel the Second, on attaining majority in 1648, re-organized the supreme government with an express view to crippling the provincial diets, all the three tamely acquiesced in his changes; and none of them was ever again summoned. The position of the municipalities, again, since the subjection of all the provinces to a regular monarchical rule, has been much what we might have expected to find in cities which, even during the tumult of the middle ages, had never been able, for any considerable time, to maintain even a partial self-government. Those rights of election or confirmation which had been so long exercised by the Bishops of Turin, the Marquesses of Montferrat, or the Counts of the Maurienne, passed insensibly into the hands of the more powerful house, which grew out of the last named; and the additional strength which the royal prerogative had acquired before the close of the seventeenth century, enabled the monarchs easily to make the dependence of the towns complete. Some points of municipal privilege, which lingered till the French invasion, were lost under the military empire; and the restored princes took care to draw the bridle even more tightly than it had been drawn by Napoleon. Turin alone has retained prerogatives which it had purchased of old by obedience; and Genoa has extorted similar rights by fear, from sovereigns who knew that

their subjects bitterly feel how gross a breach of faith that was which converted the Genoese republic into a Piedmontese duchy.

The Papal Proclamation, or *Motu-proprio*, of 6th July 1816, of whose tenor our author gives an abstract, was a measure infinitely more creditable to Pius the Seventh and his able secretary Consalvi, than were some other parts of their policy, both secular and ecclesiastical. It left the people in reality as powerless as they were before; but at least it conferred on them a distinct and uniform organization; and, to say nothing of the improvements which it attempted to introduce into the judicial system, its constitutional heads, however imperfect, if viewed in relation to any just theory of popular rights, were received as no new hardship by those who had been recently subjects either of the French military empire, or of the kingdom of Italy. In regard to the general administration, its most prominent feature was the division of the state into seventeen provinces; in each of which the Delegate or Governor had a council called the Congregazione di Governo, consisting of four, three, or two persons, according to the population, all named by the sovereign. The members of this board were to meet the delegate three times a week, but to possess only consultative voices. Each commune was to receive a council and a magistracy. The Council, containing, in proportion to the population, from sixteen to forty-eight members, was named in the first instance by the government, and afterwards was to be self-elective; and its members were to be landholders, traders, literary or scientific men, and manufacturers, no one class being allowed to monopolize all the seats. It was entitled to prepare annually, for the revision of the provincial governor, an assessment of the taxes leviable in the commune; and it might even impose extraordinary burdens, with the previous approbation of the papal cabinet. The magistracy was to consist of a Gonfaloniere, with administrative assessors, called Anziani, whose numbers were from two to six; while each village of the commune, besides the chief one, was to have a dependent syndic. All these magistrates were to hold office for two years, and to be chosen by the government from triple lists submitted by the communal councils. Their deliberations required, as we might have expected, the confirmation of the supreme authorities.

Narrow as this framework of polity was, it proved far too broad for the notions of the papal advisers. Its effective introduction was frustrated at every step; and in October 1824, Leo XII. issued a new *Motu-proprio*, which, announcing that the arrangements of his predecessor, 'confessedly imperfect in many

'particulars,' had been revised by more judicious legislators, annihilated the whole scheme at a blow. The provincial congregations were abolished; the municipal boards of the communes lost that shadow of power which they had possessed. Six years more matured the dangerous insurrection of the eastern provinces; the five great powers of Europe concurred in addressing a strong remonstrance to the Pope; and in July 1831, a proclamation of Gregory XVI. altered the administration for the third time. What this edict really did, Professor Von Raumer does not find it convenient to inform us. 'It was designed,' is all he says, 'to introduce those discreet modifications, to which 'the Powers had thought themselves bound to invite the attention 'of the Pope; but it has not gained the approbation of the ma-'jority, or at least it has been characterised as unsatisfactory.' Among the majority who expressed a disapprobation far more severe than this guarded one, we are glad to remember that our own government occupied a prominent place: in the minority stood the King of Prussia, and the mouth of the Berlin professor is closed alike by duty and gratitude. Upon our mouths there is no gag. The edict of 1831 was as paltry a shift as any that feeble despotism ever tried; and, if we could forget the Austrian bayonets, our marvel would be, not that it produced a new insurrection in the following January, but that the revolt was not tenfold more determined and extensive. In name, it restored both the Provincial Congregations and the Communal Councils; but it at once circumscribed their functions by a very narrow definition, and took away the little share the people had at first enjoyed in electing them. The provincial governor names the members of the communal councils, who must be approved by the cardinal-secretary of state; and from the body which the government in Rome has thus chosen, the same government next selects the members of the provincial congregations. 'Experienced Austrian functionaries, well acquainted 'with Italy,' adds Prince Metternich, in his Note to Sir Frederick Lamb, in July 1832, 'have been placed at the disposal of 'the Roman Government, in order to aid in introducing all 'ameliorations that are practicable in the difficult position in 'which it is placed.'

On the administration of Naples, the information communicated by Von Raumer is very full, and the recent date of his observations makes many of his details valuable, even after all that we had learned from Orloff, Colletta, and others.

Both the Sicilies, essentially feudal monarchies, brought down from the middle ages their national parliaments, which long embraced representatives of the towns along with the barons and

ecclesiastics. In the parliaments of the mainland provinces, after the Spanish conquest of 1503, the civic deputies either ceased to attend, or became perfectly passive; and, though the diets were very frequently summoned in the course of the sixteenth century, their business was confined to the voting of subsidies to the crown, and the presenting of petitions for additional privileges in favour of the church or the aristocracy. At length they were discovered to be useless, since taxes imposed by proclamations of the Royal Council were paid with as little reluctance as those voted by the barons; and in September 1642, the Neapolitan parliament assembled for the last time. The parliament of Sicily, in all its three sections, existed till the year 1812, but its partial share in legislation had been greatly curtailed by the Aragonese monarchs; and, from the time of Charles V., its functions were strictly confined to the voting of subsidies. The constitutional charter which the Sicilians received under the auspices of Lord William Bentinck, cannot even be said to have survived till the restoration of Ferdinand to his continental provinces, three years after its date. The new constitution, which, mainly founded on the charter of Louis the Eighteenth, had been arranged between the King and his insular subjects before he quitted Palermo in the summer of 1815, had entirely escaped his memory in December of the succeeding year, when he issued a proclamation which re-organized both divisions of his kingdom. The only mention of a representative assembly for Sicily, occurred in a clause which promised that a certain amount of taxation for the island should not be exceeded without the consent of the parliament. But, as Raumer and others have pertinently remarked, it was not very easy to see where a Sicilian parliament could be found, since no new basis was assigned for it; while its old foundation rested entirely on those feudal relations whose abolition, already solemnly pronounced, the edict expressly reiterated and confirmed. The Sicilians have, at present, the suspension of their ancient parliament to urge as one ground of their demand for the repeal of that unpopular union with Naples, which, decreed in 1816, and dissolved in 1821, has again taken place by a proclamation of 1837.

In 1821, besides a pretended national assembly, called a Consulta di Stato, which the crown was to name for each of the two divisions of the kingdom, there was instituted in every province a Provincial Council, to consist of an indefinite number of the most considerable landholders; who, named by the crown, were to hold place for two years, and to be employed in assessing the public taxes. There was also promised a new organization for

the communes—the king having, on his restoration in 1799, punished his rebellious nobles by abolishing the patrician Piazze, which had been for ages the municipalities of the towns. Professor Von Raumer furnishes many interesting particulars as to the way in which these arrangements have been carried out. In the first place, the intendant, or royal governor of each province, has a small body of assessors, who, besides possessing certain judicial functions, are entitled to give an opinion on administrative questions when their president chooses to consult them. The provincial councils, in which likewise the intendant presides, contain from fifteen to twenty members, who meet once a-year for twenty days at most, and are prohibited from entering on any matters but those on which their consultative votes are specially required. They are renewed annually to the extent of one-fourth; names being proposed by the decurions for the selection of the government. Subordinate to them are district councils of ten members, resembling them in their powers, or rather in their impotency. The administration of every commune is vested in a syndic, two 'eletti,' and a council of decurions. In order to be eligible to any of the boards, one must possess, in towns of the first class, an income rated for a certain amount of taxes, or have carried on for five years some liberal profession: in towns of the two inferior classes, the property-qualification is lower, and its equivalents are the exercise of any trade, or the holding of a farm of a prescribed extent. For filling up the board of decurions, of whom one-fourth retire annually, the intendant selects from the roll of qualified persons three names for every vacant place; and from these the minister nominates at pleasure. The number of decurions is from eight to thirty for each commune; and one-third of them at least must be able to read and write. They assess the taxes, propose the small additional burdens designed for communal purposes, and perform other duties, in all of which they require the confirmation of the intendant. They nominate the eletti without control, and the syndic, whose election requires confirmation; and the officers thus appointed, who are the real administrators of the commune, hold their places for three years.

ART. VII.—*The African Slave Trade, and the Remedy for it.* By THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, Esq. 8vo. London: 1840.

OUR object in this article is not so much to discuss generally the subject of Mr (now Sir Thomas) Buxton's work, as to direct the attention of our readers to that work. We consider it a most valuable publication, and we feel that the author has laid all who take an interest in the question under very great obligations, by the labour which he has bestowed upon it. He has collected almost every thing that is to be found relating to the slave trade, and to Africa as connected with that detestable traffic. Scattered as his materials were over a number of publications, some of them but little known to general readers, a mass of Parliamentary documents, and a considerable bulk of private correspondence, the industry and ability which he has shown, and the untiring zeal with which he has been animated, are above all praise. The book, too, in which he has enabled those who would discuss the subject to find by far the greater part, if not the whole materials of the argument, is published at a price adapted to promote its general circulation, and requiring on the author's part, apparently, a considerable pecuniary sacrifice; as we do not conceive that, for a volume of about six hundred pages, five shillings can be any thing like a remunerating price. We verily believe that, since the cause was deprived of the invaluable labours of Zachary Macaulay, there is no other person who could have rendered it such service; and we deem it as high and as pure an honour as can be gained by any man, to have entitled himself to a comparison with one so greatly and so justly esteemed. But Sir Thomas Buxton's merits do not stop here. Having, unfortunately for the interests of humanity, retired from Parliament, he has devoted his leisure to the formation of a Society which is calculated to obtain very great advantages for the African race, by continuing and extending the labours of the African Institution. Its object is the extinction of the slave trade, and the civilisation of Africa; and the work now before us is published in aid of its benevolent proceedings. We shall best assist in promoting the object, both of the author and of the Association, by making the reader acquainted with the views which they entertain; and by fairly and plainly stating the points on which we differ with them.

But we must in the outset meet a most unfair clamour which is raised against the Abolition party, by those who have only superficially considered the subject, although it is in some measure sanctioned by careless expressions, and occasionally by exag-

gerated statements, proceeding from individuals of that party itself. We have been engaged, it is said, for above half a century in putting down the slave trade; and after pluming ourselves on our victory over the enormity, behold, it is found to flourish more than ever. Therefore the general inference is drawn, that all our labours have been in vain, and that if, instead of attempting to destroy the traffic by force, we had set ourselves about preventing it by civilizing Africa, our object might have been attained. Another and a practical inference is, that the old and powerful party of the Abolitionists are unsafe guides, because their councils have only led to failure. Now, as we have for eight-and-thirty years * followed these guides, and as we see no reason whatever to look out for new leaders, we shall briefly state the grounds of our continued adherence, and show how entirely fallacious these objections are.

The abolition of the slave trade carried on by this country, was the great object in view when the contest began, and that has been completely attained. Not a single slave is now imported into any of the British settlements; nor is any British subject concerned in carrying slaves to or from any other country. Slave-trading, as far as we are concerned, has been put down effectually; that is to say, as effectually as any other crime which our laws visit with severe punishment, and much more effectually than many crimes; for it is certain that fewer British subjects are engaged in this than in the great majority of the offences cognisable by our penal laws. Now, let us stop here, and suppose for a moment that nothing else has been done; that the whole of the trade given up by us has passed into the hands of other nations; that not one slave the less has been taken across the Atlantic since 1808, than would have been had our abolition never taken place; that consequently, as far as Africa is concerned, nothing has been gained; nay, even suppose that, by the traffic being under worse regulations, positive injury has been sustained in consequence of our ceasing to commit the crime—still it is quite clear that a very great benefit has been conferred upon mankind, as well as a great step been made by this country:—A great step made by this country; because we have ceased to be involved in the most horrible enormity ever committed by nations;—a great benefit conferred upon mankind; because the only way in which improvements ever can be made, is by one nation taking the lead to do what is right, and others sooner or later

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* The *Edinburgh Review* began its labours in this cause on its first publication in October 1802.

following. Strictly speaking, all that is required of any people is, to do their duty and keep clear of reproach. It is an additional good that their example may be followed, and benefit accrue to others as well as to themselves. It is a much better thing if they can confer the benefit sooner, by obtaining a more speedy co-operation. But the main point is doing their own duty; just as an individual has first of all to act honestly and prudently in his own concerns, and justly gains the praise of worth and wisdom, even if he should fail both by his example and his exhortations in gaining any converts to his system. The argument, if such it can be called, against which we are now contending, is as old as the very first moment of the controversy; but then it was only used by our adversaries. 'Why give up your slave trade? 'If you don't carry it on, others will.' The answer was—'Then 'let them. Because there lurk a gang of robbers in the wood, 'who you know will pounce upon that wayfaring man, are you 'therefore to attack him before he enters it?' There is great merit in desiring to extend the benefits of our example, so that Africa may be secured from the horrors of the slave trade; and in working actively for that purpose, there is still greater merit. But the primary duty of Great Britain is, to watch over the conduct and the safety of British subjects; and as no one can have the least right to complain of her after she has abandoned all concern in the traffic, by whomsoever, or in what extent soever it may subsequently be carried on, so they who have made us free from the guilt of it, have succeeded in the first great object of all their endeavours.

The same may be said of the abolition of slavery. We have succeeded completely in that important measure. Let who will hold men as property, and work them like beasts of burden, this country has no share in such enormous wickedness. If the negro emancipation should diminish the growth of colonial produce in our colonies, and, stimulating the cultivation of new lands elsewhere, create increased demand for African slaves, the crime is not ours. We have done our duty. Nor can it be doubted that our example will sooner or later be followed, long, it is devoutly to be hoped, before the perseverance of others in the guilt of slave-trading and slave-holding shall bring upon their heads and those of their victims the fearful visitation of negro insurrection, to which their present course is manifestly leading. Let this then be steadily kept in mind; the enemies of the slave trade and of slavery in Great Britain have NOT failed; they have succeeded in their main object; they have destroyed both as far as their own country is concerned, even upon the most unfavourable view which it is possible to take of their exertions, as regards Africa and other foreign nations.

But it is not true that no positive diminution of the slave trade has been effected. Whatever portion of the slaves imported into our colonies were required to keep up the cultivation of the old lands, has been for ever cut off from the traffic. The total number required for our colonies, was more than 20,000 a-year. If we suppose that three-fourths of this number were either sold by us again, or employed in breaking up new lands, and so increasing the amount of produce brought into the market of the world, (surely a large allowance,) then our abolition has diminished, by five thousand yearly, the numbers brought from Africa, supposing that Cuba and Brazil succeeded to all the rest of our cultivation. But we must add to this a much larger number which used to be imported into Guiana, Guadaloupe, Martinico, and Trinidad. In one year this amounted to 40,000 during the war; but that number, of course, included those required for clearing new grounds. As the French and the Dutch have abolished their slave trade, the restoration of their colonies has left matters as they stood before the peace; or as they would have stood if we had retained those colonies. Therefore, whatever part of this number, 40,000, was destined to keep up the old cultivation, is to be reckoned as permanently taken from the slave traffic. Now, the mortality was always much greater in the Dutch and French colonies than in ours; consequently we cannot reckon the number saved by the abolition at less than 10,000, making the whole at the very least 15,000—which would have been torn yearly from Africa beyond the number now taken, had the great question of the abolition not been carried in England. To this number we further must add those lost on the voyage and in Africa, in order to obtain the amount imported; for the numbers to which we have been referring are those actually brought into the sugar colonies. If it be said that the attempts made to check the foreign slave trade have occasioned a greater loss under this latter head than used to be incurred, while England, France, and Holland carried on the traffic openly, and under the sanction of the law; we answer, that the question now under discussion relates to the merits of the abolition as a British measure; and that whatever may since have been done to put down the foreign slave trade, is wholly unconnected with that measure. If, immediately after abolishing our own traffic, and obtaining the concurrence of France and Holland to abolish theirs, we had let that of Spain and Portugal alone, the difference to Africa would have been at the least 15,000 a-year, supposing all the extension of sugar and coffee planting which the abolition stopped had been transferred to the Brazils and Cuba.

It is quite necessary to keep these things in view while we are considering this important subject; because the zeal with which

men press on to things as yet unaccomplished, is always apt to make them undervalue what has already been gained; and when they are seen to deal in such careless representations, persons of reflection not unnaturally either reckon them unsafe guides, if the statement be disbelieved, or become disheartened, if it be trusted;—asking, what use there can be in exertions to obtain objects which are always described as of paramount importance until brought within our reach, and then treated as utterly insignificant. 'Nil actum REPUTANS dum quid superesset agendum,'—is an admirable principle of action; 'nil actum CLAMANS,'—would most effectually take away the power of doing whatever remained to be done, at least where any co-operation was required. It is rather in the manner than in the substance of their statements, that Sir Thomas Buxton and others have given occasion to those cavils against which our present remarks are directed. The cavils, we need scarcely add, proceed chiefly from the colonial party, although they are not wholly confined to that body.

Having now cleared the way, we may proceed to observe, that, unhappily, the Foreign Slave Trade has increased exceedingly since the peace, and that it now presents a truly appalling picture of crime and misery. The facts which, for some years past, have been brought before Parliament and the country, are quite demonstrative of this; and they do not stand in need of any but the most simple statement to strike every one with consternation. Sir Thomas Buxton has collected them, and added some new particulars. He estimates the whole importation into the Spanish and Portuguese colonies at 150,000 yearly. But this he gives as the very least number; and the grounds upon which he builds his calculation would certainly raise it much higher. Thus in three years ending 1830, there appear, by the returns of the British vice-consul, to have been 148,940 imported into Rio-Janeiro alone—or nearly 50,000 a-year. Returns from the British commissioners show the importation into Bahia, Pernambuco, Maranham, and Para, to have been 21,000 yearly at the same period. But a traveller, Mr Coldcleugh, states that those outports import as many as Rio itself. According to this statement, then, nearly 100,000, and, according to the other, about 70,000,* are brought into these five ports alone, without allowing any for the smuggling carried on by landing slaves on the coast; and our author gives a number of particular facts that show a great traffic of this description. He also cites similar autho-

* Sir Thomas Buxton says 78,000; but this is made by inadvertently dropping the two first years of the three, and supposing the number (56,000) of the third to be the average.

rities to prove that the traffic had not decreased in 1836 and 1837, and that it has been increasing down to the present time. Again, the slave population of Brazil in 1792, was 600,000, and the annual decrease, by excess of deaths over births, is five per cent, which, in ten years, would have reduced the numbers to little more than 360,000;* and, in 1835, it is easy to show that they would have been reduced to about 68,000. Now, instead of that, the census of 1835 gave 2,100,000 as the number of slaves. These newly imported slaves die in a larger proportion than Creoles; consequently much more than five per cent of these must have died beyond the births. But suppose only an excess of five per cent, there must be added 600,000 for the loss during the period of twenty years over which this importation extends; namely, the period between the peace and the census. This would make a total importation of above 2,600,000, or 130,000 yearly. The importation into Cuba has been very large also, according to similar documents. The annual excess of deaths over births in that island is 8½ per cent., being 10 upon sugar, and 5 upon coffee plantations. In 1828, the census gave 300,000 for the whole slave population, which, in 1830, should have fallen to 250,000, had there been no importation. Instead of that, it had increased to 479,000, leaving an excess of about 230,000,† or an importation of 115,000 yearly. So that by these statements the importation of Brazil and Cuba would seem to be about 245,000, instead of 150,000, at which Sir T. B. is content to take it. The price of slaves being L.70 in those countries, this indicates an expenditure of between seventeen and eighteen millions yearly; and certainly it does seem hardly credible that any profits of the planters can support such a drain. Some have accordingly contended that this proves the statements to be exaggerated. Thus the whole exports from Cuba being only L.4,200,000 sterling a-year, and 115,000 negroes costing between eight and nine millions, it does seem difficult to conceive so rapid an increase. The cultivation, however, has evidently increased with the numbers of the slaves. For the produce of sugar, which, in 1829, was 164 millions of pounds, had risen, in 1836, to nearly 370 millions; and it is evidently a fallacy to reckon the cost of the slaves merely as an expense of cultivation; it is an outlay to increase the capital employed in planting. The wear and tear, no doubt, that is, the 8½ per cent decrease, must be taken as an expense; and upon

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* The functionaries and planters cited by Sir Thomas Buxton say to one-half, or 300,000; but this is a miscalculation of an obvious kind.

† Our author calls it 226,994; but he plainly omits to reckon the diminution upon the imported slaves.

480,000 this would amount to above L.2,800,000, at L.70 a slave, leaving only L.1,400,000 for all the other expenses of cultivation, and the shipping, and other mercantile charges, and the profits. We perceive, too, in the accounts of Porto Rico, upon which reliance is placed, an increase in the produce of sugar, elevenfold in sixteen years, ending 1830—but an increase of nearly sevenfold in the whole exports; while the slave population appears to have trebled between 1820 and 1836. Consequently, it is probable that if we had the accounts of exports for the latter years, these, too, would have been found to have greatly increased since 1830. After making every allowance, therefore, for the inaccuracy of the returns; supposing, as is very possible, that the census may have been less accurate at the earlier periods to which those returns relate; the melancholy result is yet certain, that ever since the peace, the slave trade has been carried on by the Spaniards and Portuguese to an extent wholly unparalleled at any other period of its history. For, in 1790, before the destruction of St Domingo, it was never by any one supposed to exceed 70,000; and the very lowest estimate now made carries it to double that amount. We have said nothing of the numberless proofs from particular captures, which are given in Sir T. F. Buxton's work; because they are probably within the recollection of most readers who have attended to the subject for the last few years. But they are brought together in a striking and useful manner by our author; and they shed a truly horrid light upon the atrocious details of this traffic. For we need scarcely add, that the very circumstance of the commerce being contraband not only increases the numbers taken from Africa, by the amount of all the captures made, and by the still larger amount of all the lives sacrificed in the attempts to avoid being taken, but occasions those dreadful scenes of torture during the middle passage, more shocking by a great deal than even the scenes which, in the earlier days of the controversy, first arrested the attention of the people of this country, and roused them to abolish their share of the traffic.

The question then is, how shall we extinguish this enormous evil of the Foreign Slave Trade, such as it now appears to be? Three modes have been proposed:—Declaring it piracy; abolishing slavery; civilizing Africa. That either of these would be perfectly effectual, appears very manifest. As to the second and the third, no doubt can exist of their efficacy; the first would not be effectual in our author's opinion, even if the assent of all nations could be obtained. But this position seems quite untenable. How has the British slave trade been abolished? The profits were so large that no pecuniary penalties could be expected to affect it materially, because men will cheerfully expose

themselves to a risk of losing ship and cargo three or four times, provided the fifth voyage, being successful, covers all losses, and leaves a large gain. But the legislature wisely foresaw that men would not expose themselves to even a much smaller risk of being tried and convicted as felons. The traffic was therefore treated as a felony; and it has ceased to be carried on. The case of the Mauritius, no doubt, proves that the mere enactment of a law will not insure its execution; but no one knows better than Sir Thomas Buxton that the culpable conduct of the authorities there occasioned the evasion of the law; and that the importation ceased as soon as the attention of Parliament had been steadily fixed upon the subject. Besides, the proposition for declaring slave trade piracy, assumes that the right of search and seizure should be exercised, and that the culprits should be prosecuted by the captors in the courts of this, and not of the criminal's country. We therefore can entertain no doubt whatever, that if this could be obtained, an effectual end would be put to the atrocious crime; and as it is most manifestly the only effectual remedy of the three which we have mentioned, it is extremely injudicious to underrate the efficacy of this course, while we dwell upon the merits of the others; because the efforts to obtain the means of adopting it are sure thus to be relaxed.

It is painful to reflect on the opportunity which was lost in 1814, and still more in 1815, and which is not likely ever to be again presented, of obtaining the concurrence of the different powers in such a declaration. Those who could dictate, or nearly dictate the terms of that peace, were wholly without an interest in the slave trade question. France herself had a far less considerable interest in it than any of the great powers possessing colonies. Holland was willing to abandon the traffic, and would therefore have joined with England in putting it universally down. Spain and Portugal were alone deeply concerned in maintaining it; and the governments of both owed their existence to England, and were more completely at the mercy of the Allies, who had brought the war to a successful termination, than any dynasties nominally independent ever were in modern times. No one certainly could have foreseen, that in the course of a year or two, these two countries, the feeblest in Europe, would be suffered to brave the indignation of the whole world, and carry on a traffic universally execrated by mankind, with the gains which all others shrunk from touching. Had the Congress foreseen that upwards of two hundred thousand Africans yearly would be carried into slavery by the miscreants who use the flag of these two feeble powers, it would assuredly have come to a resolution, that slave trading is a crime against the law of nations, and should be treated as a piratical offence. Now that the dread-

ful facts are before the world, is it too late to take the same course which, had they been known, we may so reasonably believe would then have been pursued?

Let us only consider why a pirate is treated as the enemy of the human race, and not suffered to claim the protection of the country to which he belongs. The reason usually assigned is, because he makes the great highway of nations, the sea, insecure. But suppose a set of seamen confined their depredations to the harbours and coasts;—landed in unprotected places, and, plundering the inhabitants, escaped with the booty to their vessels, and put off to sea. This would not, in contemplation of law, be piracy, and the offenders would *perhaps* only be triable in the country where they had landed and committed the robbery. But, suppose this course of depredation to become very general, and a great number of individuals of various countries to engage in it, there can be no doubt that a new head of piracy would be added to the code of public law, and those depredators would be treated as pirates. We have said, that, as the law now stands, *perhaps* they would be considered to have consummated their offence on shore, and therefore only to be triable in the country where they had landed. If, however, the having and forcibly detaining the stolen property while at sea were considered a maritime offence, and so to bring the parties within the piracy laws; then so is, *a fortiori*, the act of slave trading; for numberless offences are committed in the voyage beside the unlawful detaining of the persons. But we will assume that the parties in the case put, could only be tried in the country; and still it appears quite evident that such an addition to, or rather enlarged and liberal construction of, the law of nations, as we suggest, must inevitably follow from the offence becoming general.

Again, if it be said that the foundation of the law respecting piracy is the general interest which all nations have in putting it down, let us ask, if a course of depredations would be the less piratical for being confined to one nation's vessels, leaving all others untouched. Suppose a set of robbers to arm themselves only for the purpose of attacking ships and boats belonging to some one petty African state, and that it was perfectly certain no other vessels ever were or ever could be attacked;—nay, suppose the depredators were only to follow their calling in such boats, and such small numbers, as to make their attacking any other craft physically impossible—surely this would never prevent them from being dealt with as pirates; and yet, except that petty African state, no person in the world could have the least interest in putting them down. But it cannot be denied that all

nations have a very direct interest in putting down the slave traffic;—an interest proportioned to their interest in preventing piracy of the worst description. For that traffic is the very school in which the most desperate and dangerous pirates are trained. The whole proceedings of the slave-trader fit him for the calling of a pirate; and the remorseless cruelty with which he sacrifices the lives of his victims by the hundred, in attempting to escape his pursuers, can only be equalled by the savage desperation with which he sells his own so dearly, when he chances to be overtaken.

If, indeed, it should be objected to making this alteration, or rather modification, of the public law of Europe, that there is a risk of such change being in other instances attempted, where all but one or two nations are agreed, and the powerful are thus leagued against the feeble;—the answer is obvious. This precedent will never justify any change being introduced, unless the *universal feelings of mankind go along with it*, and have for ages run in the same direction. The precedent will not be very dangerous which can only be cited to provide for such a case; and if any new form of crime shall ever be invented which inflicts half as much misery on its victims, or is calculated to raise half as much indignation in the minds of all but its perpetrators, then no one is likely to raise an objection against a still further addition being made to the code of the law of nations, for the pious purpose of putting down the novel enormity.

But it is said, and we fear truly said, that there would be great difficulty in obtaining the concurrence which will be necessary before such a step can be taken. Then, at least, let it be distinctly understood at whose door the blame lies. England is anxious to do her duty; all the powers of Europe, having no colonies, are willing to join her, if France and America will consent: Holland, Denmark, Sweden, though possessed of colonies, make no objection; nay, the Dutch have the same good disposition with ourselves; therefore, if Spain and Portugal shall be permitted to continue in the perpetration of the foulest iniquity that ever stained the character of any nation, it must be because France and America will not join with England in preventing it. *Are the statesmen, then, are the inhabitants of these two free and enlightened countries, deliberately resolved to take upon themselves the odium of suffering such scenes to be enacted as it curdles the very blood in men's veins to think of?* That the miscreants who dishonour the Spanish and the Portuguese names, are carrying thousands of their fellow-creatures in noisome, pestilential dungeons across the Atlantic, in chains, and in torments—smothering them in casks when they wish to conceal

them—butchering them in cold blood when they dread their resistance—throwing them overboard like bales of lumber when they wish to quicken their pace, or subjecting them to a cruel and lingering death in their plantations—this it is which the statesmen, or the people, or both, in France and in America, *are content to admit is their own doing*, as long as England finds it impossible to obtain their concurrence in pronouncing the single word which would at once and for ever abolish these enormities. We are all along assuming that no objection is made in any part of this country to the government exerting itself to adopt those effectual means of prevention. There are interests, we doubt not, much opposed to such a course. The enormous capital required for the operations carrying on in Cuba and Brazil, must in great part certainly be supplied from this country. They who have furnished it, however, will be slow to appear openly as adversaries to the extinction of the traffic; and it is devoutly to be hoped that the only means by which their 'course of dealing' can ever be detected, may before long be resorted to—a searching investigation before committees of both Houses of Parliament. Some light will probably then be shed upon that which many are at present unable clearly to comprehend; namely, how countries proverbially so poor as Spain and Portugal, have been able to invest at the rate of greatly above ten millions sterling a-year since the peace, in all certainly much more than a hundred and fifty millions of money, in the extension of sugar and coffee planting!

We have dwelt little on the other remedies proposed—the emancipation of all slaves, and the civilisation of Africa,—because, though they would no doubt be effectual, they seem calculated, the latter evidently, only to operate in the course of centuries. The prospect is but a remote one of obtaining the consent of the Spaniards and Portuguese to put down slavery; but it is still less likely, we fear, that any efforts of this country should so far change the habits of the Africans as to reclaim them from the traffic which seems now to be their main occupation. The plan of extending our commercial intercourse with them, and, above all, of carrying on such agricultural operations in their country, as shall show them how profitable a substitute for slave trading they may easily and safely obtain, was, as far back as 1821, recommended with great ability by Mr M'Queen—a gentleman who, for knowledge of the subject, has been surpassed by no one; and who, beside entering into the most important details of the question, for the purpose of showing how ample the resources of Africa are in all the most valuable branches of colonial industry, had the great merit of first suggesting the real course of the Niger; long before

the accidental discovery of Lander proved that it runs into the Bight of Benin. Differing most widely, as we have always done, with Mr M'Queen upon colonial questions, we cannot, without great injustice, withhold from him this praise.* His doctrine has been adopted by the Society which owes its origin to Sir Thomas Buxton's active exertions; and the work now before us enforces it at great length, and with a body of important and interesting evidence relating to the capabilities of Africa for agriculture and for trade. The Government, too, has so far adopted the same views, that an expedition is fitting out to ascend the Niger, open a friendly communication with the native chiefs, and encourage the legitimate commercial intercourse with their provinces; and it is in the highest degree honourable to Lord Glenelg, during whose administration of the colonial department the resolution appears to have been formed,† that, notwithstanding Mr M'Queen's known opinions on West Indian affairs, and the strong part he had always taken upon the controversy connected with them, his lordship applied to him as the person best fitted to superintend the execution of the plan which had chiefly originated with him. But whether he accompanies it or not, great improvement of our knowledge respecting the interior of Africa, may be expected from this expedition. Something will also, we fain hope, be gained for the extension of the legitimate trade. The settling a factory at Fernando Po, an island in the Bight of Benin, and one or two other factories, (especially one at the junction of the Tchadda and Niger,) may be attended with advantage; and Sir Thomas Buxton, as well as Mr M'Queen, is sanguine in his hopes of the effects which will be produced upon the natives, when they see how easily valuable goods may be raised and sold for more than they now get by selling one another. It is impossible not to wish well to the experiment; and the cost of making it, even if it shall fail, no one has any right to grudge; provided the settlements that are formed shall not involve us in the necessity of maintaining them for ever, even after they shall be found to be useless. But we own that our hopes are slender of the result. Sir Thomas Buxton argues, that the profits of the slave trade, being 180 per cent, and no smuggling ever being successfully checked where a profit of above 30 per cent is to be made, we

* Mr M'Queen has recently published a book on the Geography of Africa, in which he re-states his former arguments. The reader will find it a work of great value. The map is admirable. But the strong prejudices of the Colonial party every where appear in the general remarks.

† M'Queen, *Geography of Africa*, p. lxxxv.

have no chance of extirpating the foreign slave traffic by mere capture and confiscation, because the trader can afford to lose many cargoes, and still to gain greatly. Will not the same argument apply to the native African trader? Will not the European slaver be able to raise out of that 180 per cent the miserable four pounds which he now pays? Nay, were it necessary, would not the planter in Cuba and Brazil, who now pays L.70, (the price on which the profits of the slave trade are calculated,) be able to raise that price, if he found our legitimate commerce with the natives made it necessary to pay much more for their victims? It is also asserted by a writer who practically knows the African states,* that the traffic has already left the part of the coast to which the plans in contemplation refer, and gone much further to the southward; so that it is greatly to be feared, that even if the Delta of the Niger were converted and civilized, the slave trade would be carried on elsewhere. This is, however, any thing rather than a reason for relaxing our efforts to bring about so desirable an end as the improvement of Africa. It is only an argument against flattering ourselves with the hope, that those efforts will, before the lapse of many years, extirpate the guilty traffic.

It must not, however, be supposed that Sir T. Buxton would confine our exertions to the encouragement of trade and agriculture. He considers, and very justly, that to give our operations even a chance of succeeding, redoubled activity must, for a time at least, be used in checking the slave trade; and that if the increased number of cruisers, and especially of steam-boats, which can enter the rivers, shall even produce a temporary diminution of the traffic in slaves, some time may be given, in a part of Africa at least, for weaning the natives from their present barbarous pursuit of man-hunting, and turning their minds to the cultivation of their eminently fertile country.

That any permanent benefit can arise to the suppression of the trade from all our exertions, as long as a *pecuniary loss alone* is the consequence of capture, we entirely agree with him in firmly believing. Nay, that all we are now doing only increases

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* See an *Appeal to the Government and People of Great Britain against the proposed Niger Expedition*, by R. Jamieson, Esq. This gentleman's warning deserves to be well considered. He is apprehensive that if government, or societies with large funds profusely administered, embark in operations either of trade directly, or, which is much more likely, of friendly intercourse, sustained by presents with the native chiefs, the private trader, on whom we must necessarily rely, will be driven from the field. He himself has in consequence already abandoned a speculation.

the number of persons torn annually from Africa, and grievously augments the cruelty of their treatment on the voyage, seems quite indisputable. The necessary conclusion, therefore, is, that all our toil and all our expenditure, both of money and of lives, in the war we wage against the Foreign Slave Trade, are worse than useless, and ought to be stopped as soon as the experiment now making has been fairly tried, unless we shall be enabled to take the only effectual course of treating the slave-trader as a criminal. To civilize Africa generally while the traffic lasts, seems nearly hopeless. But the plan in contemplation may do something towards it in the neighbourhood of the great river, especially if Mr Jamieson be right in his assertion, that the traffic has nearly left that district.

Beside the plans to which we have adverted, a fourth has been lately propounded by an able writer, apparently acquainted with Africa from personal observation.* It consists in supplying free labourers to the British colonies from North America, Sierra Leone, and wherever else free negroes can be found willing to work for the comparatively high wages which our planters can afford to give. But as the imminent risk of this becoming a slave trade at once must strike every one, the author proposes that Government alone should undertake the task of transporting those labourers; that they should have an option of being brought back cost free; and that no bargain to continue for longer than one year should be suffered. This plan has met, it seems, with much favour with some eminent authorities among the West Indians, particularly in Trinidad. We think it our duty to give it circulation; adding, however, that we are aware of the extreme difficulty which must attend its execution, and of the yet more serious risks which it would encounter of perversion and abuse.

But that the produce of free labour would, and that speedily, beat the produce of Cuba and Brazil out of the market, there can be no manner of doubt. The sugar, for example, of Cuba, is subject to a necessary burden of ten per cent upon the most valuable portion of the capital invested in its cultivation, namely, the slaves. If each slave produces a hogshead and a half yearly, and these are sold for L.30, there must be paid the sum of L.700 for new negroes, beside all other costs, before those hogsheads can be shipped, or about twenty-three per cent upon the gross produce of

* *Westminster Review*, No. LXVI., June 1840. This paper is written under the influence of strong prejudices, and in some of its remarks is plainly erroneous. Those prejudices, however, are not West Indian.

the estate. Now, this leads to an undeniable conclusion; and we earnestly entreat the attention of the New African Society to it. Its members are men belonging indifferently to all parties, and who have only the interest of humanity at heart. They can have no fears of incurring the hostility of the West Indian body. They know, too, that great sacrifices have been made to that body by the people of this country. Then, suppose it is found impracticable to obtain the concurrence of France and America in declaring the slave trade piracy—suppose it is admitted (as all really must admit) that while the traffic exists, no considerable portion of Africa can be civilized; that until civilisation becomes greatly extended in Africa, the South American planters cannot be undersold; and that, until they can be undersold, the slave trade will continue while any portion whatever of Africa remains barbarous—what course have we left but to repeal the protecting duty upon East Indian sugar, and thus, at once, to promote the improvement of Asia, to secure the destruction of the slave trade, and to give Africa the only chance of becoming peaceful and enlightened? The people of this country, too, have paid twenty millions to extinguish slavery, and fifteen millions to abolish the slave trade; let them now carry into effectual execution both those great designs, by a measure which, instead of adding to the burdens already imposed upon them, will, before many years elapse, be found a very considerable relief to them; and will, in the mean time, benefit incalculably many millions of their fellow-subjects in the East, as well as of their fellow-creatures all over the world. Unless the attention of the Abolitionists is seriously directed to this subject, they may rest assured that they do not faithfully discharge what remains to be performed of their duty to the cause.*

* An Abridgement of Sir Thomas Buxton's book has been published by the Society, and is sold for a Shilling. But we strongly recommend the reader to prefer the original work itself, which is fifty times cheaper at Five Shillings. Its size, too, should deter no one from reading it; for it is full of most interesting matter.—The Society has been very incautious in sanctioning the publication of this Abridgement, which has been prepared by persons so little acquainted with the subject, as to speak of Sir Thomas Buxton's having '*detected the secret*'—(p. 6)—of the enormous profits of the slave trade, and founded upon '*this discovery, his* '*own peculiar remedy.*' Whoever reads the book itself, will find that its able, candid, and excellent author, makes no kind of claim to any such '*discovery;*' and, if possible, still less to a '*peculiar remedy.*'

ART. VIII.—*Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries.* By HENRY HALLAM. 4 vols. 8vo. London: 1837—1839.

WE have delayed for a long time to notice this great work, the most important contribution to literary history which English libraries have received for many years; and our excuse for the delay must be found in the high character of the author, as well as the importance of the subject. Even for the purpose of the very brief observations which we can hazard, an attentive study of its contents was more than usually necessary.

Few labours of the same extent have ever been accomplished with less assistance. Mr Hallam truly says in his preface, which contains a short review of the principal works of his predecessors in the same department, that 'we possess little of this kind in our 'language.' In fact, except in the single subject of poetry, the English student has scarcely any thing to guide him in acquiring even a general knowledge of great literary names and works, except some very imperfect Biographical Dictionaries. Foreign libraries are undoubtedly richer in comprehensive treatises of this description; and Germany has of late contributed largely to this as well as other branches of laborious and learned investigation. But most of the extensive compilations referred to in this preface appear to be valuable, chiefly as books of reference; not as 'entire and synoptical works,' among which it is Mr Hallam's desire that his own should be ranked.

Mr Hallam's arrangement is chronological. The first volume carries the reader down to the year 1520, in a sort of introductory sketch, in which the classification of books, according to subjects and language, is not very strictly adhered to. After 1520, he pursues a very minute and accurate plan. The first volume concludes with the thirty years from 1520 to 1550; the remaining three are divided into half centuries, down to 1700, the era at which the work concludes. Each half century is subdivided into chapters, severally devoted, or nearly so, to 'ancient literature,' to use his own rather ambiguous term; theological literature; speculative philosophy; moral and political philosophy; poetry; dramatic literature; 'polite' literature; physical and miscellaneous literature. In each chapter, the arrangement according to Nations is generally followed, particularly in those devoted to the 'humanities;' and commonly in the order of Italy, Spain, France, and England:—Germany, as far as her vernacular language is concerned, hardly coming in for a place in the ranks. It

must be added that this classification follows the chronological order of books, and not that of births or deaths.

We have heard this mode of arrangement condemned as unnatural and arbitrary, and tending to diminish the interest of the work: it is, undoubtedly, often unsatisfactory, as the divisions thus assumed break into the middle of subjects which seem to require unity of treatment. The reader is interrupted in the middle of a criticism on Shakspeare unusually able, and, strange to say, original; and referred to another volume for all the plays supposed to have appeared after 1600: he finds Bacon's Essays treated as part of the literature of one age, and his Natural Philosophy of another; and Taylor appears in one half century as a bold and free-spoken assertor of toleration, and in another as a casuist of somewhat lax morality. (We must add that he is treated, in both characters, with very just appreciation of his genius, his inconsistencies, and his occasional want of fairness.) And it is provoking to be indulged with a mere glimpse, and no more, of the mighty figures of Leibnitz, Bentley, and Newton, because their chief works happened to be published after the year 1700.

But it is scarcely possible to imagine any arrangement which would not be liable to some such objections; and, on the whole, we are disposed to think that Mr Hallam has done wisely in taking chronological order as the basis of his. No other gives so much insight into what may be termed the internal mechanism of literary history. It impresses the mind strongly with the importance of adhering to a trite rule of criticism, but one constantly lost sight of—that of estimating individuals according to their age and their contemporaries. It forces on our attention the truth, paradoxical as it may appear, that, in the works of a great majority of writers, the body or substance belongs to their time and society, the colour only is given by the individual, more or less deep as he is more or less original. It leads us especially to reflect on that most singular and instructive of all phenomena which an universal history of literature presents—the electrical rapidity with which thought is communicated; the sudden manner in which new views of truth, new modes of applying the mind to its investigation, new tones of feeling and taste, arise simultaneously in distant regions;—so sudden, as to render it often impossible to discover whether the inspiration was propagated or contemporary. As in art, so it is in literature; the experienced critic can often detect the turn of mind, we will not say of the same half century, but of the same generation, or the same decennium, in the productions of different countries. Even phenomena which, considered by themselves, appear the most original, are strangely

subject to this law of contemporaneousness. The Reformation broke out in half the countries of Europe between 1520 and 1540. The drama, in England and Spain, rises at once from chaos to perfection between 1580 and 1600. Gassendi's first philosophical publication appears in 1624: Descartes bursts upon the world in 1637; and Hobbes in 1642; and with these three names a new era in the history of thought. Few services could now be rendered to literature of so much importance as that of tracing the history of all such coincidences, and distinguishing, as far as this can be done, that which one mind borrows from another from those necessary products of the fulness of time, the spontaneous results of similar preparation in men of similar genius. We should thus catch some fleeting glimpse of that wonderful spirit, the quintessence of literary alchymy, which makes the men of all nations one in defiance of all the distinctions which different languages, different habits, and mutual aversion can draw between them; and which alone ensures the progress of mankind.

All this Mr Hallam has conceived and endeavoured to execute. But although he has achieved an enterprise of great compass, and unusual power of thought, and affording much incitement to thought in the reader, we can scarcely say that he has produced, in any sense in which we understand the words, that which his book professes to be—an Introduction to the Literature of Europe. It approaches more to a catalogue *raisonné* of the library of a man of general reading, arranged in chronological instead of alphabetical order. Yet, even in this respect, he has allowed himself liberties from which assuredly a systematic writer ought to refrain. It would be pedantic to assert that the compiler of such a catalogue ought to adhere strictly to the rule of testimonies, (*ponderanda sunt, non numeranda,*) and allow to every author on whom he comments such an amount of space and attention as he deserves from his prominence in the world of letters, and the effect he has produced on literary taste and knowledge. Yet assuredly some approximation to this rule must be observed, if the writer wishes to give his work the character of fulness and completeness. It should seem to be a still more necessary guide in constructing 'such a synoptical view of literature as displays 'its various departments in their simultaneous condition through 'an extensive period, and in their mutual dependency.' How do the great names of European literature stand relatively to each other, in respect of the space which they occupy in Mr Hallam's pages? We find seventy-five pages devoted to an analysis of the single work of Grotius, 'De jure Belli et Pacis;' sixty to Bacon; fifty-six to Hobbes; twenty-six to the heavy work of Bodinus, 'De Republicâ;' thirty or forty to Shakspeare; eleven

to Cervantes; eight to Montaigne; as many to Ariosto; and three or four to Bayle.

This, it may be said, is mere critical cavilling; but the truth is, that the disproportion between the space accorded to particular names is a striking specimen of the general inequalities of the work;—the disproportionate extent, and still more disproportionate value, of the portions allotted to different classes of literature. By far the longest, relatively speaking, and at the same time by far the most valuable portions of the work, are those devoted to speculative philosophy, political science, and theology; the least copious and worst executed, are the departments of poetry and belles lettres, especially the latter. With a mind full of collected thought, it is evident that the critic's first object has been to disburden himself of the load, and that the remainder has been filled up, perhaps reluctantly, and with some degree of distaste, in order to give something like completeness to the work. Add to this, that a constitutional aversion from paradox on the one hand, and a dread of being commonplace on the other, have evidently induced him to pass lightly over many of the most interesting topics of his survey, because so much has been said about them already; and we shall easily discover the origin of most of the inequalities in question.

While we are upon the subject of the incompleteness of this 'Introduction' as an index or catalogue, we might also complain of the very odd and arbitrary boundaries by which the author has chosen to circumscribe the province of literature. We should like to know on what principles theological controversy is included, and history almost wholly shut out? Why works on algebra and anatomy are within the scope of his researches, and not works on painting and agriculture? Why voyages and travels, the most amusing portion of the popular library of every country, are excluded as merely containing 'truth of fact,' while works on natural history, although strictly descriptive, are thought worthy of notice? All these singularities are indeed little worthy of remark, if it be thought that an author is in no degree responsible for the limits within which he chooses to circumscribe what he is to write, but merely for the merits of what he has written; and that the attainment of a definite end—the workmanlike fulfilment of a self-appointed task, is no part of literary merit—a doctrine which appears to be very prevalent at the present day, much to the comfort of a certain description of authors. We have become more indulgent to carelessness, and caprice, and incompleteness of composition, in measure as we have become more thoroughly alive to the truth, that freedom is the essential condition for the development of truth and genius,

The taste of an earlier and more systematic age would have welcomed these volumes with pleasure, as the *adversaria* of a learned and thoughtful man, who had meditated much, and observed much more, in the course of very miscellaneous studies: but hardly as an 'Introduction to the Literature of Europe.'

But the history of literature is *not* a catalogue of literary works, complete or incomplete, chronological or alphabetical; nor can any but the most limited insight into the state of the human mind at different periods, be obtained through a series of detached reviews of remarkable performances, and a cursory notice of the rest. If there be any branch of enquiry in which the tendency to theorize and speculate may allowably indulge in ample room, it is assuredly in this. The literature of any age or country is the product of an hundred different causes—of inbred diversities of national character, if such there be—of religion, of government, of education, of social circumstances. How is it possible to give any true or animated impression of the character and qualities of so complex a creature (Mr Hallam will pardon us this nominalism of our phraseology) without extensive comparison and generalization? It may be very true that the frequent misuse or excessive application of these philosophical processes, in the present day, produces, in sceptical and acute minds, a tendency to undervalue them. How remarkably this is the case with Mr Hallam, his readers cannot fail in a moment to perceive. With a talent for conjecture, apparently both ready and fertile, it is evident that he constantly shrinks from the active employment of it. He seems haunted with the fear of those delusions which are said to lie hid in general propositions: his dislike and contempt of paradox lead him to condemn almost all speculation as heretical. The opposite extreme may be dangerous, but it is at least far more attractive. A German critic, who lets all his vast collection of facts fall into regular crystals of generalization; a Frenchman, who forms his brilliant conclusions on scarcely any induction of facts at all—may be unsafe guides, but they direct the mind to some definite object. Even a splendid fallacy may be of use in awakening its powers, and often lead it to think out truth for itself. But the stern negation of all system, the habit of avoiding to dwell on facts and phenomena as dependent or connected, and pointing out, with critical acuteness, any incompleteness in the series of cause and effect imagined by others—these not only give a certain coldness and repulsiveness to the style, but are apt to diminish the reader's interest in the subject, and produce a sense of weariness. It is not by the exercise of these qualities that an author can realize the magnificent words of Bacon, with which the title-

page is adorned:—'Ut genius illius temporis literarius, veluti 'incantatione quâdam, a mortuis evocetur.'

To select an instance from a subject in which Mr Hallam takes more than ordinary interest—that of political science. About the middle of the sixteenth century, there appeared almost simultaneously, and in every country of Western Europe, writers who took a new and daring view of the relation of Prince and Subject. Languet, La Boetie, Buchanan, Poynet, Mariana, (somewhat later than the rest,) and other inferior names, which will be found collected in the fourth chapter of the second volume of the work before us. They were men of all tongues and creeds; the list we have already given comprises the names of two Frenchmen, Hugonot and Romanist, a Scottish Presbyterian, an English reformed bishop, and a Spanish Jesuit. Nor has religion any direct concern in their theories; the Hugonot does not reason from an assumed monarchy of the saints; the Jesuit, Mr Hallam has shown, nowhere assumes the Papal power to depose, as Protestant controversialists have chosen to imagine. The systems of all are strictly political. They all agree in doctrines unheard of in their own time, and some of them to an extent from which the boldest of ours would shrink; they all maintain the sovereignty of the people, the right to dethrone monarchs, and most of them the right to slay them. Whence arose this strong and simultaneous expression of opinion in a direction from which opinion afterwards receded for at least one hundred years? What causes could have infused this portentous spirit into the society of the sixteenth century? Surely it is not sufficient to pass it over with a trite remark, as 'an additional proof that the tenets of all 'parties, however general and speculative they may appear, are 'espoused on account of the position of those who hold them, 'and the momentary consequences they may produce;' or merely to speak of the writers as roused 'by the flagitious tyranny 'of contemporary rulers.' There has been abundant temptation, both before and since, to embrace such tenets, and yet they have never been avowed in the same audacious manner, except by very outcasts from political parties. And the 'flagitious tyranny 'of contemporary rulers' is one of those commonplace phrases which account for nothing, being just as applicable to one period as another. Henry II., under whom Le Contr'Un was written, was not more a tyrant than Louis XI. Perhaps it may be said, after full allowance for the influence of subordinate causes, (such as the revived spirit of classical learning,) that this remarkable phenomenon was the product of a peculiar state of circumstances, such as may probably occur again in the course of human events—the sudden and rapid advance of the governed, in which their go-

vernors did not keep pace, in morals, intelligence, and religion. A new light had dawned upon mankind, and a deep seriousness of character, a strong sense of moral obligation and positive right, a high tone of indignation and of sympathy, had been awakened by the religious controversies of the age. In a moral sense, the year 1500 is separated from the year 1550 by an interval of more than five ordinary centuries. Society had become regenerate in sentiment in less time than sufficed to change its outward character—kings and courts remained just what they had been, full of the same follies, the same violence, the same treachery. The Valois of the latter time are not much better or much worse than those of the former. Comines and La Noue are incommensurable; because the first is wholly without the moral sense which penetrates every thought of the second. Hence a feeling of contrast and incompatibility, which led serious thinkers to look upon existing governments as anarchy, and their destruction as the only mode of arriving at the idea of a government. The next generation, disabused of some illusions, and losing with them the excited moral feelings to which they gave birth, became at the same time more worldly wise in its political speculations: Mariana wrote too late for popularity. We know not whether this theory of ours will satisfy others; but we propound it only as one way of viewing a subject which is assuredly of sufficient importance in literary history to deserve to be regarded with its own proper causes and relations—which requires to be accounted for, and not merely to be exhibited by the juxtaposition of a few names.

This, however, is a mere insulated specimen, taken almost at random as an instance: the tone of mind of the writer in these respects is too generally spread over his work to be easily judged of by examples. We should describe it as characterised not only by a peculiar abstinence from speculation on general causes, but a peculiarly critical turn in reviewing and dismissing the speculations of others. He is not a setter up of affirmative paradoxes; but continually takes a negative stand, even against the most received and general opinions. For instance, the notion of gradual progress, or the 'march of intellect' from one age to another—to employ in earnest that much ridiculed phrase—is one not only in general vogue, but of which it is extremely difficult to clear the mind. An overruling Providence has doubtless permitted for a long time past a regular and uninterrupted course of improvement, to say the least of it, in all the mechanical parts of civilization—in physical science and all the branches of its practical application, in positive knowledge, in the general spread of intelligence, in the arts and comforts of life, and in the develop-

ment of the human mind itself, so far as these aids conduce to such an end. The sense of this progress has become so habitual to us, that we can scarcely conceive any other state of humanity. We talk and write fluently about national degeneracy and decline; but it is not easy to frame to ourselves the image of it. Let any one, for example, try to realize to himself such a condition of things as the history of the lower empire presents—every generation becoming distinctly inferior to that which preceded it in numbers, in wealth, in sensibility to the impressions of art, in extent of positive knowledge, in the power of appreciating moral and intellectual truths—and this, not by reason of external violence, but through actual decay. There is a contrast between such a state of society, and that which we know and observe, both in the world about us and in our own minds, which appears unnatural to us—the seasons recurring in regular order, seed-time and harvest, sun and rain, fulfilling their usual course, and the human mind, in each individual, retaining the gift of memory, whereby it is able to store up as knowledge the discoveries of former minds; and yet man, in the aggregate, degenerating. It may be true, therefore, that we are too long in admitting the supposition most accordant with our habitual feelings, that the progress of European improvement has been uninterrupted since the end of the dark ages; at all events, it is precisely the kind of theory to which Mr Hallam delights in setting up exceptions:—

'The trite metaphors of light and darkness, of dawn and twilight, are used carelessly by those who touch on the literature of the middle ages, and suggest by analogy an uninterrupted progression, in which learning, like the sun, has dissipated the shadows of barbarism. But, with closer attention, it is easily seen that this is not a correct representation—that, taking Europe generally, far from being in a more advanced stage of learning at the beginning of the 15th century than 200 years before, she had in many respects gone backward, and gave little sign of any tendency to recover her ground. There is in fact no security, as far as the past history of mankind assures us, that any nation will be uniformly progressive in science, arts, and letters. Nor do I perceive, whatever may be the current language, that we can expect this with much greater confidence of the civilized world.'

This opinion will surely bear controverting, if the word learning be taken in any sense in which it is worth while to consider the question at all. It may be that the taste for classical Latinity, (that is, only north of the Alps, as Mr Hallam has himself observed,) and possibly jurisprudence and scholastic philosophy, retrograded during this period; but, even after leaving Italy out of the comparison, the age of Froissart, Chaucer, Wycliff, Brad-

wardine, and Huss, will surely bear to be paralleled in all the really valuable characteristics of intellectual progress, with that of Accursius, of Joseph Iscanus, and William Brito, the Troubadours and the Niebelungen-Lied. But we cite the passage, not in order to comment on it, but as an instance among many of a tendency of the author's mind:—'We must look upon it,' he says elsewhere, speaking of the decline of jurisprudence after Accursius, 'as one of those revolutions, so ordinary and so unaccountable, in the history of literature, where, after a period abounding in men of great talents, there ensues, perhaps with no unfavourable change in the diffusion of knowledge, a pause in that natural fecundity, without which all our endeavours to check a retrograde movement of the human mind will be of no avail.' This peculiar view of great men, as great accidents, frequently recurs to his mind. 'There is only one cause for the want of great men in any period;' he says again in another place—'Nature does not think fit to produce them. They are not creatures of education and circumstance.'

The same tone of thought pervades his observations on the great changes in civil society, with which the subject of his work brings him in contact, as in his remarks on the great Romanist reaction of the latter half of the sixteenth century; with which the reader of history has been lately rendered more familiar by the valuable work of Ranke.

'Those who behold the outbreaking of great revolutions in civil society or in religion, will not easily believe that the rush of waters can be stayed in its course, that a pause of indifference may come on, perhaps very suddenly, or a reaction bring back nearly the same prejudices and passions as those which men had renounced. Yet this has occurred not very rarely in the annals of mankind, and never on a larger scale than in the history of the Reformation.

'This great reaction of the papal religion after the shock it had sustained in the first part of the sixteenth century, ought for ever to restrain that temerity of prediction so frequent in our ears. As women sometimes believe the fashion of last year in dress to be wholly ridiculous, and incapable of being ever again adopted by any one solicitous about her beauty, so those who affect to pronounce on future events, are equally confident against the possibility of a resurrection of opinions which the majority have for the time ceased to entertain. In the year 1560, every Protestant in Europe doubtless anticipated the overthrow of popery; the Catholics could have found little else to warrant hope than their trust in heaven. *The late rush of many nations toward democratical opinions, has not been so rapid and so general as the change of religion about that period.*'—II. pp. 85, 93–4.

Mr Hallam, it is plain, is a partisan of the theory of cycles—not that of progress; or rather his disposition lies, as has been

said, towards the rejection of all systems, and the establishment of exceptions; most of all on those subjects which, in his present work, are evidently treated with more earnestness than the rest —theology and philosophy—the natural bias of more advanced years. But it must not be understood that this spirit is altogether of a critical or cavilling nature. It is near akin to another of his qualifications, a proud and solitary independence of mind; an honest scorn of all the fetters, which it has been the endeavour of schools to throw round human judgment; opposition, not to this or that form of mental tyranny, but to tyranny in its origin. To us this fearlessness is incomparably the most interesting feature in Mr Hallam's work. The great lesson which this age needs to be taught, is the distinction between reverence for authority and submission to it. Over-reverent we assuredly are not; that generous and heartfelt enthusiasm which formerly seduced men into involuntary servitude to great names or great abstractions, is not a prevailing fault in our days. The danger to which we are exposed, is rather that of falling into the wilful and deliberate idolatry of party spirit. We owe our thanks, therefore, to any author whose constant aim is to inculcate the plain lesson, that truth is the first and only object of research; that humility and self-distrust should increase with increasing knowledge; but that, in the last resort, the mind must needs judge freely and for herself, such being the end of her endowment with her natural powers; that real courage exists, not in daring to exhibit the badge of one sect in defiance of the hostility of others, but in daring to follow truth, regardless of the indifference or dislike of all.

We sympathize in the noble disdain which occasionally gleams out in a note, or a passing observation, of these prevalent slavish notions of our day. 'The reverence of Pascal, like that of 'Malebranche, for what is established in religion, does not ex-'tend to philosophy. We do not find in them, as we may some-'times perceive at the present day, all sorts of prejudices against 'the liberties of the human mind clustering together, *like a herd* '*of bats*, by an instinctive association.' 'Certainly,' he says, speaking of the notion of the authority of general consent, 'reason is so far from condemning a deference to the judgment 'of the wise and good, that nothing is more irrational than to 'neglect it; but when this is claimed for those whom we need 'not believe to have been wiser and better than ourselves; nay, 'sometimes whom, without vain glory, we may esteem less, and 'that so as to set aside the real authority of the most philoso-'phical, unbiassed, and judicious of mankind, it is not pride or 'presumption, but a sober use of our faculties, that rejects the

'jurisdiction.' We will not compare these passages, and many more such, with a few phrases which have elsewhere dropped from him—such as 'latitudinarian theories of a right to judge 'amiss,' the rival claims for 'the rights of bigots to think for 'others, and the rights of fools to think for themselves.' We regard them but as the hasty expressions of a contempt for vulgar judgment, which sometimes runs counter to a thorough love of liberty. We do not suspect Mr Hallam of the old fallacy of applying the rule,

'Ne liceat facere id, quod quis vitiabit agendo,'

to the uncontrollable freedom of the mind; or of holding that any amount of rashness or obstinate presumption in the use of it can abolish that right which human notions did not confer, nor can take away; that right which involves the heaviest of responsibilities—the right of every one, fool or wise, to 'think 'for himself.'

There is, however, one symptom of a cautious and critical temperament, with which we could have wished to dispense—a want of sympathy with enthusiasm and daring—a tenderness for sobriety and judgment, we might almost say for mediocrity as opposed to genius, in the higher departments of human speculation. The author not only shows his preference by the disparaging mode in which he sometimes speaks of the former, but by dwelling at much greater length, and with greater zest, on the latter—an error of more consequence, inasmuch as it gives a false idea of the relative importance of the two, in respect of the influence which they have exercised on the mind and destinies of mankind. Every man who thinks at all has something in him either of Luther or Erasmus—a tendency towards one or the other of the extremes of boldness and timidity, heartiness and fastidiousness; and, in judging of their comparative merits, he will naturally range himself on the side of him whose views he would have embraced had he been called upon to make a decision. But surely even the student, who has cultivated judgment at the expense of passion, until all appeal to the latter is to his sense dead and unprofitable bombast—who finds little in some of Luther's treatises beyond 'bellowing in bad Latin'—ought to recollect what the rest of mankind are, and by what qualities they are apt to be led or driven. It is mere waste of language, or perversion of common sense, to estimate literary greatness, or any other greatness, simply by an ideal standard: the trees must be judged by their fruit—the man who wields other men must have more in him than the analysis of sober taste can always detect. No part of Mr Hallam's criticisms is less satisfactory to us than his account of Luther, and his utter want of

appreciation of that peculiar quality of his genius which brought the man continually forward in bold relief from under the dull mask of the theologian; and thus gave an influence to his preaching, and even now gives a life to his writings, beyond what the ablest of mere theologians could attain. Luther speaks to us as an animating spirit; not as a clear-sighted intelligence: those who complain, with Mr Hallam, of not finding in him 'the clear and comprehensive line of argument which 'enlightens the reader's understanding, and resolves his difficul-'ties;' or of 'finding it impossible to reconcile or understand his 'tenets concerning faith and works,' may learn a more generous tone of sentiment by studying what Coleridge has said of the great reformer. Erasmus, on the other hand, is as evidently a favourite with Mr Hallam. 'He was the first conspicuous enemy of 'ignorance and superstition—the first restorer of Christian morali-'ty on a scriptural foundation; and, notwithstanding the ridicu-'lous assertion of some moderns, that he wanted theological learn-'ing, the first who possessed it in the proper sense, and applied it 'to its proper end.' He is defended, and well defended, against the common charges which writers attached to the cause of the Reformation are in the habit of making against him. Something of the same tendency we may distinguish in the cold and niggardly notice vouchsafed to the prose writings of Milton, contrasted with the elaborate treatment of Grotius, to whom more space is devoted than to any other name in all European literature. Dugald Stewart had said that 'one passage of Bacon '*de Augmentis* (viii. 3,) was worth all Grotius *de jure Belli et* '*Pacis.*' It seems to be with the view of vindicating the Dutch publicist from this contemptuous estimate—a task, in performing which he most unjustly accuses Mr Stewart, the most candid, generous, and cautious of philosophers, of a strong 'ten-'dency to hasty prejudices,'—that Mr Hallam has burdened his work with a long analysis of that treatise, which he will find it difficult to persuade his readers was not strangely overvalued, for more than a century, in the schools of Europe. Still more remarkable is the attention which he has bestowed on Grotius's religious views, in his third volume, particularly in the long and interesting note, pp. 50-63. The remarkable inclination of his mind towards Popery, in the later years of his life, is there curiously traced, and the inconsistencies into which it led him justly animadverted on. But there is an obvious sympathy between author and critic. Grotius was a man whose mind was perspicuous even more than acute, full of good sense and learning, and elegant to fastidiousness. In a very servile age, he was as thoroughly independent as a literary man could be: free from

the prejudices of authority, and superior to interest: his first object was truth; his second, peace among mankind. But he could not endure the coarse dogmatism of ordinary ethics and theology; he was disgusted at the assumptions of those who set up to judge for themselves; his aversion from party grew more and more into a habit of insulation, and shrinking from the contact of vulgar sentiment. Are we wrong in assuming these, to a certain extent, as characteristics of Mr Hallam? The rest of Grotius's history is no warning for him, who is preserved from such danger by the difference of times and education, as well as by a certain firmness of character which the other wanted. But it conveys a lesson which many might at this day study with profit. Dissatisfied with the imperfect nature of all proof, he gradually crept nearer and nearer to the shelter of ecclesiastical authority; not because his reason was convinced by it, but because his dislike to Protestantism made him feel or fancy a need of it. He continued for several years 'in an insulated state, neither approving of the Reformation nor the Church of Rome.' He 'looked on the exercise of private judgment with horror.' He attempted—with the same success which has attended similar efforts by others—to form a scheme of comprehensive union, founded on authority, and yet not Popish. Failing in this, he proceeded to the next step. 'He saw that there could be no practicable reunion except with Rome herself, nor that except upon 'an acknowledgment of her superiority. He still expected some 'concession on the other side; but as usual, would have lowered 'his terms according to the pertinacity of his adversaries, if indeed they were still to be called his adversaries.' Thus he suffered himself to be drawn, step by step, into a condition more humiliating than the most abject credulity—that of a man who embraces doctrines of which his soul is ashamed, because driven into them as conclusions from premises which he has wilfully assumed, and then seeks to explain them away by subtile interpretations. In this way he assented to transubstantiation—the celibacy of the clergy—the authority of the Pope—communion in one kind—and was on the point of declaring himself a convert, when death arrested his farther progress, opportunely for his credit, it should seem; for, according to Mr Hallam, reformed writers in general have been hardly aware of the length to which this once distinguished member of their communion was carried. Archbishop Bramhall defended his Protestantism against Baxter; and his enemies, although quite agreed that he was impenitent in his last moments, seem not to have made up their minds whether he died an Atheist, a Romanist, or a Socinian.

Without partaking in this bias of Grotius, Mr Hallam, singu-

larly enough, sometimes shows a degree of apparent tenderness to Romanist fallacies, which seems to arise from his extreme dislike to Protestant dogmatism. On no subject does he show so much animation, in none does he so much give the rein to his natural disposition for quiet and contemptuous sarcasm, as in judging of the pretensions of dogmatic reformed writers; not least, of the Anglican High Church divines. We need scarcely refer our readers to particular passages for a display of feelings which make way to the surface in every part of his work; but we may instance his criticisms on Taylor and on Chillingworth; his short and poignant notice of Laud; a pointed note on the inconsistency of the high Anglican party respecting Tradition, (iii. 76;) and some uncompromising remarks on the assumption of general authority as a test of truth. Nowhere are we better disposed to go along with the author than in his scorn for the fallacies by which the impugners of Romish authority endeavour to establish their own spurious empire; but it must be admitted that his love of truth and fairness, like that of Grotius, sometimes degenerates, if we may use the expression, into a paradoxical desire to make out the best case for the party and doctrines farthest from his own sentiments. The following passage is an instance, among others, of opinions which are perhaps rather more singular than reasonably impartial.

'A strange notion has been stated of late years in England, that the Council of Trent made important innovations in the previously established doctrines of the Western Church; an hypothesis so paradoxical in respect to public opinion, and, it must be added, so prodigiously at variance with the known facts of ecclesiastical history, that we cannot but admire the facility with which it has been taken up. It will appear, by reading the accounts of the sessions of the Council either in Father Paul, or in any more favourable historian, that even in certain points, such as justification, which had not been clearly laid down before, the Tridentine decrees were mostly conformable with the sense of the majority of those doctors who had obtained the highest reputation; and that upon what are more usually reckoned the distinctive characteristics of the Church of Rome, namely, transubstantiation, purgatory, and invocation of the saints and the virgin, they assert nothing but what had been so engrafted into the faith of this part of Europe, as to have been rejected by no one without suspicion or imputation of heresy. . . . . No general council ever contained so many persons of eminent learning and ability as that of Trent: nor is there ground for believing that any other ever investigated the questions before it with so much patience, acuteness, temper, and desire of truth. The early councils, unless they are greatly belied, would not bear comparison in these characteristics. Impartiality and freedom from prejudice, no Protestant will attribute to the Fathers of Trent; but where will he produce these qualities in an ecclesiastical synod?

But it may be said that they had only one leading prejudice, that of determining theological faith according to the tradition of the Catholic Church, as handed down to their own age. This one point of authority conceded, I am not aware that they can be proved to have decided wrong, or at least against all reasonable evidence. Let those who have imbibed a different opinion ask themselves *whether they have read Sarpi through with any attention*, especially as to those sessions of the Tridentine Council which preceded its suspension in 1547.'

Up to a certain point we fully agree with Mr Hallam;—doubting only, whether the argument of some Protestant controversialist, of which he speaks in the first part of this passage, deserves so much civility as to be termed a 'notion' or 'hypothesis' at all. To us it appears rather in the light of a technical defence—an argumentative assumption set up against certain assumptions of the adversary—a kind of preliminary flourish of the polemical sword. Probably the same divine who uses this plea against the Romanists, when his point is to make out a common Catholicity between the ante-Tridentine Western Church and that of England since the Reformation, employs precisely the opposite reasoning when combating certain Unitarian assumptions. The Socinian has quite as much right to say that the doctrine of the Trinity was first established by the Council of Nice, as the Anglican to contend that the distinctive tenets of Romanism were first established by that of Trent. The *via media*, or theological *juste milieu*, is not always an easy path for those who wish to walk straight forward.

But, though with diffidence, we must dissent from Mr Hallam's estimate of the results of the Council itself. We have no wish to contest the wisdom or sincerity of its most active members, or to compare them disadvantageously with the chief agents in earlier councils; although something, perhaps, might be said on that score. But the motives of men, and especially when acting in bodies, can only be fairly scrutinized by considering the pressure of circumstances under which they acted. We know of no reason for supposing that the Long Parliament, or the Convention Parliament, contained fewer sincere men than any other Parliaments; and certainly few have contained as able. But their resolutions are notoriously bad precedents in the mass, because they were not under the influence of party spirit only, but of direct and reasonable fear. They both conceived themselves to be holding at arms' length powerful, though beaten enemies. Just so with the Council of Trent. Other synods had met under the influence of abundant party spirit; but it was that of mere theological difference, or of ecclesiastical interest. The Tridentine Fathers assembled in downright fear of destruction for them-

selves and their whole system, under that amazing flood which had poured from the Baltic till its surges broke against the barrier of the Alps, which had inundated England, and of which the rising roar was already heard above all other sounds in the atmosphere of France. How could justice, or truth, or sincerity, in the real and not conventional meaning of these words, be found in the decrees of men whose all was involved in the tumult then raging? The true question for Protestants in reality and not in name, is not whether the resolutions which they actually carried are borne out by precedents of other times; but whether, at the point which inquiry had then reached, nearly every honest man would not have abandoned much of what they retained, had not the fear and confusion of the hour prevented him. Wretched would be the condition of a country under a constitution formed by its senate at a moment when rebels were approaching the walls of the capital. And most fatal to religion has been the adoption of a code, framed under similar circumstances, for the theological polity of the western world.

It must, however, be added, that Mr Hallam's acquaintance with Roman Catholic theology, appears to be extensive to a degree very uncommon among non-ecclesiastical writers; and that his taste for the sacred eloquence of their pulpit, especially of the great French divines of the seventeenth century, is very conspicuous. His admiration of Bossuet is high, though discriminating;—somewhat too high, indeed, for us; for we can hardly persuade ourselves that 'much in his sermons is true poetry.' But, in his appreciation of Pascal, he rises to eloquence—not a common flight in a writer generally severe, chastised, and looking on rhetoric with something of contempt.

'The Thoughts of Pascal are to be ranked, as a monument of his genius, above the "Provincial Letters," though some have asserted the contrary. They burn with an intense light: condensed in expression, sublime, energetic, rapid—they hurry away the reader till he is scarcely able or willing to distinguish the sophisms from the truth they contain. For that many of them are incapable of bearing a calm scrutiny, is very manifest to those who apply such a test. The notes of Voltaire, though always intended to detract, are sometimes unanswerable; but the splendour of Pascal's eloquence absolutely annihilates, in effect on the general reader, even this antagonist.

'Pascal had probably not read very largely, which has given an ampler sweep to his genius. Except the Bible and the writings of Augustin, the book that seems most to have attracted him was the Essays of Montaigne. Yet no men could be more unlike in personal dispositions and in the cast of their intellect. But Pascal, though abhorring the religious and moral carelessness of Montaigne, found much that fell in with his own reflections in the contempt of human opinions, the perpetual

humbling of human reason, which runs through the bold and original work of his predecessor. He quotes no book so frequently; and indeed, except Epictetus, and once or twice Descartes, he hardly quotes any other at all. Pascal was too acute a geometer, and too sincere a lover of truth, to countenance the sophisms of mere Pyrrhonism; but, like many theological writers, in exalting faith he does not always give reason her value, and furnishes weapons which the sceptic might employ against himself. It has been said that he denies the validity of the proofs of natural religion. This seems to be in some measure an error, founded on mistaking the objections he puts in the mouths of unbelievers for his own. But it must, I think, be admitted, that his arguments for the being of a God are too often *a tutiori*—that it is the safer side to take.'

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'But the leading principle of Pascal's theology, that from which he deduces the necessary truth of revelation, is the fallen nature of mankind; dwelling less upon scriptural proofs, which he takes for granted, than on the evidence which he supposes man himself to supply. Nothing however can be more dissimilar than his beautiful visions to the vulgar Calvinism of the pulpit. It is not the sordid, grovelling, degraded Caliban of that school, but the ruined archangel that he delights to paint. Man is so great, that his greatness is manifest even in the knowledge of his own misery. A tree does not know itself to be miserable. It is true that to know we are miserable is misery; but still it is greatness to know it. All his misery proves his greatness; it is the misery of a great lord, of a king, dispossessed of their own. Man is the feeblest branch of nature, but it is a branch that thinks. He requires not the universe to crush him. He may be killed by a vapour, by a drop of water. But if the whole universe should crush him, he would be nobler than that which causes his death, because he knows that he is dying, and the universe would not know its power over him. This is very evidently sophistical and declamatory; but it is the sophistry of a fine imagination. It would be easy, however, to find better passages. The dominant idea recurs in almost every page of Pascal. His melancholy genius plays in wild and rapid flashes, like lightning round the scathed oak, about the fallen greatness of man. He perceives every characteristic quality of his nature under these conditions. They are the solution of every problem; the clearing up of every inconsistency that perplexes us. "Man," he says very finely, "has a secret instinct that leads him to seek diversion and employment from without, which springs from the sense of his continual misery. And he has another secret instinct, remaining from the greatness of his original nature, which teaches him that happiness can only exist in repose. And from these two contrary instincts there arises in him an obscure propensity, concealed in his soul, which prompts him to seek repose through agitation, and even to fancy that the contentment he does not enjoy will be found, if, by struggling yet a little longer, he can open a door to rest."

'It can hardly be conceived that any one would think the worse of human nature or of himself, by reading these magnificent lamentations of Pascal. He adorns and ennobles the degeneracy he exaggerates. The ruined aqueduct, the broken column, the desolated city, suggest no

ideas but of dignity and reverence. No one is ashamed of a misery which bears witness to his grandeur. If we should persuade a labourer that the blood of princes flows in his veins, we might spoil his contentment with the only lot he has drawn, but scarcely kill in him the seeds of pride.'

Then follows a passage, of which, we must confess, the drift is not perfectly clear to us.

'Pascal, like many others who have dwelt on this alleged degeneracy of mankind, seems never to have disentangled his mind from the notion that what we call human nature has not merely an arbitrary and grammatical, but an intrinsic objective reality. The common and convenient forms of language, the analogies of sensible things, which the imagination readily supplies, conspire to delude us into this fallacy. Each man is born with certain powers and dispositions which constitute his own nature; and the resemblance of these in all his fellows produces a general idea, or a collective appellation, whichever we may prefer to say, called the nature of man; but few would in this age contend for the existence of this as a substance capable of qualities, and those qualities variable, or subject to mutation. The corruption of human nature is therefore a phrase which may convey an intelligible meaning, if it is acknowledged to be merely analogical and inexact, but will mislead those who do not keep this in mind. Man's nature, as it now is, that which each man and all men possess, is the immediate workmanship of God, as much as at his creation; nor is any other hypothesis consistent with theism.'—IV. 160.

This passage, or rather the whole comment of which it forms a part, has already fallen, we believe, under the notice of orthodoxy, with whose objections we do not meddle. But, looking at the question as one of high import both in a religious and philosophical view, we confess that we are puzzled to make out the nature of the charge here brought against Pascal. Undoubtedly the nature of every man, or that bundle of propensities and capacities of which the man consists, is distinct from that of every other. But so is that of every dog, or every oak; alike, yet different from that of every other dog or oak. It is only by analogy that we speak of the dog, or the oak, as terms comprehending the species, just as we speak of 'man' or 'human nature.' But who ever fancied that any philosopher or experimentalist was ever deceived by the use of these terms into practical error? that by incautiously using the abstract term he acquired incorrect notions respecting the qualities of individuals? Just as inconceivable is it that the vigorous and perspicacious intellect of Pascal should never have been able to 'disentangle' itself from such wretched 'nominalism,' as the learned writer here imputes to him. If this be true, we cannot see how the doctrine that man's nature—that is, the nature of each individual man, is, by the law of its existence

incapable of divine favour, and redeemed from that state of incapacity only through a special and mysterious exercise of divine grace—savours of 'the notion of a real universal in human nature,' or is contrary to any received position of sound philosophy. Whatever the anomalies to which it may seem to lead, they are as inexplicable on any human theory; quite as much so—we must be permitted to say—on that singular one which the writer seems to suggest in the following paragraph, (pp. 161, 162.) Pascal's error and misfortune appear rather to have been, not that he was incapable of freeing his understanding from the wretched sophistry of the schools, but from the far closer and stronger network which ancient superstition had woven around him; that he could not separate the idea of rejection from, or incapacity of, a new and exalted life, from the notion of material punishment and torture; and that, while he could dwell on the great sacrifice itself with the most affecting eloquence, he could not form to himself one consoling or strengthening persuasion of the extent and operation. Such were his great errors, if they are not rather to be called not his, but those of the spirit of insane melancholy which spoke through his mouth, which broke down a mind of nearly unequalled power, and left him a world's wonder of genius and misery.

We have been carried farther than was our intention in reviewing a portion of Mr Hallam's labours, which will probably be less frequently consulted than others; nevertheless, as we have said, his sketch of theological learning, accompanied as it necessarily is with much discussion of the causes which operated from without on the progress of theological opinion, is one of the best executed parts of a work of which it scarcely seems to fall within the general scope. And a sketch of theological literature, entirely free from party spirit, even were it less ably performed than it is, should be invaluable to that rare class of divinity students whose desire is to attain truth, and not to fortify themselves in this or that opinion.

His analysis of philosophical literature, touching on natural science, but treating more amply of the subjects of metaphysics, ethics, and logic, is perhaps more generally useful; because there is no subject on which we have less assistance in our language, with the exception of what is contained in the profound and beautiful 'Dissertations' of Stewart and Playfair,* which, greatly superior as we in some respects must think them, are not intended

* Prefixed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Mr Hallam's commendation of these splendid Pieces is more grudging and scanty than we could have expected.

to serve the same purpose. We could, indeed, almost wish that this part of the work—perhaps nearly half of it—could be separated from the context, as the best manual extant of that branch of bibliography. The introductory sketches of Aristotelian and scholastic philosophy are rather meagre, but impartial. That of the philosophy of Bacon might also be fixed upon as very able and comprehensive; but it would be impossible to do it justice by extracts. Hobbes, Descartes, Gassendi, Malebranche, Spinoza, and their followers, (particularly the first of these eminent men,) are also well analysed; but perhaps the author has here and there fallen too much into the style of *adversaria*, and expended too much space, for a general work of this description, in elucidating and discussing minute points of observation which have occurred to him in the course of studying them.

The kindred subject of dialectical science is one of the few which he has treated with something of prejudice; namely, a Baconian dislike for the Oxford system of logic, as it is called. We cannot stop here to inquire into the ground of his distaste, or to question whether Bacon himself might not have gained in clearness, by borrowing occasionally from the language of the old system, instead of introducing his own obscure nomenclature. The reader may consult the notes to Vol. III. pp. 220 and 290; and, if conversant with the subject, he will see that the writer has fallen into some mistakes. He quarrels with Archbishop Whately for saying that 'in affirmative propositions, the 'predicate is never distributed,' *i. e.* necessarily; but we are not quite sure that he understood these terms aright from the instance which he gives to the contrary; viz. 'propositions which assert identity or equality.' Nothing is clearer than that in these the predicate is *not* necessarily distributed. The truth is, whatever may be the real value of the little *memoria technica* taught as logic in the schools of Oxford, it is very accurate and precise; and those who are not accustomed to the use of the tool, however childish they may esteem it, are apt to cut their fingers.

In political philosophy—a favourite topic—Mr Hallam has hardly done justice to that profound and original writer, whose intuitive genius comprehended at a glance more than the most laborious theorists have developed in whole systems, namely, Machiavel. He has pointed out, with authority, some of the peculiar characteristics of the philosophy of the discourses on Livy;—'the absence of all passion, *the continual reference of every* 'public measure to a distinct end, the disregard of vulgar asso-'ciations with names and persons;' but it is surely niggardly praise to say, that 'they contain more sound and deep thinking

'*on the spirit of small republics* than could be found in any preceding writer that has descended to us.' It might almost as well be said of the political portion of Bacon's *Essays*, that they contain much sound thinking on the spirit of small monarchies. Mr Hallam, by the way, has not taken notice of the very strong similarity between these Essays and the Discorsi; not only in their practical wisdom, but their ethics. A single sentence of either is often worth whole books of such authors as Bodin and Mariana, whom Mr Hallam loves to drag into notice; but this is one of his peculiarities which we have already mentioned, and to which we need not revert.

The following passage, on a class of writers now forgotten among ourselves, but not wholly so in Roman Catholic countries, may serve as a specimen of the manner in which he treats the history of speculative ethics.

'We meet here a concourse of volumes, occupying no small space in old libraries, the writings of the casuists, chiefly within the Roman Church. None, perhaps, in the whole compass of literature are more neglected by those who do not read with what we may call a professional view; but to the ecclesiastics of that communion they have still a certain value, though far less than when they were first written. The most vital discipline of that church, the secret of the power of its priesthood, the source of most of the good and evil it can work, is found in the confessional. It is there that the keys are kept; it is there that the lamp burns, whose rays diverge to every portion of human life. No church that has relinquished this prerogative can ever establish a permanent dominion over mankind; none that retains it in effective use can lose the hope or the prospect of being their ruler.

'It is manifest, that in the common course of this rite, no particular difficulty will arise, nor is the confessor likely to weigh in golden scales the scruples or excuses of ordinary penitents. But peculiar circumstances might be brought before him, wherein there would be a necessity for possessing some rule, least by sanctioning the guilt of the party before him, he should incur as much of his own. Treatises, therefore, of casuistry were written as guides to the confessor, and became the text-books in every course of ecclesiastical education. These were commonly digested in a systematic order, and, what is the unfailing consequence of system, or rather almost part of its definition, spread into minute ramifications, and aimed at comprehending every possible emergency. Casuistry is itself allied to jurisprudence, especially to that of the canon law; and it was natural to transfer the subtlety of distinction and copiousness of partition usual with the jurist, to a science which its professors were apt to treat upon very similar principles.

'The older theologians seem, like the Greek and Roman moralists, when writing systematically, to have made general morality their subject, and casuistry but their illustration. Among the monuments of their ethical philosophy, *Secunda Secundæ* of Aquinas is the most celebrated.

Treatises however of casuistry, which is the expansion and application of ethics, may be found both before and during the sixteenth century; and while the confessional was actively converted to so powerful an engine, they could not conveniently be wanting. Casuistry indeed is not much required by the church in an ignorant age; but the sixteenth century was not an age of ignorance. Yet it is not till about the end of that period that we find casuistical literature burst out, so to speak, with a profusion of fruit. "Uninterruptedly afterwards," says Eichhorn, "through the whole seventeenth century, the moral and casuistical literature of the Church of Rome was immensely rich; and it caused a lively and extensive movement in a province which had long been at peace. The first impulse came from the Jesuists, to whom the Jansenists opposed themselves. We must distinguish from both the theological moralists who remained faithful to their ancient teaching.

'We may be blamed, perhaps, for obtruding a pedantic terminology, if we make the most essential distinction in morality, and one for want of which, more than any other, its debatable controversies have arisen, that between the subjective and objective rectitude of actions; in clearer language, between the provinces of conscience and of reason, between what is well meant, and what is well done. The chief business of the priest is naturally with the former. The walls of the confessional are privy to the whispers of self-accusing guilt. No doubt can ever arise as to the subjective character of actions which the conscience has condemned, and for which the penitent seeks absolution. Were they even objectively lawful, they are sins in him, according to the unanimous determination of casuists. But though what the conscience reclaims against is necessarily wrong, relatively to the agent, it does not follow that what it may fail to disapprove is innocent. Choose whatever theory we may please as to the moral standard of actions, they must have an objective rectitude of their own, independently of their agent, without which there could be no distinction of right and wrong, or any scope for the dictates of conscience. The science of ethics, as a science, can only be conversant with objective morality. Casuistry is the instrument of applying this science, which, like every other, is built on reasoning, to the moral nature and volition of man. It rests for its validity on the great principle, that it is our duty to know, as far as lies in us, what is right, as well as to do what we know to be such. But its application was beset with obstacles; the extenuations of ignorance and error were so various, the difficulty of representing the moral position of the penitent to the judgment of the confessor by any process of language so insuperable, that the most acute understanding might be foiled in the task of bringing home a conviction of guilt to the self-deceiving sinner. Again, he might aggravate needless scruples, or disturb the tranquil repose of innocence.

'But, though past actions are the primary subject of auricular confession, it was a necessary consequence that the priest would be frequently called upon to advise as to the future, to bind or loose the will in incomplete or meditated lines of conduct. And as all without exception must come before this tribunal, the rich, the noble, the counsellors of princes,

and princes themselves, were to reveal their designs, to expound their uncertainties, to call, in effect, for his sanction in all they might have to do, to secure themselves against transgression by shifting the responsibility on his head. That this tremendous authority of direction, distinct from the rite of penance, though immediately springing from it, should have produced a no more overwhelming influence of the priesthood than it has actually done, great as that has been, can only be ascribed to the reaction of human inclinations which will not be controlled, and of human reason which exerts a silent force against the authority it acknowledges.

'In the directory business of the confessional, far more than in the penitential, the priest must strive to bring about that union between subjective and objective rectitude in which the perfection of a moral act consists, without which, in every instance, according to their tenets, some degree of sinfulness, some liability to punishment remains, and which must at least be demanded from those who have been made acquainted with their duty. But when he came from the broad lines of the moral law, from the Decalogue and the Gospel, or even from the ethical systems of theology, to the indescribable variety of circumstances which his penitents had to recount, there arose a multitude of problems, and such as perhaps would most command his attention, when they involved the practice of the great, to which he might hesitate to apply an unbending rule. The questions of casuistry, like those of jurisprudence, were often found to turn on the great and ancient doubt of both sciences, whether we should abide by the letter of a general law, or let in an equitable interpretation of its spirit. The consulting party would be apt to plead for the one; the guide of conscience would more securely adhere to the other. But he might also perceive the severity of those rules of obligation which conduce, in the particular instance, to no apparent end, or even defeat their own principle. Hence there arose two schools of casuistry, first in the practice of confession, and afterwards in the books intended to assist it, one strict and uncomplying, the other more indulgent, and flexible to circumstances.

'The characteristics of these systems were displayed in almost the whole range of morals. They were however chiefly seen in the rules of veracity, and especially in promissory obligations. According to the fathers of the church, and to the rigid casuists in general, a lie was never to be uttered, a promise was never to be broken. The precepts especially of revelation, notwithstanding their brevity and figurativeness, were held complete and literal. Hence promises obtained by mistake, fraud or force, and above all, gratuitous vows, where God was considered as the promisee, however lightly made, or become intolerably onerous by supervenient circumstances, were strictly to be fulfilled, unless the dispensing power of the church might sometimes be sufficient to release them. Besides the respect due to moral rules, and especially those of scripture, there had been from early times in the Christian church a strong disposition to the ascetic scheme of religious morality; a prevalent notion of the intrinsic meritoriousness of voluntary self-denial, which discountenanced all regard in man to his own happiness, at least in this life, as a

sort of flinching from the discipline of suffering. And this had doubtless its influence upon the severe casuists.

'But there had not been wanting those who, whatever course they might pursue in the confessional, found the convenience of an accommodating morality in the secular affairs of the church. Oaths were broken, engagements entered into without faith, for the ends of the clergy, or of those whom they favoured in the struggles of the world. And some of the ingenious sophistry by which these breaches of plain rules are usually defended, was not unknown before the Reformation. But casuistical writings at that time were comparatively few. The Jesuits have the credit of first rendering public a scheme of false morals, which has been denominated from them, and enhanced the obloquy that overwhelmed their order. Their volumes of casuistry were exceedingly numerous; some of them belong to the last twenty years of the sixteenth, but a far greater part to the following century.

'The Jesuits were prone for several reasons to embrace the laxer theories of obligation. They were less tainted than the old monastic orders with that superstition which had flowed into the church from the East, the meritoriousness of self-inflicted suffering for its own sake. They embraced a life of toil and danger, but not of habitual privation and pain. Dauntless in death and torture, they shunned the mechanical asceticism of the convent. And, secondly, their eyes were bent on a great end, the good of the Catholic Church, which they identified with that of their own order. It almost invariably happens, that men who have the good of mankind at heart, and actively prosecute it, become embarrassed at some time or other, by the conflict of particular duties, with the best method of promoting their object. An unaccommodating veracity, an unswerving good faith, will often appear to stand, or stand really, in the way of their ends; and hence the little confidence we repose in enthusiasts, even when, in a popular mode of speaking, they are most sincere; that is, most convinced of the rectitude of their aim.'—III. 314—321.

He proceeds to trace with acuteness the origin of Jesuit morality, and to show how far an apology may be devised for it, on account of the extravagant lengths to which the more rigid casuists had gone, in a passage which the length of the preceding extract alone prevents us from inserting.

We fear that the department of belles lettres, the most popular of all, is precisely that in which Mr Hallam's work is least likely to attain popularity. Far too little of it is devoted to the consideration of literature as a whole, and too much to judgments on individual writers; and no reading is more wearisome than that of a series of insulated criticisms. And though much of sound appreciation, valuable commentary, and profound remark, is to be found in following him through the vast field of investigation which he traverses, there is, we must confess, a want of spirit and animation, which neutralizes the effect of these

excellences. The author seems afraid to give the rein to his fancy;—afraid to trust his own speculations, lest they end in illusion. For there are frequent indications that the cold and methodical spirit of a great part of the work is less natural to his genius than deliberately assumed. His analysis, too, though always clear, does not always aim at being profound; or rather his contempt for the fanciful speculations of critics, as to the interior and hidden meanings of things, induces him to abide *in cortice* by deliberate choice; of which a remarkable instance, perhaps a judicious one, may be seen in his observations on Cervantes and Calderon.

The following passage on the poetry of the Elizabethan age, may perhaps be cited as a fair instance of a more comprehensive style of criticism, than will be generally met with in these chapters:—

'In the entire bulk of poetry, England could not, perhaps, bear comparison with Spain or France, to say nothing of Italy. She had come in fact much later to cultivate poetry as a general accomplishment. And, consequently, we find much less of the mechanism of style, than in the contemporaneous verse of other languages. The English sonnetteers deal less in customary epithets and conventional modes of expression. Every thought was to be worked out in new terms, since the scanty precedents of earlier versifiers did not supply them. This was evidently the cause of many blemishes in the Elizabethan poetry; of much that was false in taste, much that was either too harsh and extravagant, or too humble, and of more that was so obscure as to defy all interpretation. But it saved also that monotonous equability that often wearies us in more polished poetry. There is more pleasure, more sense of sympathy with another mind, in the perusal even of Gascoyne or Edwards, than in that of many French and Italian versifiers whom their contemporaries extolled. This is all that we can justly say in their favour; for any comparison of the Elizabethan poetry, save Spencer's alone, with that of the nineteenth century, would show an extravagant predilection for the mere name or dress of antiquity.' . . . 'If we place Tasso and Spenser apart, the English poetry of Elizabeth's reign will certainly not enter into competition with that of the corresponding period in Italy. It would require not only much national prejudice, but a want of genuine *æsthetic* discernment to put them on a level. But it may still be said that our own muses had their charms; and even that, at the end of the century, there was a better promise for the future than beyond the Alps. We might compare the poetry of one nation to a beauty of the court, with noble and regular features, a slender form, and grace in all her steps, but wanting a genuine simplicity of countenance, and with somewhat of sickliness in the delicacy of her complexion, that seems to indicate the passing away of the first season of youth; while that of the other would rather suggest a country maiden, newly mingling with polished society, not of perfect lineaments, but attracting beholders by the spirit, variety,

and intelligence of her expression, and rapidly wearing off the traces of rusticity, which are still sometimes visible in her demeanour.'—II. 321—334.

On the whole, we are inclined to value his review of English poetry and literature less highly than those both of France and Italy; perhaps, because, in the former, he has less put forth his strength, in fear of coming into competition with those men of the highest order of talent, both at home and in Germany, whose criticisms are so fresh in the memory of all lovers of their native literature. His admiration of Corneille and Racine, as of Bossuet and Pascal, is evidently far higher than is common among English readers; nor are we disposed to dissent from his general estimate of their merits, or his analysis of their separate beauties and defects. But we wish he had not thought it necessary to descend to comparisons, which sometimes cause the reader to question the foundations of his principles of taste.

'In one passage, Racine has, I think, excelled Shakspeare. They have both taken the same idea from Plutarch. The lines of Shakspeare are in "Antony and Cleopatra"—

> "Thy demon, that's the spirit that keeps thee, is
> Noble, courageous, high, unmatchable,
> Where Cæsar is not; but, near him, thy angel
> Becomes *a fear*, as being overpower'd."

'These are, to my apprehension, not very forcible, and obscure even to those who know, what many do not, that, by "a fear," he meant a common goblin, a supernatural being of a more plebeian rank than a demon or angel. The single verse of Racine is *magnificent*—

> "Mon génie étonné tremble devant le sien."'

It is a sonorous and energetic line; but it conveys no personification whatever. It reads quite as well as a metaphor —'génie' being used in the ordinary sense of 'genius'— and such, we do not doubt, was the idea as it occurred to Racine. The language of the naked old Roman superstition was too coarse for his taste; and he softens it by a sort of transition into trivial figurative diction. The lines of Shakspeare are harsh, and very probably corrupt; but they seem to convey an image, and a daring one. Here is what most would recognise as the difference between good rhetoric and careless poetry, which, to some tastes, possibly to Mr Hallam's, appears a visionary distinction. Perhaps, for his own objects, he had better have taken the other passage, in which Shakspeare has adapted the same fancy to his purposes, and which furnishes a more exact parallel.

'Under him
My genius is rebuked: as, it is said,
Antony's was by Cæsar.'

A stranger comparison still occurs between Shakspeare and Molière. 'In all things most essential to comedy, we cannot 'acknowledge his inferiority to Molière. His humour was at 'least as abundant and natural: his wit incomparably more bril-'liant: *in fact, Molière hardly exhibits this quality at all.*'—IV. 474. Surely there is some confusion here between wit and point, epigram or fancy, as the words are ordinarily understood; or a new definition of the term should have been given to exclude Molière. The same view of wit seems to occur in the sketch of Congreve. But we question Mr Hallam's taste for comic wit, or very extensive acquaintance with comic literature. We are not sure of his relish for the broad fun of Vanburgh; and are certain that he never read much of Shadwell, whom he lumps together, in four lines, with Etherege and Afra Behn.

Mr Hallam's learning in a little studied department of literature—modern Latin composition both in verse and prose—is surprising; and the part of his work devoted to it will go some way towards filling up a complete desideratum in critical bibliography. His taste in the appreciation of it appears also unusually correct; although whether he belongs to the *cream* of classicists we doubt. But Italian poetry, we should conjecture, forms his favourite study, among all the lighter varieties of literature. We can imagine that, with comparatively little sensibility to the higher order of imaginative poetry, (in which Italy is deficient,) he is extremely impressible by the charms of that ethereal gracefulness—that freedom from all that shocks or disturbs the feelings or the taste, that exquisite beauty of harmony, of which ears accustomed to northern versification scarcely appreciate the perfection. These are beauties to which the genius of the language has contributed even more than that of the writers. 'Are poets 'forbidden to avail themselves,' he says in one passage, 'of this 'felicity of their native tongue? or do we invidiously detract, 'as we might on the same ground, from the praise of Theocri-'tus and Bion?'—an appeal which the love of melody finds a difficulty in resisting, but which is surely no admissible argument in criticism. The charm of the ear goes for much in the pleasure with which we read and retain verses; but if it does affect our critical appreciation of the merit of poetry, we suspect it only does so to the deterioration of true taste; for, in languages abounding in melody, it is generally the very poorest artists in all other qualifications who employ to the utmost this gratuitous advantage. The sweetness of the Doric tongue was no part of

the merit of Theocritus; but it redoubles the beauty of his diction, because it is used with the most perfect of all artifice, as it were unconsciously, and as a mere natural grace, heightening that extreme naturalness which characterises his poetry in every other respect. Other poets employed it meretriciously. It is impossible not to detect, in the fragment of Bion which we possess, a sort of complacent dwelling on mere sweetness of sound—an indolent dalliance with the powers of the exquisite instrument which he was using—an art which may captivate the senses of the reader, and cling to his memory, but affects neither his heart nor his judgment.

In the better class of Italian poets, it has always appeared to us that there is something like a studied disdain of mere musicalness—a labour artificially to counteract the tendency of the language to slide into languid melody. Certainly neither Dante, nor in general Petrarch, nor even Ariosto—notwithstanding the ease and copiousness of his flow—are poets remarkable, among Italians, for harmony of versification. Tasso's soft and impressible nature yielded to the seduction, much to the injury of whatever there is of vigorous and masculine in his conceptions. Chiabrera, Guarini, Guidi, Marini, practised it as an art; and certainly Mr Hallam treats them all with a degree of tenderness very unusual in Transalpine critics, and greater than they meet with from the more severe among their own countrymen. But he seems to be, in no ordinary degree, the slave of sweet sounds. What else can excuse his going out of his way to quote (iii. 455) eight lines of doggerel *versi sdruccioli* of Marini, with the remark, that 'though this metrical skill may not be of the highest merit 'in poetry, it is no more to be slighted than facility of touch in 'a painter!' If the mere difficulty of the task excited his admiration, he would have been better justified in citing the *Pugna Porcorum*, as an instance of 'facility of touch' in Latin verse-making.

The series of romantic poets forms the great glory of Italian literature during the period comprised within this work; and on these Mr Hallam's criticisms are in general just, and his admiration not a whit too high wrought for the sympathy of those who, like himself, have been *early* imbued with the love of those delightful masters. But, of all tastes, this is one which most requires early cultivation; we never knew any one who became acquainted with the romantic poets after his poetical taste was formed, who could endure to read them at all, except in insulated passages. Nor is this at all to be wondered at. Youth is the only season in which the mind of the educated *man* of the present day possesses any thing of that happy freshness of perception, that readiness to receive amusement from trivial sources, and t-

follow with interest in the slightest and loosest track of fictitious narrative, which the courtly listeners of Ferrara and Florence enjoyed in those less advanced times. With women, we suspect, the case is different; and Tasso is at this day chiefly read by women; the rest have in general not sufficient good faith for female taste, even were females not excluded from such studies by other peculiarities. The fault is ours, and not that of the poets. Our perceptions are become too refined, our imagination too exacting, for their poetry; our taste for the fictitious requires much more exciting food than their narration can administer. It may well admit of a doubt (notwithstanding the English doctrine, that the perception of classical beauty is the foundation of all taste) whether that very close and searching familiarity with Greek and Latin models, now required of our best educated youth, does not tend to deprive them of this portion of the pleasures of the man of general literature. That course of discipline at once corrects the taste and exalts the imagination; but detracts somewhat from their universality. The strictest classicist, if a man of poetical sensibility, will be not the less, but the more alive to the charm of modern poetry of the highest order—to the genius of Dante, Milton, Wordsworth, Goethe—in whom he retraces the great lessons of fundamental truth which he has learned from Homer and Sophocles. But there are certain distinct provinces in literature, governed by laws of their own, and altogether external to the classical sovereignty, into which he never will be able to enter; and this pleasant little domain of the Italian Romanzieri is one of them:—

> 'Altri fiumi, altri laghi, altre campagne
> Sono la sù, che non son qui tra noi.'

Yet, perhaps, Pulci might be excepted, as a poet different in many of his qualities from his successor in that school of which he is generally termed the parent. Never was bard more singularly treated by the whole race of critics, both Italian and foreign. Those of his own country carried on with great zeal the unprofitable controversy, 'whether his poem is to be reckoned burlesque.' Foscolo and Panizzi contend for its gravity. Voltaire seems to have regarded him as merely a profane satirist; Ginguené as a buffoon, who sometimes rises into the heroic. Mr Hallam (who adopts elsewhere the following scale of relative seriousness for the romantic poets—Spenser, Boiardo, Ariosto, Berni, Pulci) has fallen, rather inconsiderately, as we think, into the burlesque theory. 'As to the heroes of his romance,' he says, 'there can 'be, as it seems, no sort of doubt that he designed them for no-'thing else than the butts of his fancy, that the reader might scoff 'at those whom duller poets had held up to admiration. It has

'been a question among Italian critics, whether the poem of 'Pulci is to be reckoned burlesque. This may seem to turn on 'the definition, though I do not see what definition could be 'given consistently with the use of language that would exclude 'it: it is intended as a caricature of the poetical romances, and 'might even seem by anticipation a satirical, though not ill-'natured parody on the Orlando Furioso. That he meant to 'excite any other emotion than laughter cannot, as it seems, be 'maintained: and a *very few stanzas* of a more serious charac-'ter, which may *rarely* be found, are not enough to make an 'exception to his general design.' Under favour, the decision of the question depends upon something more than the definition of the word 'burlesque.' It requires, in the first place, that we should ascertain whether the definition, 'serious' and 'burlesque,' as applied to whole compositions, rests on any thing at all beyond the conventional rules of criticism; whether those rules were known or valued, or cared for in Pulci's age; whether, in human life itself, the solemn and the ludicrous are not in constant juxtaposition; and what is the meaning of the barbarous word 'tragi-comedy' by which we entitle so many pieces of our older dramatists, except that the poverty of language, formed under and cramped by conventional rules, afforded no better term for describing the natural drama. But it requires, in the next place, that we should remember the character with which these Italian poets invested themselves; not that of dramatists, nor the didactic, nor the epic, but simply that of story-tellers; reproducing the old tales of chivalry, by which the castles of the barons of earlier times had been enlivened, and slightly altering them to suit their own audience; the circles of the as yet only half cultivated courts of Italy. Now, the art of the story-teller, in an unreading age, consists chiefly in making his audience weep and laugh by turns; they have little taste for the various intermediate shades of sentiment in which civilization delights; deep tragedy, and broad farce must alternate in the same series, nay, even in the same tale, in order to rivet their attention. This is the case with all *bonâ fide* stories, which have been composed for hearers and not for readers;—from those which are told round the watchfire of the American Indian, to the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, and the Decameron of Boccaccio. This was the state of the art when Pulci took it up, and he carried it no farther. The taste of the age and court of the first Medici was decidedly for buffoonery, as the rest of its relics sufficiently evince; he seasoned his composition, certainly, with an abundant spice to suit their palate; but the elements of it were the same mingled ingredients of pathos and laughter which had been employed by the story-teller of every half civilized age. As cultivation pro-

ceeds, and taste is developed, the broad character of the story is invariably shaded away; the tragic touches are softened as too deep for good society; the coarse buffoonery is polished into raillery; and thus we proceed from the contrasted composition of Pulci to the mixed or transition style of Ariosto; very different, still, from the mere parody of Fortiguerra, or the mere *capriccios* of Casti and Byron. When Mr Hallam says that the seriousness of Pulci is comprised in a few stanzas, we are tempted to suspect what in so very honest a critic is rarely to be suspected—that he has never read the *Morgante* through; certainly not the last half dozen cantos, the crowning portion of the work, which even Ginguené finds sublime. Thus far, we imagine, all who have read them will agree with us. The rest of what we have to say will probably be deemed by most too enthusiastic; but we cannot help being persuaded, that some of the elements of poetical genius were possessed by Pulci to a degree unequalled by any other Italian poet since the two great Trecentisti. There is an occasional loftiness of chivalrous sentiment which we know not where else to look for; strong sympathy with the point of chivalrous honour, even to extravagance—with the zeal of chivalrous devotion, the beauty of chivalrous purity; and, more than all this, a power of dramatic character and contrast—for instance, in the figures of Orlando, Oliver, and Rinaldo, as they are brought together in the last agony of Christian valour at Roncesvalles, which makes Pulci, in our opinion, one of the most Homeric writers since Homer. If this praise be thought overstrained, there is at all events little resembling it in the graceful and desultory sketches of Ariosto, or the sweet but languid and feminine creations of Tasso.

If we are asked, how it is possible that a writer possessed of such rare qualities can have acquired so little popularity, the answer is easy; the vileness of his taste, his want of imagery and poetical beauties in the ordinary sense, the endless prolixity of his narration, the stupidity of his farce, the peculiar abruptness of his manner, (which is well characterised by Panizzi,) and a diction which, even to the merest Cruscarti, appears intolerably harsh and obscure. All these are defects which have thrust back a genius of noble capabilities into the host of third-rate poets, not altogether undeservedly.

One word more as to Mr Hallam's opinion, that Pulci 'seems 'clearly to betray an intention of bringing religion into contempt.' He flourished in a society passing through one of those singular periods when all religion becomes merely formalized; resting on traditionary observance; its ministers possessed of vast temporal powers; jealously defended by prohibition and persecution; occasionally inflaming the passions of the lowest class, and

occupying the thoughts of a few devotees in all, but exercising no sort of influence on the educated or governing public. Under such circumstances, it becomes so inevitably the tone of cultivated society to mock and sneer at all devout observances, that such language is habitually used by men who not only have no intention whatever of sneering at religion, but who are really attached to it at bottom, possibly even to its superstitions. Ordinary freethinkers, to whom Mr Hallam, like Voltaire, would assimilate Pulci, treating such a subject as his, always combine with contempt for religion contempt for positive obligations. We do not say that such an union is inevitable, but that it has been the case without exception. Now, in Pulci, doctrines and observances are constantly treated as matters of farce; but there is no licentiousness of sentiment, beyond what had ever been usual in Italy; profligacy of sentiment there is *none;* while there are many gleams of moral feeling, and even of moral grandeur. How widely different he is in all these respects from his polished successor Ariosto, it needs no criticism to develop.

We have devoted, however, too much space already to this fascinating division of the subject. A few omissions in it, although inconsiderable when its great extent is regarded, are perhaps not unworthy of notice. While enumerating many very insignificant versifiers of the sixteenth century, Mr Hallam has forgotten to notice the high poetical merit of Michael Angelo. He has characterised Filicaja well and feelingly, but seems not to be conversant with his fine devotional poetry; by many esteemed his highest title to renown. The plays of 'Gasparo,' (Carlo) Gozzi, are not justly characterised as being, 'if plays they are, mere 'hints to guide the art of extemporaneous actors.' He might have learned more respecting them, even without consulting the original; for the dramatic romances of Gozzi were at one time rather popular in Germany. But the mistake is of less consequence, as it only occurs in a note, and relates to writings of a period not comprised within his plan.

Here we must take leave of our author, and it is with unfeigned feelings of esteem, and we may add of deep respect, that we so do. That his work will be popular, we can hardly predict. We have already suggested some defects, to our apprehension, which will materially impede its present success. To these must be added a dry and austere style, uniformly clear indeed, and English, but sometimes chastised to a degree of tameness, sometimes, though not often, laboriously figurative, and loaded with rather heavy ornament. But most assuredly the reader who does not merely employ it to fill up the leisure of a few hours, but consults it for guidance, and refers to its authority, will never use it without an

augmented sense of its value, and respect for its author. He will be struck with the modest simplicity with which its stores of very extensive erudition are displayed. He will be struck with an honesty, even in the mere conduct of the work, rarely found in publications pretending to any thing like the same amount of research. 'I have quoted,' (says the author in his preface,) 'to my recollection, no passage which I have not seen in its own place; 'though I may possibly have transcribed, in some instances, for 'the sake of convenience, from a secondary authority. Without censuring those who suppress the immediate source of 'their quotations, I may justly say, that in nothing I have given 'to the public, has it been practised by myself.' But this he will find only an example, in a comparatively small matter, of that high sense of responsibility and disdain of artifice which stamp the character of the author with sterling dignity. These qualities are more amply displayed in his thorough independence, impartiality, and straightforward love of truth. There is to us, we scarcely know how produced, a certain solemnity in his bold yet temperate judgments, which seem to speak the language of one ever mindful of the warnings he has received, in his own words, 'to bind up his sheaves while he may.' Doubtless, no sect or party, in literary or higher speculations, will be fully satisfied with one who not only ventures to follow his own light, though with the true humility of much learning, but cannot always restrain himself from the expression of contempt for voluntary blindness, and indignation at intolerance. We have already given our reasons for esteeming these among the highest qualities of a teacher of men at the present day; and we can scarcely find juster praise for his work than in the language which has been used by himself respecting Locke's Treatise on the 'Conduct of the Understanding'—allowing only for the age of the student, to whose use they are respectively adapted. 'I cannot think any parent 'or instructor justified in neglecting to put this little treatise in 'the hands of a boy about the time when the reasoning faculties 'become developed. It will give him a sober and serious, not 'flippant or self-conceited, independency of thinking; and while 'it teaches how to distrust ourselves and to watch those prejudices which necessarily grow up from one cause or another, will 'inspire a reasonable confidence in what he has well considered, 'by taking off a little of that deference to authority, which is the 'more to be regretted in its excess, that, like its cousin-german, 'party spirit, it is frequently united to loyalty of heart, and the 'generous enthusiasm of youth.'

ART. IX.—*The Ecclesiastical and Political History of the Popes of Rome, during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* By LEOPOLD RANKE, Professor in the University of Berlin: Translated from the German, by SARAH AUSTIN. 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1840.

IT is hardly necessary for us to say, that this is an excellent book excellently translated. The original work of Professor Ranke is known and esteemed wherever German literature is studied; and has been found interesting even in a most inaccurate and dishonest French version. It is, indeed, the work of a mind fitted both for minute researches and for large speculations. It is written also in an admirable spirit, equally remote from levity and bigotry; serious and earnest, yet tolerant and impartial. It is, therefore, with the greatest pleasure that we now see it take its place among the English classics. Of the translation we need only say, that it is such as might be expected from the skill, the taste, and the scrupulous integrity of the accomplished lady, who, as an interpreter between the mind of Germany and the mind of Britain, has already deserved so well of both countries.

The subject of this book has always appeared to us singularly interesting. How it was that Protestantism did so much, yet did no more—how it was that the Church of Rome, having lost a large part of Europe, not only ceased to lose, but actually regained nearly half of what she had lost—is certainly a most curious and important question; and on this question Professor Ranke has thrown far more light than any other person who has written on it.

There is not, and there never was, on this earth, a work of human policy so well deserving of examination as the Roman Catholic Church. The history of that Church joins together the two great ages of human civilization. No other institution is left standing which carries the mind back to the times when the smoke of sacrifice rose from the Pantheon, and when camelopards and tigers bounded in the Flavian amphitheatre. The proudest royal houses are but of yesterday, when compared with the line of the Supreme Pontiffs. That line we trace back in an unbroken series, from the Pope who crowned Napoleon in the nineteenth century, to the Pope who crowned Pepin in the eighth; and far beyond the time of Pepin the august dynasty extends, till it is lost in the twilight of fable. The republic of Venice came next in antiquity. But the republic of Venice was modern when compared with the Papacy; and the republic of

Venice is gone, and the Papacy remains. The Papacy remains, not in decay, not a mere antique; but full of life and youthful vigour. The Catholic Church is still sending forth to the furthest ends of the world, missionaries as zealous as those who landed in Kent with Augustin; and still confronting hostile kings with the same spirit with which she confronted Attila. The number of her children is greater than in any former age. Her acquisitions in the New World have more than compensated her for what she has lost in the Old. Her spiritual ascendency extends over the vast countries which lie between the plains of the Missouri and Cape Horn—countries which, a century hence, may not improbably contain a population as large as that which now inhabits Europe. The members of her communion are certainly not fewer than a hundred and fifty millions; and it will be difficult to show that all the other Christian sects united, amount to a hundred and twenty millions. Nor do we see any sign which indicates that the term of her long dominion is approaching. She saw the commencement of all the governments, and of all the ecclesiastical establishments, that now exist in the world; and we feel no assurance that she is not destined to see the end of them all. She was great and respected before the Saxon had set foot on Britain—before the Frank had passed the Rhine—when Grecian eloquence still flourished at Antioch—when idols were still worshipped in the temple of Mecca. And she may still exist in undiminished vigour when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St Paul's.

We often hear it said that the world is constantly becoming more and more enlightened, and that this enlightening must be favourable to Protestantism, and unfavourable to Catholicism. We wish that we could think so. But we see great reason to doubt whether this be a well-founded expectation. We see that during the last two hundred and fifty years, the human mind has been in the highest degree active—that it has made great advances in every branch of natural philosophy—that it has produced innumerable inventions tending to promote the convenience of life—that medicine, surgery, chemistry, engineering, have been very greatly improved—that government, police, and law have been improved, though not quite to the same extent. Yet we see that, during these two hundred and fifty years, Protestantism has made no conquests worth speaking of. Nay, we believe that, as far as there has been a change, that change has been in favour of the Church of Rome. We cannot, therefore, feel confident that the progress of knowledge will necessarily be fatal to a system which has, to say the least, stood its

ground in spite of the immense progress which knowledge has made since the days of Queen Elizabeth.

Indeed, the argument which we are considering, seems to us to be founded on an entire mistake. There are branches of knowledge, with respect to which the law of the human mind is progress. In mathematics, when once a proposition has been demonstrated, it is never afterwards contested. Every fresh story is as solid a basis for a new superstructure as the original foundation was. Here, therefore, there is a constant addition to the stock of truth. In the inductive sciences again, the law is progress. Every day furnishes new facts, and thus brings theory nearer and nearer to perfection. There is no chance that either in the purely demonstrative, or in the purely experimental sciences, the world will ever go back or even remain stationary. Nobody ever heard of a reaction against Taylor's theorem, or of a reaction against Harvey's doctrine of the circulation of the blood.

But with theology the case is very different. As respects natural religion—revelation being for the present altogether left out of the question—it is not easy to see that a philosopher of the present day is more favourably situated than Thales or Simonides. He has before him just the same evidences of design in the structure of the universe which the early Greeks had. We say just the same; for the discoveries of modern astronomers and anatomists have really added nothing to the force of that argument which a reflecting mind finds in every beast, bird, insect, fish, leaf, flower, and shell. The reasoning by which Socrates, in Xenophon's hearing, confuted the little atheist Aristodemus, is exactly the reasoning of Paley's 'Natural Theology.' Socrates makes precisely the same use of the statues of Polycletus and the pictures of Zeuxis, which Paley makes of the watch. As to the other great question—the question, what becomes of man after death—we do not see that a highly educated European, left to his unassisted reason, is more likely to be in the right than a Blackfoot Indian. Not a single one of the many sciences in which we surpass the Blackfoot Indians, throws the smallest light on the state of the soul after the animal life is extinct. In truth, all the philosophers, ancient and modern, who have attempted, without the help of revelation, to prove the immortality of man, from Plato down to Franklin, appear to us to have failed deplorably.

Then, again, all the great enigmas which perplex the natural theologian are the same in all ages. The ingenuity of a people just emerging from barbarism is quite sufficient to propound them. The wisdom of Locke or Clarke is quite unable to solve them. It is a mistake to imagine that subtle speculations, touching the Divine attributes, the origin of evil, the necessity of human actions, the foundation of moral obligation, imply any

high degree of intellectual culture. Such speculations, on the contrary, are in a peculiar manner the delight of intelligent children, and of half-civilized men. The number of boys is not small who, at fourteen, have thought enough on these questions to be fully entitled to the praise which Voltaire gives to Zadig, 'Il en savait ce qu'on en a su dans tous les âges; c'est-à-dire, 'fort peu de chose.' The book of Job shows, that long before letters and arts were known to Ionia, these vexing questions were debated with no common skill and eloquence, under the tents of the Idumean Emirs; nor has human reason, in the course of three thousand years, discovered any satisfactory solution of the riddles which perplexed Eliphaz and Zophar.

Natural theology, then, is not a progressive science. That knowledge of our origin and of our destiny which we derive from revelation, is indeed of very different clearness, and very different importance. But neither is revealed religion of the nature of a progressive science. All Divine truth is, according to the doctrine of the Protestant Churches, recorded in certain books. It is equally open to all who, in any age, can read those books; nor can all the discoveries of all the philosophers in the world add a single verse to any of those books. It is plain, therefore, that in divinity there cannot be a progress analogous to that which is constantly taking place in pharmacy, geology, and navigation. A Christian of the fifth century with a Bible, is on a par with a Christian of the nineteenth century with a Bible, candour and natural acuteness being, of course, supposed equal. It matters not at all that the compass, printing, gunpowder, steam, gas, vaccination, and a thousand other discoveries and inventions, which were unknown in the fifth century, are familiar to the nineteenth. None of these discoveries and inventions have the smallest bearing on the question whether man is justified by faith alone, or whether the invocation of saints is an orthodox practice. It seems to us, therefore, that we have no security for the future against the prevalence of any theological error that ever has prevailed in time past among Christian men. We are confident that the world will never go back to the solar system of Ptolemy; nor is our confidence in the least shaken by the circumstance, that even so great a man as Bacon rejected the theory of Galileo with scorn; for Bacon had not all the means of arriving at a sound conclusion which are within our reach, and which secure people, who would not have been worthy to mend his pens, from falling into his mistakes. But we are very differently affected, when we reflect that Sir Thomas More was ready to die for the doctrine of transubstantiation. He was a man of eminent talents. He had all the information on the subject that we have, or that, while the world lasts, any human being will have. The text,

'This is my body,' was in his New Testament as it is in ours. The absurdity of the literal interpretation was as great and as obvious in the sixteenth century as it is now. No progress that science has made, or will make, can add to what seems to us the overwhelming force of the argument against the real presence. We are, therefore, unable to understand why what Sir Thomas More believed respecting transubstantiation, may not be believed to the end of time by men equal in abilities and honesty to Sir Thomas More. But Sir Thomas More is one of the choice specimens of human wisdom and virtue; and the doctrine of transubstantiation is a kind of proof charge. A faith which stands that test will stand any test. The prophecies of Brothers, and the miracles of Prince Hohenlohe, sink to trifles in the comparison. One reservation, indeed, must be made. The books and traditions of a sect may contain, mingled with propositions strictly theological, other propositions, purporting to rest on the same authority, which relate to physics. If new discoveries should throw discredit on the physical propositions, the theological propositions, unless they can be separated from the physical propositions, will share in that discredit. In this way, undoubtedly, the progress of science may indirectly serve the cause of religious truth. The Hindoo mythology, for example, is bound up with a most absurd geography. Every young Brahmin, therefore, who learns geography in our colleges, learns to smile at the Hindoo mythology. If Catholicism has not suffered to an equal degree from the Papal decision that the sun goes round the earth, this is because all intelligent Catholics now hold, with Pascal, that in deciding the point at all the Church exceeded her powers, and was, therefore, justly left destitute of that supernatural assistance which, in the exercise of her legitimate functions, the promise of her Founder authorized her to expect.

This reservation affects not at all the truth of our proposition, that divinity, properly so called, is not a progressive science. A very common knowledge of history, a very little observation of life, will suffice to prove that no learning, no sagacity, affords a security against the greatest errors on subjects relating to the invisible world. Bayle and Chillingworth, two of the most sceptical of mankind, turned Catholics from sincere conviction. Johnson, incredulous on all other points, was a ready believer in miracles and apparitions. He would not believe in Ossian; but he believed in the second sight. He would not believe in the earthquake of Lisbon; but he believed in the Cock Lane ghost.

For these reasons we have ceased to wonder at any vagaries of superstition. We have seen men, not of mean intellect or neglected education, but qualified by their talents and acquirements to attain eminence either in active or speculative pursuits,

well-read scholars, expert logicians, keen observers of life and manners, prophesying, interpreting, talking unknown tongues, working miraculous cures, coming down with messages from God to the House of Commons. We have seen an old woman, with no talents beyond the cunning of a fortune-teller, and with the education of a scullion, exalted into a prophetess, and surrounded by tens of thousands of devoted followers, many of whom were, in station and knowledge, immeasurably her superiors; and all this in the nineteenth century; and all this in London. Yet why not? For of the dealings of God with man no more has been revealed to the nineteenth century than to the first, or to London than to the wildest parish in the Hebrides. It is true that, in those things which concern this life and this world, man constantly becomes wiser and wiser. But it is no less true that, as respects a higher power and a future state, man, in the language of Goethe's scoffing fiend,

> 'bleibt stets von gleichem schlag,
> Und ist so wunderlich als wie am ersten tag.'

The history of Catholicism strikingly illustrates these observations. During the last seven centuries the public mind of Europe has made constant progress in every department of secular knowledge. But in religion we can trace no constant progress. The ecclesiastical history of that long period is a history of movement to-and-fro. Four times since the authority of the Church of Rome was established in Western Christendom, has the human intellect risen up against her yoke. Twice she remained completely victorious. Twice she came forth from the conflict bearing the marks of cruel wounds, but with the principle of life still strong within her. When we reflect on the tremendous assaults which she has survived, we find it difficult to conceive in what way she is to perish.

The first of these insurrections broke out in the region where the beautiful language of *Oc* was spoken. That country, singularly favoured by nature, was, in the twelfth century, the most flourishing and civilized part of Western Europe. It was in no wise a part of France. It had a distinct political existence, a distinct national character, distinct usages, and a distinct speech. The soil was fruitful and well cultivated; and amidst the cornfields and vineyards arose many rich cities, each of which was a little republic; and many stately castles, each of which contained a miniature of an imperial court. It was there that the spirit of chivalry first laid aside its terrors, first took a humane and graceful form, first appeared as the inseparable associate of art and literature, of courtesy and love. The other vernacular dialects which, since the fifth century, had sprung up in the ancient pro-

vinces of the Roman empire, were still rude and imperfect. The sweet Tuscan, the rich and energetic English, were abandoned to artisans and shepherds. No clerk had ever condescended to use such barbarous jargon for the teaching of science, for the recording of great events, or for the painting of life and manners. But the language of Provence was already the language of the learned and polite, and was employed by numerous writers, studious of all the arts of composition and versification. A literature rich in ballads, in war-songs, in satire, and, above all, in amatory poetry, amused the leisure of the knights and ladies whose fortified mansions adorned the banks of the Rhone and Garonne. With civilization had come freedom of thought. Use had taken away the horror with which misbelievers were elsewhere regarded. No Norman or Breton ever saw a Mussulman, except to give and receive blows on some Syrian field of battle. But the people of the rich countries which lay under the Pyrenees, lived in habits of courteous and profitable intercourse with the Moorish kingdoms of Spain; and gave a hospitable welcome to skilful teachers and mathematicians, who, in the schools of Cordova and Granada, had become versed in all the learning of the Arabians. The Greek, still preserving, in the midst of political degradation, the ready wit and the enquiring spirit of his fathers, still able to read the most perfect of human compositions, still speaking the most powerful and flexible of human languages, brought to the marts of Narbonne and Toulouse, together with the drugs and silks of remote climates, bold and subtle theories, long unknown to the ignorant and credulous West. The Paulician theology—a theology in which, as it should seem, many of the doctrines of the modern Calvinists were mingled with some doctrines derived from the ancient Manichees—spread rapidly through Provence and Languedoc. The clergy of the Catholic Church were regarded with loathing and contempt. 'Viler than a priest'—'I 'would as soon be a priest'—became proverbial expressions. The Papacy had lost all authority with all classes, from the great feudal princes down to the cultivators of the soil.

The danger to the hierarchy was indeed formidable. Only one transalpine nation had emerged from barbarism, and that nation had thrown off all respect for Rome. Only one of the vernacular languages of Europe had yet been extensively employed for literary purposes, and that language was a machine in the hands of heretics. The geographical position of the sectaries made the danger peculiarly formidable. They occupied a central region communicating directly with France, with Italy, and with Spain. The provinces which were still untainted, were separated from each other by this infected district. Under these circumstances, it seemed probable that a single generation would

suffice to spread the reformed doctrine to Lisbon, to London, and to Naples. But this was not to be. Rome cried for help to the warriors of northern France. She appealed at once to their superstition and to their cupidity. To the devout believer she promised pardons as ample as those with which she had rewarded the deliverers of the Holy Sepulchre. To the rapacious and profligate she offered the plunder of fertile plains and wealthy cities. Unhappily, the ingenious and polished inhabitants of the Languedocian provinces were far better qualified to enrich and embellish their country than to defend it. Eminent in the arts of peace, unrivalled in the 'gay science,' elevated above many vulgar superstitions, they wanted that iron courage, and that skill in martial exercises, which distinguished the chivalry of the region beyond the Loire, and were ill-fitted to face enemies, who, in every country from Ireland to Palestine, had been victorious against tenfold odds. A war, distinguished even among wars of religion by its merciless atrocity, destroyed the Albigensian heresy; and with that heresy the prosperity, the civilization, the literature, the national existence, of what was once the most opulent and enlightened part of the great European family. Rome, in the meantime, warned by that fearful danger from which the exterminating swords of her crusaders had narrowly saved her, proceeded to revise and to strengthen her whole system of polity. At this period were instituted the Order of Francis, the Order of Dominic, the Tribunal of the Inquisition. The new spiritual police was every where. No alley in a great city, no hamlet on a remote mountain, was unvisited by the begging friar. The simple Catholic, who was content to be no wiser than his fathers, found, wherever he turned, a friendly voice to encourage him. The path of the heretic was beset by innumerable spies; and the Church, lately in danger of utter subversion, now appeared to be impregnably fortified by the love, the reverence, and the terror of mankind.

A century and a half passed away, and then came the second great rising up of the human intellect against the spiritual domination of Rome. During the two generations which followed the Albigensian crusade, the power of the Papacy had been at the height. Frederick II.—the ablest and most accomplished of the long line of German Cæsars—had in vain exhausted all the resources of military and political skill in the attempt to defend the rights of the civil power against the encroachments of the Church. The vengeance of the priesthood had pursued his house to the third generation. Manfred had perished on the field of battle; Conradin on the scaffold. Then a turn took place. The secular authority, long unduly depressed, regained the ascendant with startling rapidity. The change is doubtless

to be ascribed chiefly to the general disgust excited by the way in which the Church had abused its power and its success. But something must be attributed to the character and situation of individuals. The man who bore the chief part in effecting this revolution was Philip the IV. of France, surnamed the Beautiful—a despot by position, a despot by temperament, stern, implacable, and unscrupulous, equally prepared for violence and for chicanery, and surrounded by a devoted band of men of the sword, and of men of law. The fiercest and most high-minded of the Roman Pontiffs, while bestowing kingdoms, and citing great princes to his judgment-seat, was seized in his palace by armed men, and so foully outraged that he died mad with rage and terror. 'Thus,' sang the great Florentine poet, 'was Christ, in the per-'son of his vicar, a second time seized by ruffians, a second time 'mocked, a second time drenched with the vinegar and the gall.'* The seat of the Papal court was carried beyond the Alps, and the Bishops of Rome became dependents of France. Then came the great schism of the West. Two Popes, each with a doubtful title, made all Europe ring with their mutual invectives and anathemas. Rome cried out against the corruptions of Avignon; and Avignon, with equal justice, recriminated on Rome. The plain Christian people, brought up in the belief that it was a sacred duty to be in communion with the Head of the Church, were unable to discover, amidst conflicting testimonies and conflicting arguments, to which of the two worthless priests who were cursing and reviling each other, the headship of the Church rightfully belonged. It was nearly at this juncture that the voice of John Wickliffe began to make itself heard. The public mind of England was soon stirred to its inmost depths; and the influence of the new doctrines was soon felt, even in the distant kingdom of Bohemia. In Bohemia, indeed, there had long been a predisposition to heresy. Merchants from the Lower Danube were often seen in the fairs of Prague; and the Lower Danube was peculiarly the seat of the Paulician theology. The Church, torn by schism, and fiercely assailed at once in England and in the German empire, was in a situation scarcely less perilous than at the crisis which preceded the Albigensian crusade.

But this danger also passed by. The civil power gave its strenuous support to the Church; and the Church made some show of reforming itself. The council of Constance put an end to the schism. The whole Catholic world was again united under a single chief, and rules were laid down which seemed to make it improbable that the power of that chief would be grossly abused. The most distinguished teachers of the new doctrine

* *Purgatorio*, xx. 87.

were put to death. The English government put down the Lollards with merciless rigour; and, in the next generation, no trace of the second great revolt against the Papacy could be found, except among the rude population of the mountains of Bohemia.

Another century went by; and then began the third and the most memorable struggle for spiritual freedom. The times were changed. The great remains of Athenian and Roman genius were studied by thousands. The Church had no longer a monopoly of learning. The powers of the modern languages had at length been developed. The invention of printing had given new facilities to the intercourse of mind with mind. With such auspices commenced the great Reformation.

We will attempt to lay before our readers, in a short compass, what appears to us to be the real history of the contest, which began with the preaching of Luther against the Indulgences, and which may, in one sense, be said to have been terminated, a hundred and thirty years later, by the treaty of Westphalia.

In the northern parts of Europe, the victory of Protestantism was rapid and decisive. The dominion of the Papacy was felt by the nations of Teutonic blood as the dominion of Italians, of foreigners, of men alien in language, manners, and intellectual constitution. The large jurisdiction exercised by the spiritual tribunals of Rome seemed to be a degrading badge of servitude. The sums which, under a thousand pretexts, were exacted by a distant court, were regarded both as a humiliating and as a ruinous tribute. The character of that court excited the scorn and disgust of a grave, earnest, sincere, and devout people. The new theology spread with a rapidity never known before. All ranks, all varieties of character, joined the ranks of the innovators. Sovereigns impatient to appropriate to themselves the prerogatives of the Pope—nobles desirous to share the plunder of abbeys—suitors exasperated by the extortions of the Roman Camera—patriots impatient of a foreign rule—good men scandalized by the corruptions of the Church—bad men desirous of the license inseparable from great moral revolutions—wise men eager in the pursuit of truth—weak men allured by the glitter of novelty—all were found on one side. Alone among the northern nations, the Irish adhered to the ancient faith: and the cause of this seems to have been, that the national feeling which, in happier countries, was directed against Rome, was in Ireland directed against England. In fifty years from the day on which Luther publicly renounced communion with the Church of Rome, and burned the bull of Leo before the gates of Wittenberg, Protestantism attained its highest ascendency—an

ascendency which it soon lost, and which it has never regained. Hundreds, who could well remember Brother Martin a devout Catholic, lived to see the revolution of which he was the chief author victorious in half the states of Europe. In England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Livonia, Prussia, Saxony, Hesse, Wurtemburg, the Palatinate, in several cantons of Switzerland, in the Northern Netherlands, the Reformation had completely triumphed; and in all the other countries on this side of the Alps and the Pyrenees, it seemed on the point of triumphing.

But while this mighty work was proceeding in the north of Europe, a revolution of a very different kind had taken place in the south. The temper of Italy and Spain was widely different from that of Germany and England. As the national feeling of the Teutonic nations impelled them to throw off the Italian supremacy, so the national feeling of the Italians impelled them to resist any change which might deprive their country of the honour and advantage of being the seat of the government of the Universal Church. It was in Italy that the tributes were spent, of which foreign nations so bitterly complained. It was to adorn Italy, that the traffic in indulgences had been carried to that scandalous excess which had roused the indignation of Luther. There was among the Italians both much piety and much impiety; but, with very few exceptions, neither the piety nor the impiety took the turn of Protestantism. The religious Italians desired a reform of morals and discipline, but not a reform of doctrine, and least of all a schism. The irreligious Italians simply disbelieved Christianity, without hating it. They looked at it as artists or as statesmen; and so looking at it, they liked it better in the established form than in any other. It was to them what the old Pagan worship was to Trajan and Pliny. Neither the spirit of Savanarola, nor that of Machiavelli, had any thing in common with that of the religious or political Protestants of the north.

Spain again was, with respect to the Catholic Church, in a situation very different from that of the Teutonic nations. Italy was, in fact, a part of the empire of Charles V.; and the court of Rome was, on many important occasions, his tool. He had not, therefore, like the distant princes of the north, a strong selfish motive for attacking the Papacy. In fact, the very measures which provoked the Sovereign of England to renounce all connexion with Rome, were dictated by the Sovereign of Spain. The feelings of the Spanish people concurred with the interest of the Spanish government. The attachment of the Castilian to the faith of his ancestors was peculiarly strong and ardent. With that faith were inseparably bound up the institutions, the independence, and the glory of his country. Between the day when

the last Gothic king was vanquished on the banks of the Xeres, and the day when Ferdinand and Isabella entered Granada in triumph, nearly eight hundred years had elapsed; and during those years the Spanish nation had been engaged in a desperate struggle against misbelievers. The Crusades had been merely an episode in the history of other nations. The existence of Spain had been one long crusade. After fighting Mussulmans in the Old World, she began to fight heathens in the New. It was under the authority of a Papal bull that her children steered into unknown seas. It was under the standard of the cross that they marched fearlessly into the heart of great kingdoms. It was with the cry of 'Saint James for Spain,' that they charged armies which outnumbered them a hundredfold. And men said that the Saint had heard the call, and had himself, in arms, on a grey war-horse, led the onset before which the worshippers of false gods had given way. After the battle, every excess of rapacity or cruelty was sufficiently vindicated by the plea that the sufferers were unbaptized. Avarice stimulated zeal. Zeal consecrated avarice. Proselytes and gold-mines were sought with equal ardour. In the very year in which the Saxons, maddened by the exactions of Rome, broke loose from her yoke, the Spaniards, under the authority of Rome, made themselves masters of the empire and of the treasures of Montezuma. Thus Catholicism, which, in the public mind of Northern Europe, was associated with spoliation and oppression, was in the public mind of Spain associated with liberty, victory, dominion, wealth, and glory.

It is not, therefore, strange that the effect of the great outbreak of Protestantism in one part of Christendom should have been to produce an equally violent outbreak of Catholic zeal in another. Two reformations were pushed on at once with equal energy and effect—a reformation of doctrine in the North—a reformation of manners and discipline in the South. In the course of a single generation, the whole spirit of the Church of Rome underwent a change. From the halls of the Vatican to the most secluded hermitage of the Apennines, the great revival was every where felt and seen. All the institutions, anciently devised for the propagation and defence of the faith, were furbished up and made efficient. New engines of still more formidable power were constructed. Every where old religious communities were remodelled, and new religious communities called into existence. Within a year after the death of Leo, the order of Camaldoli was purified. The Capuchins restored the old Franciscan discipline—the midnight prayer and the life of silence. The Barnabites and the society of Somasca devoted themselves to the relief and education of the poor. To the

Theatine order a still higher interest belongs. Its great object was the same with that of our early Methodists—to supply the deficiencies of the parochial clergy. The Church of Rome, wiser than the Church of England, gave every countenance to the good work. The members of the new brotherhood preached to great multitudes in the streets and in the fields, prayed by the beds of the sick, and administered the last sacraments to the dying. Foremost among them in zeal and devotion was Gian Pietro Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul the Fourth. In the convent of the Theatines at Venice, under the eye of Caraffa, a Spanish gentleman took up his abode, tended the poor in the hospitals, went about in rags, starved himself almost to death, and often sallied into the streets, mounted on stones, and, waving his hat to invite the passers-by, began to preach in a strange jargon of mingled Castilian and Tuscan. The Theatines were among the most zealous and rigid of men; but to this enthusiastic neophyte their discipline seemed lax, and their movements sluggish; for his own mind, naturally passionate and imaginative, had passed through a training which had given to all its peculiarities a morbid intensity and energy. In his early life he had been the very prototype of the hero of Cervantes. The single study of the young Hidalgo had been chivalrous romance; and his existence had been one gorgeous day-dream of princesses rescued and infidels subdued. He had chosen a Dulcinea, 'no countess, no duchess'—these are his own words—'but one of far higher station;' and he flattered himself with the hope of laying at her feet the keys of Moorish castles and the jewelled turbans of Asiatic kings. In the midst of these visions of martial glory and prosperous love, a severe wound stretched him on a bed of sickness. His constitution was shattered, and he was doomed to be a cripple for life. The palm of strength, grace, and skill in knightly exercises, was no longer for him. He could no longer hope to strike down gigantic soldans, or to find favour in the sight of beautiful women. A new vision then arose in his mind, and mingled itself with his old delusions in a manner which, to most Englishmen, must seem singular; but which those who know how close was the union between religion and chivalry in Spain, will be at no loss to understand. He would still be a soldier—he would still be a knight-errant; but the soldier and knight-errant of the spouse of Christ. He would smite the Great Red Dragon. He would be the champion of the Woman clothed with the Sun. He would break the charm under which false prophets held the souls of men in bondage. His restless spirit led him to the Syrian deserts, and to the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre. Thence he wandered back to the farthest west, and astonished the convents of Spain and

the schools of France by his penances and vigils. The same lively imagination which had been employed in picturing the tumult of unreal battles, and the charms of unreal queens, now peopled his solitude with saints and angels. The Holy Virgin descended to commune with him. He saw the Saviour face to face with the eye of flesh. Even those mysteries of religion which are the hardest trial of faith, were in his case palpable to sight. It is difficult to relate without a pitying smile, that, in the sacrifice of the mass, he saw transubstantiation take place; and that, as he stood praying on the steps of St Dominic, he saw the Trinity in Unity, and wept aloud with joy and wonder. Such was the celebrated Ignatius Loyola, who, in the great Catholic reaction, bore the same share which Luther bore in the great Protestant movement.

Dissatisfied with the system of the Theatines, the enthusiastic Spaniard turned his face towards Rome. Poor, obscure, without a patron, without recommendations, he entered the city where now two princely temples, rich with painting and many-coloured marble, commemorate his great services to the Church; where his form stands sculptured in massive silver; where his bones, enshrined amidst jewels, are placed beneath the altar of God. His activity and zeal bore down all opposition; and under his rule the order of Jesuits began to exist, and grew rapidly to the full measure of its gigantic powers. With what vehemence, with what policy, with what exact discipline, with what dauntless courage, with what self-denial, with what forgetfulness of the dearest private ties, with what intense and stubborn devotion to a single end, with what unscrupulous laxity and versatility in the choice of means, the Jesuits fought the battle of their church, is written in every page of the annals of Europe during several generations. In the order of Jesus was concentrated the quintessence of the Catholic spirit; and the history of the order of Jesus is the history of the great Catholic reaction. That order possessed itself at once of all the strongholds which command the public mind—of the pulpit, of the press, of the confessional, of the academies. Wherever the Jesuit preached, the church was too small for the audience. The name of Jesuit on a title-page, secured the circulation of a book. It was in the ears of the Jesuit that the powerful, the noble, and the beautiful, breathed the secret history of their lives. It was at the feet of the Jesuit that the youth of the higher and middle classes were brought up from the first rudiments to the courses of rhetoric and philosophy. Literature and science, lately associated with infidelity or with heresy, now became the allies of orthodoxy. Dominant in the south of Europe, the great order soon went forth conquering and to conquer. In spite of oceans and deserts, of hunger and pestilence, of spies and penal laws, of dungeons and racks, of gib-

bets and quartering-blocks, Jesuits were to be found under every disguise, and in every country,—scholars, physicians, merchants, serving-men; in the hostile court of Sweden, in the old manor-houses of Cheshire, among the hovels of Connaught; arguing, instructing, consoling, stealing away the hearts of the young, animating the courage of the timid, holding up the crucifix before the eyes of the dying. Nor was it less their office to plot against the thrones and lives of apostate kings, to spread evil rumours, to raise tumults, to inflame civil wars, to arm the hand of the assassin. Inflexible in nothing but in their fidelity to the Church, they were equally ready to appeal in her cause to the spirit of loyalty and to the spirit of freedom. Extreme doctrines of obedience and extreme doctrines of liberty—the right of rulers to misgovern the people, the right of every one of the people to plunge his knife in the heart of a bad ruler—were inculcated by the same man, according as he addressed himself to the subject of Philip or to the subject of Elizabeth. Some described these men as the most rigid, others as the most indulgent of spiritual directors. And both descriptions were correct. The truly devout listened with awe to the high and saintly morality of the Jesuit. The gay cavalier who had run his rival through the body, the frail beauty who had forgotten her marriage-vow, found in the Jesuit an easy well-bred man of the world, tolerant of the little irregularities of people of fashion. The confessor was strict or lax, according to the temper of the penitent. His first object was to drive no person out of the pale of the Church. Since there were bad people, it was better that they should be bad Catholics than bad Protestants. If a person was so unfortunate as to be a bravo, a libertine, or a gambler, that was no reason for making him a heretic too.

The Old World was not wide enough for this strange activity. The Jesuits invaded all the countries which the great maritime discoveries of the preceding age had laid open to European enterprise. In the depths of the Peruvian mines, at the marts of the African slave-caravans, on the shores of the Spice Islands, in the observatories of China, they were to be found. They made converts in regions which neither avarice nor curiosity had tempted any of their countrymen to enter; and preached and disputed in tongues of which no other native of the West understood a word.

The spirit which appeared so eminently in this order, animated the whole Catholic world. The Court of Rome itself was purified. During the generation which preceded the Reformation, that court had been a scandal to the Christian name. Its annals are black with treason, murder, and incest. Even its more respectable members were utterly unfit to be ministers of religion.

They were men like Leo X.; men who, with the Latinity of the Augustan age, had acquired its atheistical and scoffing spirit. They regarded those Christian mysteries of which they were stewards, just as the Augur Cicero and the Pontifex Maximus Cæsar regarded the Sibylline books and the pecking of the sacred chickens. Among themselves, they spoke of the Incarnation, the Eucharist, and the Trinity, in the same tone in which Cotta and Velleius talked of the oracle of Delphi, or of the voice of Faunus in the mountains. Their years glided by in a soft dream of sensual and intellectual voluptuousness. Choice cookery, delicious wines, lovely women, hounds, falcons, horses, newly-discovered manuscripts of the classics, sonnets and burlesque romances in the sweetest Tuscan—just as licentious as a fine sense of the graceful would permit; plate from the hand of Benvenuto, designs for palaces by Michael Angelo, frescoes by Raphael, busts, mosaics, and gems just dug up from among the ruins of ancient temples and villas;—these things were the delight and even the serious business of their lives. Letters and the fine arts undoubtedly owe much to this not inelegant sloth. But when the great stirring of the mind of Europe began—when doctrine after doctrine was assailed—when nation after nation withdrew from communion with the successor of St Peter, it was felt that the Church could not be safely confided to chiefs whose highest praise was, that they were good judges of Latin compositions, of paintings, and of statues, whose severest studies had a Pagan character, and who were suspected of laughing in secret at the sacraments which they administered, and of believing no more of the Gospel than of the *Morgante Maggiore*. Men of a very different class now rose to the direction of ecclesiastical affairs—men whose spirit resembled that of Dunstan and of Becket. The Roman Pontiffs exhibited in their own persons all the austerity of the early anchorites of Syria. Paul IV. brought to the Papal throne the same fervent zeal which had carried him into the Theatine convent. Pius V., under his gorgeous vestments, wore day and night the hair-shirt of a simple friar; walked barefoot in the streets at the head of processions; found, even in the midst of his most pressing avocations, time for private prayer; often regretted that the public duties of his station were unfavourable to growth in holiness; and edified his flock by innumerable instances of humility, charity, and forgiveness of personal injuries: while, at the same time, he upheld the authority of his see, and the unadulterated doctrines of his church, with all the stubbornness and vehemence of Hildebrand. Gregory XIII. exerted himself not only to imitate but to surpass Pius in the severe virtues of his sacred profession. As was the head, such were the members. The change in the spirit of the Catholic world

may be traced in every walk of literature and of art. It will be at once perceived by every person who compares the poem of Tasso with that of Ariosto, or the monuments of Sixtus V. with those of Leo X.

But it was not on moral influence alone that the Catholic Church relied. The civil sword in Spain and Italy was unsparingly employed in her support. The Inquisition was armed with new powers and inspired with a new energy. If Protestantism, or the semblance of Protestantism, showed itself in any quarter, it was instantly met, not by petty, teasing persecution, but by persecution of that sort which bows down and crushes all but a very few select spirits. Whoever was suspected of heresy, whatever his rank, his learning, or his reputation, was to purge himself to the satisfaction of a severe and vigilant tribunal, or to die by fire. Heretical books were sought out and destroyed with the same unsparing rigour. Works which were once in every house were so effectually suppressed, that no copy of them is now to be found in the most extensive libraries. One book in particular, entitled, "Of the benefits of the death of Christ," had this fate. It was written in Tuscan, was many times reprinted, and was eagerly read in every part of Italy. But the inquisitors detected in it the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone. They proscribed it; and it is now as utterly lost as the second decade of Livy.

Thus, while the Protestant reformation proceeded rapidly at one extremity of Europe, the Catholic revival went on as rapidly at the other. About half a century after the great separation, there were throughout the north, Protestant governments and Protestant nations. In the south were governments and nations actuated by the most intense zeal for the ancient church. Between these two hostile regions lay, geographically as well as morally, a great debateable land. In France, Belgium, Southern Germany, Hungary, and Poland, the contest was still undecided. The governments of those countries had not renounced their connexion with Rome; but the Protestants were numerous, powerful, bold, and active. In France, they formed a commonwealth within the realm, held fortresses, were able to bring great armies into the field, and had treated with their sovereign on terms of equality. In Poland, the king was still a Catholic; but the Protestants had the upper hand in the Diet, filled the chief offices in the administration, and, in the large towns, took possession of the parish churches. 'It appeared,' says the Papal nuncio, 'that in Poland, Protestantism would completely supersede Catholicism.' In Bavaria, the state of things was nearly the same. The Protestants had a majority in the Assembly of the States, and demanded from the duke concessions

in favour of their religion, as the price of their subsidies. In Transylvania, the House of Austria was unable to prevent the Diet from confiscating, by one sweeping decree, the estates of the church. In Austria Proper it was generally said that only one-thirtieth part of the population could be counted on as good Catholics. In Belgium the adherents of the new opinions were reckoned by hundreds of thousands.

The history of the two succeeding generations is the history of the great struggle between Protestantism possessed of the north of Europe, and Catholicism possessed of the south, for the doubtful territory which lay between. All the weapons of carnal and of spiritual warfare were employed. Both sides may boast of great talents and of great virtues. Both have to blush for many follies and crimes. At first, the chances seemed to be decidedly in favour of Protestantism; but the victory remained with the Church of Rome. On every point she was successful. If we overleap another half century, we find her victorious and dominant in France, Belgium, Bavaria, Bohemia, Austria, Poland, and Hungary. Nor has Protestantism, in the course of two hundred years, been able to reconquer any portion of what it then lost.

It is, moreover, not to be dissembled that this wonderful triumph of the Papacy is to be chiefly attributed, not to the force of arms, but to a great reflux in public opinion. During the first half century after the commencement of the Reformation, the current of feeling, in the countries on this side of the Alps and of the Pyrenees, ran impetuously towards the new doctrines. Then the tide turned, and rushed as fiercely in the opposite direction. Neither during the one period, nor during the other, did much depend upon the event of battles or sieges. The Protestant movement was hardly checked for an instant by the defeat at Muhlberg. The Catholic reaction went on at full speed in spite of the destruction of the Armada. It is difficult to say whether the violence of the first blow or of the recoil was the greater. Fifty years after the Lutheran separation, Catholicism could scarcely maintain itself on the shores of the Mediterranean. A hundred years after the separation, Protestantism could scarcely maintain itself on the shores of the Baltic. The causes of this memorable turn in human affairs well deserve to be investigated.

The contest between the two parties bore some resemblance to the fencing-match in Shakspeare—'Laertes wounds Hamlet; 'then, in scuffling, they change rapiers, and Hamlet wounds 'Laertes.' The war between Luther and Leo was a war between firm faith and unbelief, between zeal and apathy, between energy and indolence, between seriousness and frivolity, between a pure morality and vice. Very different was the war which degenerate

Protestantism had to wage against regenerate Catholicism. To the debauchees, the poisoners, the atheists, who had worn the tiara during the generation which preceded the Reformation, had succeeded Popes who, in religious fervour and severe sanctity of manners, might bear a comparison with Cyprian or Ambrose. The order of Jesuits alone could show many men not inferior in sincerity, constancy, courage, and austerity of life, to the apostles of the Reformation. But, while danger had thus called forth in the bosom of the Church of Rome many of the highest qualities of the Reformers, the Reformed Churches had contracted some of the corruptions which had been justly censured in the Church of Rome. They had become lukewarm and worldly. Their great old leaders had been borne to the grave, and had left no successors. Among the Protestant princes there was little or no hearty Protestant feeling. Elizabeth herself was a Protestant rather from policy than from firm conviction. James I., in order to effect his favourite object of marrying his son into one of the great continental houses, was ready to make immense concessions to Rome, and even to admit a modified primacy in the Pope. Henry IV. twice abjured the reformed doctrines from interested motives. The Elector of Saxony—the natural head of the Protestant party in Germany—submitted to become, at the most important crisis of the struggle, a tool in the hands of the Papists. Among the Catholic sovereigns, on the other hand, we find a religious zeal often amounting to fanaticism. Philip II. was a Papist in a very different sense from that in which Elizabeth was a Protestant. Maximilian of Bavaria, brought up under the teaching of the Jesuits, was a fervent missionary wielding the powers of a prince. The Emperor Ferdinand II. deliberately put his throne to hazard over and over again, rather than make the smallest concession to the spirit of religious innovation. Sigismund of Sweden lost a crown which he might have preserved if he would have renounced the Catholic faith. In short, every where on the Protestant side we see languor; every where on the Catholic side we see ardour and devotion.

Not only was there, at this time, a much more intense zeal among the Catholics than among the Protestants; but the whole zeal of the Catholics was directed against the Protestants, while almost the whole zeal of the Protestants was directed against each other. Within the Catholic Church there were no serious disputes on points of doctrine. The decisions of the Council of Trent were received; and the Jansenian controversy had not yet arisen. The whole force of Rome was, therefore, effective for the purpose of carrying on the war against the Reformation. On the other hand, the force which ought to have fought the battle of the Reformation was exhausted in civil conflict. While Jesui-

preachers, Jesuit confessors, Jesuit teachers of youth, overspread Europe, eager to expend every faculty of their minds and every drop of their blood in the cause of their Church, Protestant doctors were confuting, and Protestant rulers were punishing sectaries who were just as good Protestants as themselves—

> 'Cumque superba foret BABYLON spolianda tropæis,
> Bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos.'

In the Palatinate, a Calvinistic prince persecuted the Lutherans. In Saxony, a Lutheran prince persecuted the Calvinists. In Sweden, every body who objected to any of the articles of the Confession of Augsburg was banished. In Scotland, Melville was disputing with other Protestants on questions of ecclesiastical government. In England, the gaols were filled with men who, though zealous for the Reformation, did not exactly agree with the Court on all points of discipline and doctrine. Some were in ward for denying the tenet of reprobation; some for not wearing surplices. The Irish people might at that time have been, in all probability, reclaimed from Popery, at the expense of half the zeal and activity which Whitgift employed in oppressing Puritans, and Martin Marprelate in reviling bishops.

As the Catholics in zeal and in union had a great advantage over the Protestants, so had they also an infinitely superior organization. In truth, Protestantism, for aggressive purposes, had no organization at all. The Reformed Churches were mere national Churches. The Church of England existed for England alone. It was an institution as purely local as the Court of Common Pleas, and was utterly without any machinery for foreign operations. The Church of Scotland, in the same manner, existed for Scotland alone. The operations of the Catholic Church, on the other hand, took in the whole world. Nobody at Lambeth, or at Edinburgh, troubled himself about what was doing in Poland or Bavaria. But at Rome, Cracow and Munich were objects of as much interest as the purlieus of St John Lateran. Our island, the head of the Protestant interest, did not send out a single missionary or a single instructor of youth to the scene of the great spiritual war. Not a single seminary was established here for the purpose of furnishing a supply of such persons to foreign countries. On the other hand, Germany, Hungary, and Poland were filled with able and active Catholic emissaries of Spanish or Italian birth; and colleges for the instruction of the northern youth were founded at Rome. The spiritual force of Protestantism was a mere local militia, which might be useful in case of an invasion, but could not be sent abroad, and could therefore make no conquests. Rome had such a local militia; but she had also a force disposable at a moment's notice for foreign service,

however dangerous or disagreeable. If it was thought at head-quarters that a Jesuit at Palermo was qualified by his talents and character to withstand the Reformers in Lithuania, the order was instantly given and instantly obeyed. In a month, the faithful servant of the Church was preaching, catechising, confessing, beyond the Niemen.

It is impossible to deny that the polity of the Church of Rome is the very masterpiece of human wisdom. In truth, nothing but such a polity could, against such assaults, have borne up such doctrines. The experience of twelve hundred eventful years, the ingenuity and patient care of forty generations of statesmen, have improved it to such perfection, that, among the contrivances of political ability, it occupies the highest place. The stronger our conviction that reason and Scripture were decidedly on the side of Protestantism, the greater is the reluctant admiration with which we regard that system of tactics against which reason and Scripture were arrayed in vain.

If we went at large into this most interesting subject, we should fill volumes. We will, therefore, at present advert to only one important part of the policy of the Church of Rome. She thoroughly understands, what no other Church has ever understood, how to deal with enthusiasts. In some sects—particularly in infant sects—enthusiasm is suffered to be rampant. In other sects—particularly in sects long established and richly endowed—it is regarded with aversion. The Catholic Church neither submits to enthusiasm nor proscribes it, but uses it. She considers it as a great moving force which in itself, like the muscular powers of a fine horse, is neither good nor evil, but which may be so directed as to produce great good or great evil; and she assumes the direction to herself. It would be absurd to run down a horse like a wolf. It would be still more absurd to let him run wild, breaking fences and trampling down passengers. The rational course is to subjugate his will, without impairing his vigour—to teach him to obey the rein, and then to urge him to full speed. When once he knows his master, he is valuable in proportion to his strength and spirit. Just such has been the system of the Church of Rome with regard to enthusiasts. She knows that when religious feelings have obtained the complete empire of the mind, they impart a strange energy, that they raise men above the dominion of pain and pleasure, that obloquy becomes glory, that death itself is contemplated only as the beginning of a higher and happier life. She knows that a person in this state is no object of contempt. He may be vulgar, ignorant, visionary, extravagant: but he will do and suffer things which it is for her interest that somebody should do and suffer, yet from which calm and sober-minded men would shrink. She accord-

ingly enlists him in her service, assigns to him some forlorn hope, in which intrepidity and impetuosity are more wanted than judgment and self-command, and sends him forth with her benedictions and her applause.

In England it not unfrequently happens that a tinker or coal-heaver hears a sermon, or falls in with a tract, which alarms him about the state of his soul. If he be a man of excitable nerves and strong imagination, he thinks himself given over to the Evil Power. He doubts whether he has not committed the unpardonable sin. He imputes every wild fancy that springs up in his mind to the whisper of a fiend. His sleep is broken by dreams of the great judgment-seat, the open books, and the unquenchable fire. If, in order to escape from these vexing thoughts, he flies to amusement or to licentious indulgence, the delusive relief only make his misery darker and more hopeless. At length a turn takes place. He is reconciled to his offended Maker. To borrow the fine imagery of one who had himself been thus tried, he emerges from the Valley of the Shadow of Death, from the dark land of gins and snares, of quagmires and precipices, of evil spirits and ravenous beasts. The sunshine is on his path. He ascends the Delectable Mountains, and catches from their summit a distant view of the shining city which is the end of his pilgrimage. Then arises in his mind a natural, and surely not a censurable desire, to impart to others the thoughts of which his own heart is full—to warn the careless, to comfort those who are troubled in spirit. The impulse which urges him to devote his whole life to the teaching of religion, is a strong passion in the guise of a duty. He exhorts his neighbours; and, if he be a man of strong parts, he often does so with great effect. He pleads as if he were pleading for his life, with tears, and pathetic gestures, and burning words; and he soon finds with delight, not perhaps wholly unmixed with the alloy of human infirmity, that his rude eloquence rouses and melts hearers who sleep very composedly while the rector preaches on the apostolical succession. Zeal for God, love for his fellow-creatures, pleasure in the exercise of his newly discovered powers, impel him to become a preacher. He has no quarrel with the establishment, no objection to its formularies, its government, or its vestments. He would gladly be admitted among its humblest ministers. But, admitted or rejected, his vocation is determined. His orders have come down to him, not through a long and doubtful series of Arian and Papist bishops, but direct from on high. His commission is the same that on the Mountain of Ascension was given to the Eleven. Nor will he, for lack of human credentials, spare to deliver the glorious message with which he is charged by the true Head of the Church. For a man thus minded, there is within the pale of the establish-

ment no place. He has been at no college; he cannot construe a Greek author, nor write a Latin theme; and he is told that, if he remains in the communion of the Church, he must do so as a hearer, and that, if he is resolved to be a teacher, he must begin by being a schismatic. His choice is soon made. He harangues on Tower Hill or in Smithfield. A congregation is formed. A license is obtained. A plain brick building, with a desk and benches, is run up, and named Ebenezer or Bethel. In a few weeks the Church has lost for ever a hundred families, not one of which entertained the least scruple about her articles, her liturgy, her government, or her ceremonies.

Far different is the policy of Rome. The ignorant enthusiast, whom the Anglican Church makes an enemy, and, whatever the polite and learned may think, a most dangerous enemy, the Catholic Church makes a champion. She bids him nurse his beard, covers him with a gown and hood of coarse dark stuff, ties a rope round his waist, and sends him forth to teach in her name. He costs her nothing. He takes not a ducat away from the revenues of her beneficed clergy. He lives by the alms of those who respect his spiritual character, and are grateful for his instructions. He preaches, not exactly in the style of Massillon, but in a way which moves the passions of uneducated hearers; and all his influence is employed to strengthen the Church of which he is a minister. To that Church he becomes as strongly attached as any of the cardinals, whose scarlet carriages and liveries crowd the entrance of the palace on the Quirinal. In this way the Church of Rome unites in herself all the strength of establishment, and all the strength of dissent. With the utmost pomp of a dominant hierarchy above, she has all the energy of the voluntary system below. It would be easy to mention very recent instances in which the hearts of hundreds of thousands, estranged from her by the selfishness, sloth, and cowardice of the beneficed clergy, have been brought back by the zeal of the begging friars.

Even for female agency there is a place in her system. To devout women she assigns spiritual functions, dignities, and magistracies. In our country, if a noble lady is moved by more than ordinary zeal for the propagation of religion, the chance is, that though she may disapprove of no one doctrine or ceremony of the Established Church, she will end by giving her name to a new schism. If a pious and benevolent woman enters the cells of a prison, to pray with the most unhappy and degraded of her own sex, she does so without any authority from the Church. No line of action is traced out for her; and it is well if the Ordinary does not complain of her intrusion, and if the Bishop does not shake his head at such irregular benevolence. At Rome, the Countess of Huntingdon would have a place in the

calendar as St Selina, and Mrs Fry would be foundress and first Superior of the Blessed Order of Sisters of the Gaols.

Place Ignatius Loyola at Oxford. He is certain to become the head of a formidable secession. Place John Wesley at Rome. He is certain to be the first General of a new society devoted to the interests and honour of the Church. Place St Theresa in London. Her restless enthusiasm ferments into madness, not untinctured with craft. She becomes the prophetess, the mother of the faithful, holds disputations with the devil, issues sealed pardons to her adorers, and lies in of the Shiloh. Place Joanna Southcote at Rome. She founds an order of barefooted Carmelites, every one of whom is ready to suffer martyrdom for the Church:—a solemn service is consecrated to her memory:—and her statue, placed over the holy water, strikes the eye of every stranger who enters St Peter's.

We have dwelt long on this subject, because we believe, that of the many causes to which the Church of Rome owed her safety and her triumph at the close of the sixteenth century, the chief was the profound policy with which she used the fanaticism of such persons as St Ignatius and St Theresa.

The Protestant party was now, indeed, vanquished and humbled. In France, so strong had been the Catholic reaction, that Henry IV. found it necessary to choose between his religion and his crown. In spite of his clear hereditary right, in spite of his eminent personal qualities, he saw that, unless he reconciled himself to the Church of Rome, he could not count on the fidelity even of those gallant gentlemen whose impetuous valour had turned the tide of battle at Ivry. In Belgium, Poland, and Southern Germany, Catholicism had obtained a complete ascendant. The resistance of Bohemia was put down. The Palatinate was conquered. Upper and Lower Saxony were overflowed by Catholic invaders. The King of Denmark stood forth as the Protector of the Reformed Churches: he was defeated, driven out of the empire, and attacked in his own possessions. The armies of the House of Austria pressed on, subjugated Pomerania, and were stopped in their progress only by the ramparts of Stralsund.

And now again the tide turned. Two violent outbreaks of religious feeling in opposite directions had given a character to the history of a whole century. Protestantism had at first driven back Catholicism to the Alps and the Pyrenees. Catholicism had rallied, and had driven back Protestantism even to the German Ocean. Then the great southern reaction began to slacken, as the great northern movement had slackened before. The zeal of the Catholics became cool; their union was dissolved. The paroxysm of religious excitement was over on both sides. The one

party had degenerated as far from the spirit of Loyola, as the other from the spirit of Luther. During three generations, religion had been the mainspring of politics. The revolutions and civil wars of France, Scotland, Holland, Sweden, the long struggle between Philip and Elizabeth, the bloody competition for the Bohemian crown, all originated in theological disputes. But a great change now took place. The contest which was raging in Germany lost its religious character. It was now, on the one side, less a contest for the spiritual ascendency of the Church of Rome, than for the temporal ascendency of the House of Austria. On the other, it was less a contest for the reformed doctrine than for national independence. Governments began to form themselves into new combinations, in which community of political interest was far more regarded than community of religious belief. Even at Rome the progress of the Catholic arms was observed with very mixed feelings. The Supreme Pontiff was a sovereign prince of the second rank, and was anxious about the balance of power, as well as about the propagation of truth. It was known that he dreaded the rise of an universal monarchy even more than he desired the prosperity of the Universal Church. At length, a great event announced to the world that the war of sects had ceased, and that the war of states had succeeded. A coalition, including Calvinists, Lutherans, and Catholics, was formed against the House of Austria. At the head of that coalition were the first statesman and the first warrior of the age; the former a prince of the Catholic Church, distinguished by the vigour and success with which he had put down the Huguenots—the latter a Protestant king, who owed his throne to a revolution caused by hatred of Popery. The alliance of Richelieu and Gustavus marks the time at which the great religious struggle terminated. The war which followed was a war for the equilibrium of Europe. When, at length, the peace of Westphalia was concluded, it appeared that the Church of Rome remained in full possession of a vast dominion, which in the middle of the preceding century she seemed to be on the point of losing. No part of Europe remained Protestant, except that part which had become thoroughly Protestant before the generation which heard Luther preach had passed away.

Since that time there has been no religious war between Catholics and Protestants as such. In the time of Cromwell, Protestant England was united with Catholic France, then governed by a priest, against Catholic Spain. William the Third, the eminently Protestant hero, was at the head of a coalition which included many Catholic powers, and which was secretly favoured even by Rome, against the Catholic Louis. In the time of Anne, Protestant England and Protestant Holland joined

with Catholic Savoy and Catholic Portugal, for the purpose of transferring the crown of Spain from one bigoted Catholic to another.

The geographical frontier between the two religions has continued to run almost precisely where it ran at the close of the Thirty Years' War; nor has Protestantism given any proofs of that 'expansive power' which has been ascribed to it. But the Protestant boasts, and most justly, that wealth, civilization, and intelligence, have increased far more on the northern than on the southern side of the boundary; that countries so little favoured by nature as Scotland and Prussia, are now among the most flourishing and best governed portions of the world—while the marble palaces of Genoa are deserted—while banditti infest the beautiful shores of Campania—while the fertile sea-coast of the Pontifical State is abandoned to buffaloes and wild boars. It cannot be doubted, that since the sixteenth century the Protestant nations—fair allowance being made for physical disadvantages—have made decidedly greater progress than their neighbours. The progress made by those nations in which Protestantism, though not finally successful, yet maintained a long struggle, and left permanent traces, has generally been considerable. But when we come to the Catholic Land, to the part of Europe in which the first spark of reformation was trodden out as soon as it appeared, and from which proceeded the impulse which drove Protestantism back, we find, at best, a very slow progress, and on the whole a retrogression. Compare Denmark and Portugal. When Luther began to preach, the superiority of the Portuguese was unquestionable. At present, the superiority of the Danes is no less so. Compare Edinburgh and Florence. Edinburgh has owed less to climate, to soil, and to the fostering care of rulers than any capital, Protestant or Catholic. In all these respects, Florence has been singularly happy. Yet whoever knows what Florence and Edinburgh were in the generation preceding the Reformation, and what they are now, will acknowledge that some great cause has, during the last three centuries, operated to raise one part of the European family, and to depress the other. Compare the history of England and that of Spain during the last century. In arms, arts, sciences, letters, commerce, agriculture, the contrast is most striking. The distinction is not confined to this side of the Atlantic. The colonies planted by England in America, have immeasurably outgrown in power those planted by Spain. Yet we have no reason to believe that, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Castilian was in any respect inferior to the Englishman. Our firm belief is, that the North owes its great civilization and prosperity chiefly to the moral effect of the Protestant Reformation; and that the decay

of the Southern countries of Europe is to be mainly ascribed to the great Catholic revival.

About a hundred years after the final settlement of the boundary line between Protestantism and Catholicism, began to appear the signs of the fourth great peril of the Church of Rome. The storm which was now rising against her, was of a very different kind from those which had preceded it. Those who had formerly attacked her, had questioned only a part of her doctrines. A school was now growing up which rejected the whole. The Albigenses, the Lollards, the Lutherans, the Calvinists, had a positive religious system, and were strongly attached to it. The creed of the new sectaries was altogether negative. They took one of their premises from the Protestants, and one from the Catholics. From the former they borrowed the principle, that Catholicism was the only pure and genuine Christianity. With the latter, they held that some parts of the Catholic system were contrary to reason. The conclusion was obvious. Two propositions, each of which separately is compatible with the most exalted piety, formed, when held in conjunction, the groundwork of a system of irreligion. The doctrine of Bossuet, that transubstantiation is affirmed in the Gospel, and the doctrine of Tillotson, that transubstantiation is an absurdity, when put together, produced by logical necessity the inferences of Voltaire.

Had the sect which was rising at Paris been a sect of mere scoffers, it is very improbable that it would have left deep traces of its existence in the institutions and manners of Europe. Mere negation—mere Epicurean infidelity, as Lord Bacon most justly observes—has never disturbed the peace of the world. It furnishes no motive for action. It inspires no enthusiasm. It has no missionaries, no crusaders, no martyrs. If the Patriarch of the Holy Philosophical Church had contented himself with making jokes about Saul's asses and David's wives, and with criticizing the poetry of Ezekiel, in the same narrow spirit in which he criticized that of Shakspeare, the Church would have had little to fear. But it is due to him and to his compeers to say, that the real secret of their strength lay in the truth which was mingled with their errors, and in the generous enthusiasm which was hidden under their flippancy. They were men who, with all their faults, moral and intellectual, sincerely and earnestly desired the improvement of the condition of the human race—whose blood boiled at the sight of cruelty and injustice—who made manful war, with every faculty which they possessed, on what they considered as abuses—and who on many signal occasions placed themselves gallantly between the powerful and the oppressed. While they assailed Christianity

fled from their country to take sanctuary under the shade of hostile altars. The churches were closed; the bells were silent; the shrines were plundered; the silver crucifixes were melted down. Buffoons, dressed in copes and surplices, came dancing the *carmagnole* even to the bar of the Convention. The bust of Marat was substituted for the statues of the martyrs of Christianity. A prostitute, seated in state in the chancel of Notre Dame, received the adoration of thousands, who exclaimed that at length, for the first time, those ancient Gothic arches had resounded with the accents of truth. The new unbelief was as intolerant as the old superstition. To show reverence for religion was to incur the suspicion of disaffection. It was not without imminent danger that the priest baptized the infant, joined the hands of lovers, or listened to the confession of the dying. The absurd worship of the Goddess of Reason was, indeed, of short duration; but the deism of Robespierre and Lepaux was not less hostile to the Catholic faith than the atheism of Clootz and Chaumette.

Nor were the calamities of the Church confined to France. The revolutionary spirit, attacked by all Europe, beat all Europe back, became conqueror in its turn; and, not satisfied with the Belgian cities and the rich domains of the spiritual electors, went raging over the Rhine and through the passes of the Alps. Throughout the whole of the great war against Protestantism, Italy and Spain had been the base of the Catholic operations. Spain was now the obsequious vassal of the infidels. Italy was subjugated by them. To her ancient principalities succeeded the Cisalpine republic, and the Ligurian republic, and the Parthenopean republic. The shrine of Loretto was stripped of the treasures piled up by the devotion of six hundred years. The convents of Rome were pillaged. The tricolored flag floated on the top of the Castle of St Angelo. The successor of St Peter was carried away captive by the unbelievers. He died a prisoner in their hands; and even the honours of sepulture were long withheld from his remains.

It is not strange that, in the year 1799, even sagacious observers should have thought that, at length, the hour of the Church of Rome was come. An infidel power ascendant—the Pope dying in captivity—the most illustrious prelates of France living in a foreign country on Protestant alms—the noblest edifices which the munificence of former ages had consecrated to the worship of God, turned into temples of Victory, or into banqueting-houses for political societies, or into Theophilanthropic chapels—such signs might well be supposed to indicate the approaching end of that long domination.

But the end was not yet. Again doomed to death, the milk-

white hind was still fated not to die. Even before the funeral rites had been performed over the ashes of Pius the Sixth, a great reaction had commenced, which, after the lapse of more than forty years, appears to be still in progress. Anarchy had had its day. A new order of things rose out of the confusion—new dynasties, new laws, new titles; and amidst them emerged the ancient religion. The Arabs have a fable that the Great Pyramid was built by antediluvian kings, and alone, of all the works of men, bore the weight of the flood. Such as this was the fate of the Papacy. It had been buried under the great inundation; but its deep foundations had remained unshaken; and, when the waters abated, it appeared alone amidst the ruins of a world which had passed away. The republic of Holland was gone, and the empire of Germany, and the Great Council of Venice, and the old Helvetian League, and the House of Bourbon, and the parliaments and aristocracy of France. Europe was full of young creations—a French empire, a kingdom of Italy, a Confederation of the Rhine. Nor had the late events affected only territorial limits and political institutions. The distribution of property, the composition and spirit of society, had, through great part of Catholic Europe, undergone a complete change. But the unchangeable Church was still there.

Some future historian, as able and temperate as Professor Ranke, will, we hope, trace the progress of the Catholic revival of the nineteenth century. We feel that we are drawing too near our own time; and that, if we go on, we shall be in danger of saying much which may be supposed to indicate, and which will certainly excite, angry feelings. We will, therefore, make only one observation, which, in our opinion, is deserving of serious attention.

During the eighteenth century, the influence of the Church of Rome was constantly on the decline. Unbelief made extensive conquests in all the Catholic countries of Europe, and in some countries obtained a complete ascendancy. The Papacy was at length brought so low as to be an object of derision to infidels, and of pity rather than of hatred to Protestants. During the nineteenth century, this fallen Church has been gradually rising from her depressed state, and re-conquering her old dominion. No person who calmly reflects on what, within the last few years, has passed in Spain, in Italy, in South America, in Ireland, in the Netherlands, in Prussia, even in France, can doubt that her power over the hearts and minds of men is now greater than it was when the 'Encyclopædia' and the 'Philosophical Dictionary' appeared. It is surely remarkable, that neither the moral revolution of the eighteenth century, nor the moral counter-revolution

of the nineteenth, should, in any perceptible degree, have added to the domain of Protestantism. During the former period, whatever was lost to Catholicism was lost also to Christianity; during the latter, whatever was regained by Christianity in Catholic countries, was regained also by Catholicism. We should naturally have expected that many minds, on the way from superstition to infidelity, or on the way back from infidelity to superstition, would have stopped at an intermediate point. Between the doctrines taught in the schools of the Jesuits, and those which were maintained at the little supper parties of the Baron Holbach, there is a vast interval, in which the human mind, it should seem, might find for itself some resting-place more satisfactory than either of the two extremes. And at the time of the Reformation, millions found such a resting-place. Whole nations then renounced Popery without ceasing to believe in a first cause, in a future life, or in the Divine authority of Christianity. In the last century, on the other hand, when a Catholic renounced his belief in the real presence, it was a thousand to one that he renounced his belief in the Gospel too; and when the reaction took place, with belief in the Gospel came back belief in the real presence.

We by no means venture to deduce from these phenomena any general law; but we think it a most remarkable fact, that no Christian nation, which did not adopt the principles of the Reformation before the end of the sixteenth century, should ever have adopted them. Catholic communities have, since that time, become infidel and become Catholic again; but none has become Protestant.

Here we close this hasty sketch of one of the most important portions of the history of mankind. Our readers will have great reason to feel obliged to us if we have interested them sufficiently to induce them to peruse Professor Ranke's book. We will only caution them against the French translation—a performance which, in our opinion, is just as discreditable to the moral character of the person from whom it proceeds, as a false affidavit or a forged bill of exchange would have been; and advise them to study either the original, or the English version in which the sense and spirit of the original are admirably preserved.

No. CXLVI. will be Published in January.

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JANUARY, 1841.

No. CXLVI.

ART. I.—*History of the War in the Peninsula, and in the South of France, from the year* 1807 *to the year* 1814. By W. F. P. NAPIER, C.B.; Colonel H.P. Forty-third Regiment; Member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. 6 Vols. 8vo. London: 1828-40.

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dinary struggle, required no ordinary sagacity, no common courage. Few men possess the peculiar knowledge requisite to judge of, and estimate the various proceedings, in the cabinet and in the field, which occurred during the continuance of this war; still fewer possess the courage and honesty needed to record, amidst the acclaim of victory, in spite of personal predilections and national hostilities, and with unvarying firmness and impartiality, the errors, the follies, the vices, and the failures, as well as the success, the wisdom, and the virtues, of the many men who figured as actors in this turbulent and bloody drama. It is well for England, it is well for the world, that an historian, skilled in the sciences of politics and war, and of a lofty and severe morality, has been bold enough to apply himself to this great task, and so fortunate as to bring it to a happy issue.

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at his absolute disposal; and that Spain was his enthusiastic, ardent, gallant ally—and that having, as his obedient supporters, two whole nations burning for independence, and ready with patriot ardour to sacrifice life and fortune in order to attain it—having also the finest army England could furnish, equipped with all that an army needed, it was no marvellous feat of arms, slowly to win his way in six long years from Lisbon to Toulouse, and to be finally successful, only because the army of Napoleon had been buried in the snows of Russia. The true history of his difficulties was needed to obviate these objections; and now, when this is known, it is found that a greater glory is really his due than that which the ignorant multitude bestowed on him, merely because he was successful. But the misconception then prevalent did not solely attach to the deeds of the successful commander. With the vulgar, success was proof of merit, and failure proof of weakness and of folly. Thus, while Wellington became a hero and a demigod, revilings, contumely, falsehood, and slander, alone were heard over the glorious grave of Sir John Moore. But the truth, while it places the fame of the successful general upon a sure and permanent foundation, rescues his unfortunate predecessor from unmerited reproach. For they who learn duly to estimate the profound combinations, the prescience, energy, and fortitude of Wellington, learn also that Moore was gifted with a similar far-sighted sagacity; that he had the same obstacles to combat both at home and abroad; that he saw clearly the difficulties in his path, and the only means of removing them; that his energy, forethought, and fortitude were tasked as Wellington's were after him, and that they were equal to any emergency; but that he was sacrificed by the same ignorance which afterwards strewed Wellington's path with thorns, which always thwarted his operations, and more than once had wellnigh rendered all his plans abortive. It is for the interest of those who may hereafter have to fight the battles of England, that all these things should be known; it is also for the interest of the nation, that the wondrous errors of our statesmen should be bared to public view, and our future governors be saved from those gross illusions which have entailed ills innumerable both on us and our posterity. He who hath done this, hath rendered no slight or insignificant service to his country—a service not lessened by the fact, that few have been able, still fewer willing, to render it.

By posterity this work, (for to posterity it will assuredly descend,) will be considered as the testimony of an original witness; and of a witness, by his specific knowledge as well as his personal experience, well fitted to pass a judgment on the deeds which

he saw, and which he describes.* When we say original witness, we do not mean to assert that Colonel Napier, or that any other man, actually witnessed all that is related in his work, but that he as a soldier was present at many of the actions he describes; that he was at the time acquainted with much of the ground traversed by our army during the war; that while the war was going on, he was a careful and skilled observer of all the proceedings of all parties concerned in it; that since its termination he has been in direct communication with the many brave men, both English and French, who shared in and have survived the toils of those memorable campaigns; and that he has had access to the most important documents relating to them, which the commanders of both nations could supply. It is these circumstances which give to his work its peculiar character, and which make it incumbent on us to judge of it by other tests and rules than those which we apply to the labours of the ordinary historian. The work comes before us, both as a work of art and a testimony; it might fail in the one capacity, yet retain all its value in the other—but if it justly challenge our admiration in both characters, then will it take its rank in after times with those few but precious records of antiquity, wherein the writer was an actor as well as historian. The scholar in those days being well skilled, by the previous training of his life, to take part in and understand all that was interesting to the commonwealth, and capable also of describing with the skill of an artist the scenes of which he was a witness, he was able, while recording his testimony for the use of future generations, to erect a lasting monument to himself. Such a testimony, so recorded, far transcends in value the labours of the mere scholastic historian, who compiles his work from narratives of other men. But to this high rank, we think, Colonel Napier's history has attained. Judging his work as a testimony, we find that it brings before us a new, correct, and striking view of a series of transactions of importance, equalling any that are recorded in the story of mankind. Looking at it as a work of art, it demands our admiration as a clear, nervous, and in-

* The following passage occurs among some scattered 'hints' contained in Gibbon's miscellaneous works:—'Thucydides and Guicciardini in the true station for historians of their own times. * * Both acquainted with the business of peace and war—their characters procured them every information—had studied the greatest men of their times—better acquainted with them all, than each of them was with the others—personal knowledge of great men, the chief advantage of their personal memoirs.'—Vol. V. p. 544. These observations will illustrate some of the peculiar recommendations of Colonel Napier's labours.

teresting narrative, enriched with profound and original disquisitions on the art with which he is peculiarly conversant, viz. that of war, and of which the campaigns he describes afford unequalled illustrations. The style, indeed, may perhaps be criticised by some as quaint, by others as florid, laboured, and something declamatory; but we will confess that to us it has a charm which disarms all criticism. It is original, it is borrowed from none, like unto none; it seems the honest outpouring of a man of keen sensibility and chivalrous temper. There is no cloudiness, no dreaminess in it. It is clear, vigorous, animated, and impressive. Many of its phrases have already been consecrated by public adoption, and have passed into the language at once and for ever. Passages, too, there are, which already rest in all men's memories; to which we daily recur with unabated pleasure, and which may be quoted as among the finest which our language contains, of nervous and splendid description.

His accuracy and honest industry, those only can properly appreciate who have patiently tracked him through the mass of various and heterogeneous materials which compose the authorities for his narration, and the observations grounded thereon:—'Il 'n'est pas permis,' says Voltaire, 'd'écrire une histoire contem-'poraine, autrement qu'en consultant avec assiduité et en con-'frontant tous les témoignages. Il y a des faits que j'ai vus par 'mes yeux, et d'autres par des yeux meilleurs. J'ai dit la plus 'exacte vérité sur les choses essentielles.' If Colonel Napier should need a motto for his work, one more correct and appropriate could not be found.

That, however, which peculiarly distinguishes this history, considering it merely as a work of art, is the mode in which it describes the various military operations of the many armies which for six years overran the Peninsula. As laymen, we cannot pretend to give an opinion upon the scientific criticism with which the work abounds—but this we feel ourselves compelled to say: Colonel Napier has persuaded us, whether correctly or not we will not attempt to decide, that we now really understand the military transactions he describes. Hitherto, (that is, until the appearance of this history,) all narratives of warlike affairs have been unto us great mysteries.* We were obliged to be-

* 'Quoiqu' une des plus grandes beautés de César soit la clarté, il ne laisse pas d'avoir bien des endroits obscurs pour les lecteurs qui ne sont guerriers. Je voudrois que M. le Chevalier Folard nous eut donné un commentaire militaire sur cet auteur qui en a bien plus besoin que Polybe. S'il n'y-avoit que César qui fut digne de nous donner sa

lieve with a perfect faith—for our reason was wholly passive; and we knew nothing but the results of the operations described. For example, a battle, we were told, had been fought, gained by one party, lost by another—why it was gained, why it was lost, might be manifest to the learned military reader; but to us, who have ever pursued a peaceful tenor of life, such attempts at description have always proved exceedingly perplexing. From this perplexity Colonel Napier has certainly relieved us—we fancy, at least, that we now know something of the leading principles of scientific warfare—and that, to understand the general merits and failures in a campaign, it is not absolutely necessary to be a practised soldier. The great principles of warfare, as laid down and illustrated by him, seem to form a coherent and intelligible system;—a system, too, which in all ages must have been for the most part the same, no matter how much the mere instruments of warfare may have changed, because in all cases it is masses of men that wield them. Whether it be Hannibal or Napoleon, Cæsar or Wellington who leads, whether it be the pilum or the musket which the soldier uses, the same necessities preside over the destinies of all; the same obstacles obstruct the path to success; and the same forethought, patience, provident combinations, and happy divinations of genius, are required to secure the ever fleeting form of victory. We do not intend to assert that the perusal of this work will make any man a soldier; but we do mean that any man may learn from hence why Napoleon and Wellington were great commanders. He may be made to understand wherein their greatness lay—knowing what difficulties they encountered, what means they employed to insure success, what capacity, mental and moral, their mighty exploits demanded, he will be able to appreciate their real merit, without the aid of that fallacious test of worth, success. It is this peculiar excellence that makes us feel that, next to his own great deeds, the proudest monument yet reared to the fame of the Duke of Wellington, is this searching history of his exploits.

To the author himself, however, renown will come not unmixed with alloy. The truth, while it has exalted the really

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propre histoire, il n'y-avoit guères que M. de Folard que eut du commenter César.'—Gibbon, *Miscell. Works*, vol. iv. p. 410. Colonel Napier's History of, and Commentary upon, the acts of the Duke of Wellington, will leave nothing for posterity to desire. A soldier has skilfully described what a soldier skilfully performed; and a layman can accurately appreciate the merits both of the warrior and his historian.

great, has disturbed and destroyed the reputation of many who have hitherto claimed reward and approbation, in consequence of the successful issue of the great struggle with Napoleon. The unflinching manner in which the truth has been told; the untiring industry with which what was unworthy is exposed; the sagacity with which each event has been traced to its source, and in its consequences—all these, the great merits of the work itself, have necessarily raised up for its author a host of powerful, clamorous, and vindictive enemies. Their malice will, perhaps, disturb his repose, though hitherto their efforts have only served to illustrate the accuracy, the diligence, and the fairness of him whose veracity and judgment they have attempted to impugn. The very violence of these attacks, their number, and their malignity, have materially enhanced the worth and authority of the work itself. The vindications which they have called forth, have naturally described the various sources from whence Colonel Napier derived his information. The excellence of these has thus been made manifest, and the conclusions strengthened which have been drawn from the information thus derived; and in truth this explanation was necessary. Upon any less authority than those cited, it would have been difficult, nay, almost impossible, to have given credence to the many expositions which these volumes contain of the ignorance, the folly, the indolence, the childish incapacity, and the dogged obstinacy of many of our rulers at home, and the falsehood of some of their agents abroad—neither could we, without the overwhelming evidence here adduced, have believed what is now not merely asserted, but proved, of the vanity, the cowardice, the hopeless imbecility, the insane arrogance, the restless, intriguing, false, and treacherous spirit of our Spanish and Portuguese allies in this war. Verily after this we may again exclaim, 'With how little wisdom 'is this world governed!' So wholesome a truth it is well at all seasonable times to set forth and illustrate; and this history is a commentary upon the pithy apothegm of the wise man, so bold and startling, that we are well pleased with any necessity, even though it disturb the repose the author so well deserves, which forces him to detail his evidence, and set out the array of his authorities. He thus is able to compel in place of soliciting belief—and, however painful assent may be, doubt is impossible. The lesson is too useful to be left unsupported, or taken upon trust; and our satisfaction is therefore proportionally great, when we see that for coming generations scepticism there can be none. To them it will appear but too plain, that this terrible contest, fraught with suffering to England for many years yet to come, was entered into recklessly, and in utter ignorance of the over-

whelming obligations which the war entailed upon us; that it was conducted in the same ignorance, without providence, without economy; that waste and want went hand in hand; that boundless extravagance was shown, where the utmost frugality would have been wisdom; and that a niggard parsimony existed, where alone a generous expenditure would have been useful. To them also it will be evident, that to the ministers of England the state of Spain and of Portugal was as utterly unknown as is the condition of the most distant province of China at this moment; that, being determined to believe that Spain was peopled by a race of heroes, and that every mob in the Peninsula was an invincible army, they shut their ears to the unwelcome information sent by the most sagacious of their commanders and diplomatic agents; while they gave unbounded credence to every idle rhapsody of every interested informant, who exalted the patriotism, the zeal, the courage, and resources of the Spanish people! That millions of our wealth, and thousands of our countrymen, were sacrificed to this vain idol of Spanish glory; and that at length the very safety of England, brought to imminent hazard by the ignorance and vices of faction and of factious ministers, depended upon the fortitude, sagacity, and good fortune of one man alone—and that man was the Duke of Wellington; that he directing, and being assisted by the indomitable courage and energy of an English army, and favoured, too, by the fortune which had deserted the great captain of the age, saved us from disgrace and ruin, and brought the bloody contest to a successful issue. All these things posterity will now know; and knowing, they will render ample homage to him, through whose industry, honesty, and ability, they have been enabled to attain this salutary knowledge.

It would, indeed, have been well for themselves, for us, and for the generations yet to come, if the people of England had properly appreciated the nature of the contest with Napoleon; the real object of those by whom it was begun on the part of England, and the difficulties to be overcome before that object, such as it was, could be attained. Had they once known the worthlessness of the thing sought, and the many and great sacrifices that were needed before it could be acquired, they would have hesitated to engage in so costly a struggle; and we should not now be groaning under the burdens entailed on us, by the wasteful extravagance that was the fashion throughout this unnecessary contest.

Unhappily for the interest of Spain herself, and of the world at large, Napoleon's aggression, although if submitted to it would doubtless have been the cause of immense and lasting benefit

to the Spanish people, was yet a grossly unjust interference with the affairs of an independent nation, and a flagrant violation of the dictates of common honesty. Tainted by treachery at the very outset, his proceedings towards Spain ever after were attended by a fatal destiny—all the good that he intended was frustrated, and of no avail; his liberal views became suspected of all men, and the bigotry, intolerance, and ignorance that he sought to dispel, became hallowed in the sight of mankind; and the opposition which followed, though really the offspring of the darkest prejudice, bigotry, and despotism, yet appeared a sanctified and holy cause, and his rule a great national wrong:—

'This state of affairs (viz. the condition of Spain under the administration of the Prince of Peace) drew the French Emperor's attention towards the Pepinsula; and a chain of remarkable circumstances, which fixed it there, induced him to remove the reigning family, and place his brother Joseph on the throne of Spain. He thought that the people of that country, sick of an effete government, would be quiescent under such a change; and, although it should prove otherwise, the confidence he reposed in his own fortune, unrivalled talents, and vast power, made him disregard the consequences, while the cravings of his military and political system, the danger to be apprehended from the vicinity of a Bourbon dynasty, and, above all, the temptations offered by a miraculous folly, which outran even his desires, urged him to a deed that, well accepted by the people of the Peninsula, would have proved beneficial; but being enforced contrary to their wishes, was unhallowed either by justice or benevolence.

'In an evil hour for his own greatness and the happiness of others, he commenced this fatal project. Founded in violence, and executed with fraud, it spread desolation through the finest portions of the Peninsula, was calamitous to France, destructive to himself; and the conflict between his hardy veterans and the vindictive race he insulted, assumed a character of unmitigated ferocity, disgraceful to human nature—for the Spaniards did not fail to defend their just cause with hereditary cruelty, while the French army struck a terrible balance of barbarous actions. Napoleon observed with surprise the unexpected energy of the people, and therefore bent his whole force to the attainment of his object; while England, coming to the assistance of the Peninsula, employed all her resources to frustrate his efforts. Thus the two leading nations of the world were brought into contact at a moment when both were disturbed by angry passions, eager for great events, and possessed of surprising power.'—(Vol. i. p. 4.)

Charles IV. at this time reigned in Spain; and, in accordance with the usual custom of his race, was at enmity with his eldest son, afterwards too well known as Ferdinand VII., then Prince of Asturias. The prince hating his father's favourite, Godoy, and instigated by the advice of his own, the canon Escoiquez, wrote to Napoleon on the 11th of October 1807, soliciting his inter-

ference, and an alliance with the Emperor's family. On the other hand, on the 29th of the same month, Charles denounced his son to the Emperor, accusing him of treason, and of an attempt to assassinate his own mother.

Napoleon, thus made arbiter between these contending parties, turned their disputes to his own profit. A secret treaty and convention were concluded between him and the Spanish king at Fontainbleau—the immediate object of which was to dispossess the House of Braganza of the throne of Portugal; to erect a principality for Godoy out of the dismembered provinces of that kingdom; to divide her American dominions between France and Spain; to create a new kingdom for the lately dispossessed King of Etruria; and to place the central provinces, together with the town of Lisbon, as a deposit in the hands of Napoleon. France, in order to effect this object, was to employ 25,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry—Spain, 24,000 infantry, 20 guns, and 3000 cavalry.

Such was the project—nefarious on the part of Spain as well as of France; but the first punishment for the fraud fell on Spain. Napoleon, under pretext of fulfilling this iniquitous treaty, was enabled to fill Spain with his troops—to occupy her fortresses—in fact, to take military possession of the country.

The disputes of the reigning family assisted him in his attempts. Their quarrels at length excited the attention of the people, and public tumults followed. Charles abdicated the throne, Ferdinand was proclaimed King, and the people rejoiced. Their joy was shortlived. Murat at the head of the French forces reached Madrid. The old King declared that his abdication had been forced, and again appealed to Napoleon. Ferdinand himself, determined personally to communicate with the Emperor, set out for Bayonne, where, having arrived, he found himself in reality a prisoner. The King followed, and also placed himself in the hands of Napoleon. Hereupon the indignation of the Spanish people rose to a sudden pitch of fury. Tumults broke out in Madrid, and a violent and bloody attack was made upon the French troops.

'The commotion of the 2d of May was the forerunner of insurrection in every part of Spain, few of which were so honourable to the actors as that of Madrid. Unprincipled villains hailed the opportunity of directing the passions of the multitude, and, under the mask of patriotism, turned the unthinking fury of the people against whomsoever it pleased them to rob or to destroy. Pillage, massacres, assassinations, cruelties of the most revolting kind were every where perpetrated, and the intrinsic goodness of the cause was disfigured by the enormities committed at Cadiz, Seville, Badajos, and other places, but chiefly at Valencia, pre-eminent in barba-

rity at a moment when all were barbarous. The first burst of popular feeling being thus misdirected, and the energy of the people wasted in assassinations, lassitude and fear succeeded to the insolence of tumult at the approach of real danger; for it is one thing to shine in the work of butchery, and another to establish that discipline which can alone sustain the courage of a multitude in the hour of trial.'—(Vol. i. p. 27, 28.)

While the country was in this state of tumult and confusion, strange events occurred at Bayonne. Charles was restored to his throne, and proclaimed at Madrid. Murat was made lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and his appointment, with the acquiescence of the Council of Castile, was also proclaimed in the capital. But in five days after, Charles again resigned his crown, when he and his son Ferdinand 'were consigned, with large pen-'sions, to the tranquillity of private life.' The throne being vacant, Napoleon assumed the right to fill it. A pretended election, however, took place by the Council of Castile and the municipality of Madrid; but none were deceived by this pretence: and although Joseph Bonaparte was nominally the elected King of Spain, all men knew and said, that he was raised to the throne solely by the will of his brother, the French Emperor; that the Spanish people had not been consulted; that their wishes and feelings had been wholly disregarded; and that insult and wrong were both heaped on them by this violent transfer of their allegiance. 'An Assembly of Notables' had been assembled at Bayonne by Napoleon, in order that they might accept Joseph as their King, and decree a constitution which the Emperor had framed. They did both; and swore to maintain the provisions of the instrument which they pretended voluntarily to have received.

'The new constitution was calculated to draw forth all the resources of Spain; compared to the old system it was a blessing, and it would have been received as such under different circumstances; but now arms were to decide its fate, for in every province the cry of war had been raised. In Catalonia, in Valencia, in Andalusia, Estremadura, Galicia, and the Asturias, the people were gathering, and fiercely declaring their determination to resist French intrusion. Nevertheless Joseph, apparently contented with the acquiescence of the ninety-one Notables, and trusting to the powerful support of his brother, crossed the frontier on the 9th of July, and on the 12th arrived at Vittoria. The inhabitants, still remembering the journey to Bayonne, seemed disposed to hinder his entrance; but their opposition did not break out into actual violence, and the next morning he continued his progress by Miranda del Ebro, Breviesca, Burgos, and Buitrago. The 20th of July he entered Madrid, and on the 24th he was proclaimed King of Spain and the Indies, with all the solemnities usual upon such occasions, thus making himself the enemy of eleven millions of people, the object of a nation's hatred. With a strange accent, and from the midst of foreign bands, he called upon a

fierce and haughty race to accept of a constitution which they did not understand, and which few of them had ever heard of; his only hope of success resting on the strength of his brother's arms, his claims upon the consent of an imbecile monarch, and the weakness of a few pusillanimous nobles, in contempt of the right of millions now arming to oppose him. This was the unhallowed part of the enterprise; this it was that rendered his offered constitution odious, covered it with a leprous skin, and drove the noble-minded few from the pollution of its touch.'—(Vol. i. p. 31.)

The resistance of the Spanish people to this aggression of Napoleon upon their independence as a nation, excited the admiration of Europe; and gave hopes to the English ministry of being able to strike a blow at the French emperor, which, seeming to be struck for freedom, should have force to weaken, if not destroy him. The war against France had now raged for many years; it was in reality a war of old and established institutions against the increasing knowledge of mankind, which threatened those institutions with great change if not utter destruction. Among the foremost of those who had started forward to suppress this rising spirit of enquiry and reformation, was the dominant portion of the English aristocracy. National and long-established hostility favoured their views; and they were able to persuade the nation at large, that the war was a war for freedom, for truth, and for justice. At the close of the American war, a strong demand had arisen in England for reform in our institutions. This demand was not made by the suffering poor of the nation, but came from a large and powerful country party, supported by the great body of the mercantile classes. All these had suffered severely during the contest which separated England from her colonies in America; and all believed that great disaster to have resulted from the faulty constitution of the representation of the country. Every year added strength to these demands, until at length the bright vision of the French Revolution arose, awakening hopes of happy days to come for the world as well as for France. The reforming party in England, fired by the example of our now seemingly free and enlightened neighbours, pressed forward in their schemes of amelioration, and demanded that England should not be left behind in the race of improvement. Unfortunately the excesses which soon followed in France, enabled the dominant party in England to join and assist the confederate monarchs of Europe. The sober and the timid portion of the English nation trembled at the violence and insecurity which existed in France; they dreaded lest the same scenes should be acted here; and, in order to avoid this dire calamity, they, at the cry and instigation of their rulers, rushed headlong into war with France and French principles. They were taught to believe

that they had ranged themselves on the side of virtue and rational freedom; that France was intent on spreading anarchy and confusion, in order to extend her influence and increase her power; that her declarations of moderation, and demands for peace and friendship, were but deceitful and dangerous pretences, made to cloak her daring ambition, and to lull us and the rest of Europe into a fatal security. When the tide of war rolled from, instead of towards France; when her armies became victorious, and defence was succeeded by attack; when nation after nation was subdued, and every hour brought fresh accounts of her successes and her acquisitions, the fears of the English nation seemed justified. The origin of the quarrel was forgotten or lost sight of, and each separate act of French attack was looked at by itself, and without reference to the unjustifiable aggressions on France which had roused her energies first to defence and then to conquest. Thus, from day to day, fresh fuel was added to nourish the already burning hatred that raged between the two people; and when at length the treacherous seizure of Spain by the armies of France, did really list truth and justice and freedom against her, eager indeed were the rulers of England to unite the cause of Spain with their own, and thus to give their hostility to France and her victorious leader, the character of a just and holy war for liberty and independence. Hitherto, spite of the sophistry which had imposed on the fears of the English people, this grace was wanting to their cause. It was but too certain that they had rashly interfered in the internal commotions of an independent people; who, driven by long suffering to attempt the reform of a degrading and despotic system, were, in the very throes and convulsions of their changed system, assailed from without by those who trembled for the abuses by which they themselves were supported. It was but too certain that England joined a league of despots against a people striving to be free. It is also true indeed that the follies, the terrible excesses, and the crimes of the Revolution, which were calamities sufficient, it might have been thought, for France to suffer, were the pretexts by which the allied monarchs covered their own selfish designs. For England, however, who had ever maintained her right to settle for herself, and by herself, her own internal affairs, this was no excuse. When Louis the XIV. endeavoured to replace the Stuarts on the throne from which they had twice been driven, loud and vehement were the denunciations of England upon his violation of their national independence. The attempt under George III. to thrust the Bourbon dynasty upon France, was equally a breach of national rights, and a violation of the very principles for which for ages we had ourselves been

contending. This original sin clung to our hostility throughout;—we had joined a league of despots against a people struggling to be free. If that nation, having repelled the invasion of her territory, carried war into the dominions of those who had wantonly attacked her—if victory heralded her efforts, and conquest followed, how were we thereby justified? Fear might then blind the judgment of the country; but now when the danger has passed away, and a long peace has succeeded to those bloody struggles, we are compelled to acknowledge that in injustice was this war undertaken; and that, however much the varying circumstances of the times might apparently modify its character—it was a struggle begun and continued in order to maintain the rulers of mankind free from any effective responsibility to the governed. The peculiar nature of the Spanish war kept all this out of view. On a sudden, we found ourselves on the side of the injured and complaining party. We were no longer the aggressors upon the liberties of others, but the generous ally of an oppressed and injured people —no longer were we the wanton meddlers in the internal affairs of an independent nation, but nobly endeavouring to vindicate for Spain and Portugal that power, as independent nations, of governing themselves, which we had denied to France. Such was the character given to the contest by England; and, looking only to the outward show of things, thus it appeared to the people of this country. But in truth, as was in the end seen, the contest was the same as before. Napoleon was, indeed, an unjust aggressor upon the national independence of Spain; but we did not come to maintain the liberties thus attacked:—we were here, as elsewhere in this contest, on the side of established institutions warring against all change. We attacked Napoleon in Spain, not because he was unjust to Spain; but because his injustice had made a whole people his enemies, and rendered him vulnerable by our assault. The banner that we raised, though it was the national banner of Spain, was also that of bigotry and despotism—with freedom and toleration on our lips, we were struggling in support of the unmixed despotism of the ancient monarchy, the privileges of the aristocracy, and the tyranny of the Romish Church. The enthusiasm of the English people was aroused in favour of Spain, because the contest appeared between a gallant people fighting for freedom, and a powerful and treacherous invader; but the English ministry well understood, and, as we shall hereafter show, her general never lost sight of, the true character of the contest. Napoleon, by his constitution, offered to the Spanish nation much that all enlightened Spaniards desired. They refused the proffered gift, how-

ever, because it compromised their national independence—and rose in arms to expel the intrusive monarch whom he had set over them. But the opposition to Napoleon was not all of this character—the idle and dissolute noble also rose in arms, because the constitution offered destroyed many of his most mischievous privileges; and the priest, too, roused himself to expel the monarch and the constitution which he brought; for that constitution abolished the Inquisition, and reduced the Church from being the mistress, to be the servant of the State. The sympathy of England's rulers was with the two last, but that of her people with the first class of Napoleon's opponents; and we shall find that, before the contest was over, these things became manifest to the rulers of Spain;—we shall be startled by finding the English general, after he had crossed the Pyrenees as a conqueror, warning the ministry of England to be prepared for a war with the very ally for whom we were ostensibly engaged; and England saved from this war only by the sudden overthrow of Napoleon.

Such, then, was the nature of the Spanish war. What was the character of the parties by whom it was to be waged? There were on the one side, Napoleon with above four hundred thousand trained soldiers, and a small portion of the Spanish nation; on the other, there were the people of Portugal and of Spain, and the army of England.

Withdrawing our attention for the present from the nature of the contest as we have just described it, and the ultimate views of the separate parties engaged, we will consider only the immediate object of the allied powers of England, Spain, and Portugal—namely, the expulsion of the French from the Peninsula; and endeavour to ascertain the relative merits of those who sought to attain it, making efficiency towards the end in view our sole test of worth. One of the great excellences of Colonel Napier's work, is his just appreciation of this merit. The mode in which he has singled out and separated the efforts of each nation, and shown their exact influence upon the general result, has freed the whole subject from the confusion in which it has been hitherto buried, and taught us to whom the real honour is due of accomplishing this gigantic and perilous undertaking.

The cause immediately involved was that of Spain; so that Spain, her resources, and her exertions, were necessarily the first great subject of consideration for those who were to risk blood and treasure in her defence. But they whose duty it was carefully to have enquired into the actual condition of the Spanish people—to have learned their views, wishes, and capacities—paid little attention to the actual state of the nation, but sought in

their own hopes and wishes for the accurate estimate of the power of their new ally. The fierce and general outbreak of the various towns of Spain, induced the world to believe that the resistance which that enthusiasm threatened, would of itself be sufficient to cast the usurper forth from the soil which he had so rashly dared to pollute. Exaggeration being favourably received by those in high places, was quickly and unsparingly employed, until the whole people of England, from the minister down to the most ignorant and credulous dupe of newspaper intelligence, believed the Spanish nation to be one band of invincible patriots—eager for arms, equipped for war, led by gallant and skilful captains, and waiting only for the signal of attack to rush upon and crush the wretched minions of the tyrannical usurper. So powerful and formidable an ally was thought above all price; and the emissaries of Spain who came to solicit aid from England, were promised more than they had dared to ask. They were taught to believe that their alliance was a boon conferred on England, for which the people of England could not be too humbly thankful. Arms, money, clothing, ammunition, were all heaped on the Spanish shores, as if it were a favour for the English to give, and the Spaniards to receive. Stint there was none; while there was no economy in the granting, there was no prudence or judgment in the distribution of supplies; and what was lavishly given was wastefully expended. These proceedings on the part of the English so puffed up the natural vanity of the Spanish, that they actually believed themselves the invincible heroes that others deemed them. Arrogant at all times, they now became insufferable. They would listen to no advice, would receive no instructions; but they were profuse of promises, and full of vaunting, if not of valour. Unfortunately, the first events of the campaign seemed to give earnest of performance. One army of the French, for the first and last time during the whole struggle in the Peninsula, was defeated by the Spanish forces. At Baylen, under Dupont, a brave army was sacrificed either by the military inefficiency or the actual corruption of their chief; and this event, so favourable to the Spanish cause, if rightly used and followed up, proved, by the deceitful expectations to which it gave birth, a great calamity both to England and to Spain.

Spain had for ages been in direct hostility to England: the interests of the two nations had clashed in all quarters of the globe; their colonial and commercial policy made them enemies, and the strong prejudices of religion increased the hatred which temporal interests had created. The Spaniards, therefore, from the very outset of the contest, looked with intense suspicion and jealousy upon the aid afforded by England; every step taken

by their ally was fancied to be prompted by some special and sinister interest; and every proffered assistance was deemed an artful scheme for benefiting ourselves at their expense. It was clear also to the enlightened and liberal portion of the Spanish patriots, that the assistance of England, however sincerely given for the purpose of expelling the invader, was still afforded for the end of upholding within Spain all that was hateful and mischievous in their old institutions. They felt that every blow struck by England was a blow in favour of privilege and despotism; and that, although her success might aid their independence as a nation, it nevertheless served to rivet the chains in which an overgrown aristocracy and priesthood had for ages enthralled them. This national distrust fatally obstructed every useful plan proposed by the English commanders, and would of itself have been sufficient to raise serious doubts as to any effective co-operation between the forces of the allied nations; but to this cause of inefficiency, arising from jealousy to England, there were others to be added, resulting from the present condition of Spain and the character of her people, that quickly convinced all who were willing to see the truth, that assistance from Spain in the coming fight was not to be expected. The national vanity, blown into insufferable arrogance by the victory of Baylen, and by the insane proceedings of the English ministers at home and their agents in the Peninsula, precluded all hope of any continued and systematic exertions. The national indolence, by itself sufficient seriously to retard every effort, was now by their vanity so seconded as to be a fatal obstacle to all exertions on their behalf. Boastful talk took the place of active labour; the French, while absent, were scoffed at as miserable poltrons, who to be defeated required only to be met; the day of preparation was always spent in idle vapouring as to future success, so that the day of action always found them unprepared; and their invincible legions were scattered to the four winds of heaven by those puny French, whom at a distance they so valiantly despised. The following description is borne out by the authority of every Englishman whose opinion on this matter is worth consulting :—

'This universal and nearly simultaneous effort of the Spanish people, was beheld by the rest of Europe with astonishment and admiration; astonishment at the energy thus suddenly put forth by a nation hitherto deemed unnerved and debased; admiration at the devoted courage of an act, which, seen at a distance, and its odious parts unknown, appeared with all the ideal beauty of Numantian patriotism. In England, the enthusiasm was unbounded; dazzled at first with the splendour of such an agreeable unlooked-for spectacle, men of all classes gave way to the impulse of a generous sympathy, and forgot, or felt disinclined to analyse, the real causes of this apparently magnanimous exertion. It may,

however, be fairly doubted if the disinterested vigour of the Spanish character was the true source of the resistance; it was, in fact, produced by several co-operating causes, many of which were any thing but commendable. Constituted, as modern states are, with little in their systems of government or education adapted to nourish intense feelings of patriotism, it would be miraculous, indeed, if such a result was obtained from the pure virtue of a nation, which for two centuries had groaned under the pressure of civil and religious despotism.

'The Spanish character, with relation to public affairs, is distinguished by inordinate pride and arrogance. Dilatory and improvident, the individual as well as the mass, all possess an absurd confidence that every thing is practicable which their heated imaginations suggest: once excited, they can see no difficulty in the execution of a project, and the obstacles they encounter are attributed to treachery; hence the sudden murder of so many virtuous men at the commencement of this commotion. Kind and warm in his attachments, but bitter in his anger, the Spaniard is patient under privations, firm in bodily suffering, prone to sudden passion, vindictive, bloody, remembering insult longer than injury, and cruel in his revenge. With a strong natural perception of what is noble, his promise is lofty; but, as he invariably permits his passions to get the mastery of his reason, his performance is mean. In the progress of this war, the tenacity of vengeance peculiar to the nation supplied the want of cool persevering intrepidity; but it was a poor substitute for that essential quality, and led rather to deeds of craft and cruelty than to daring acts of patriotism. Now the abstraction of the royal family, and the unexpected pretension to the crown, so insultingly put forth by Napoleon, had aroused all the Spanish pride; and the tumults of Madrid and Aranjuez prepared the public mind for a violent movement. The protection afforded by the French to the obnoxious Godoy increased the ferment of popular feeling, because a dearly cherished vengeance was thus frustrated at the moment of its expected accomplishment, and the disappointment excited all that fierceness of anger which with Spaniards is, for the moment, uncontrollable; and then came the tumult of Madrid, which, swollen and distorted, was cast like Cæsar's body before the people, to urge them to frenzy: they arose, not to meet a danger the extent of which they had calculated, and were prepared for the sake of independence to confront, but to gratify the fury of their hearts, and to slake their thirst for blood.

'During Godoy's administration the property of the church had been trenched upon; and it was evident, from the example of France and Italy, that, under the new system, the operation would be repeated. This was a matter that involved the interests, and, of course, stimulated the activity of a multitude of monks and priests, who found no difficulty in persuading an ignorant and bigoted people, that the aggressive stranger was also the enemy of religion, and accursed of God. With processions, miracles, prophecies, distribution of relics, and the appointment of saints to the command of the armies, they fanaticised the mass of the patriots, and in every part of the Peninsula the clergy were distinguished for their active zeal; monks and friars were invariably either leaders in the tumults, or at the side of those who were

instigating them to barbarous actions. Bonaparte found the same cause produce similar effects during his early campaigns in Italy; and if the shape of that country had been as favourable for protracted resistance, and a like support had been furnished by Great Britain, the patriots of Spain would have been rivalled by modern Romans.'—(Vol. i. p. 37—40.)

The government which took the place of that which had abdicated its functions, was a faithful mirror, in which was reflected the character of the people from whom they sprung and for whom they acted. The Central Junta, as well as every other junta in Spain, was inefficient to every useful purpose of government; idle, ignorant, boasting, and rapacious, they filled all men's ears with their arrogant promises of great deeds, while in truth they trusted for their deliverance either to the beneficent assistance of chance, or to the sturdy valour of their hoodwinked allies. They foresaw no evil, and they provided against none. They deceived the people whom they governed, and the people from whom they demanded aid; and rushed headlong into war with the most powerful monarch of the globe, having, in the language of the Duke of Wellington in the year 1809, 'neither 'numbers, efficiency, discipline, bravery, or arrangement, to carry 'on the contest.'

The Central Junta is thus described by Colonel Napier:—

'At this period also, the effects of that incredible folly and weakness which marked all the proceedings of the Central Junta, were felt throughout Spain. In any other country, the conduct of the government would have been attributed to insanity. So apathetic with respect to the enemy as to be contemptible, so active in pursuit of self-interest as to become hateful; continually devising how to render itself at once despotic and popular; how to excite enthusiasm and check freedom of expression; how to enjoy the luxury of power without its labour; how to acquire great reputation without trouble; how to be indolent and victorious at the same moment. Fear prevented the members from removing to Madrid, after every preparation had been made for a public entrance into that capital. They passed decrees repressing the liberty of the press, on the ground of the deceptions practised on the public; yet themselves never hesitated to deceive the British agents, the generals, the government, and their own countrymen, by the most flagitious falsehoods upon every subject, whether of greater or less importance. They hedged their own dignity round with ridiculous and misplaced forms opposed to the vital principle of an insurrectional government, devoted their attention to abstract speculations, recalled the exiled Jesuits, and inundated the country with long and laboured state papers, while the pressing business of the moment was left uncared for. Every application on the part of Lord W. Bentinck and Mr Stuart, even for an order to expedite a common courier, was met by difficulties and delays, and it was necessary to have recourse to the most painful solicitations to obtain the slightest attention; nor did that mode always succeed.'—(Vol. i. p. 335.)

And to the end of the contest, the character of every government which conducted the affairs of Spain was the same.

Such then was the Spanish portion of this alliance—and let no one say this description is false, till he have fairly followed the English army, and its commanders, through all the varying fortunes of this trying contest. Even within the limits to which we are confined, we hope to bring sufficient authority to support the description we have attempted; but the evidence is to be found in the many calamities brought upon Spain and her allies, by the inefficiency of her rulers and the conduct of her people; and for that evidence, we must refer the reader to the whole six volumes of Colonel Napier's history—and from them he will learn, that, throughout the war carried on by the allied forces, no efficient stroke for freedom was struck by the Spanish armies —that though her soil indeed was purged of the intruder, her own sons did not thrust him forth; but that this great feat was accomplished by the arms of England, unaided by aught but by fortune.

Grievous then was the error—fruitful of calamity to England was the belief—that from the Spanish people great assistance could be obtained in the war against Napoleon. The blood of her sons was spilled like water—her treasure lavished as if of no worth, in the vain hope that Spanish valour and numbers would come in aid of her efforts. Her ally was an encumbrance; and his pretended support a cause of weakness. Yet of none of these things was any heed taken in the hour of giddy enthusiasm; and not till disaster had come upon the Spanish armies, and bitter experience had shown the hollow pretensions of their boastful leaders, would the Ministers of England listen to wholesome counsel, or recognize the startling fact, that Spain was simply a battle-field in which our armies might engage with those of France, but that hope of assistance from the Spanish people was vain and illusory. Then, indeed, came the conclusion, in the words of Colonel Napier, 'that Spain being now towards the 'end as helpless as she had been at the beginning, and all through 'the war (this was at the close of 1813) was quite unequal to 'her own deliverance, either by arms or by policy; that it was 'English valour, English steel, directed by the genius of an Eng-'lish general, which, rising superior to all obstacles, whether 'presented by his own or the Peninsular governments, or by 'the perversity of national character, worked out her independ-'ence.'—(Vol. vi. p. 351.) In another place he says—'The 'mass of the Spanish nation, blinded by personal hatred, thought 'only of revenge; the leaders, arrogant and incapable, neither 'sought nor wished for any higher motive of action: without 'unity of design, devoid of arrangement, their policy was mean

'and personal, their military efforts were abortive; and a rude 'unscientific warfare disclosed at once the barbarous violence of 'the Spanish character, and the utter decay of Spanish insti-'tutions.'—(Vol. i. p. 273.)

The condition of Portugal was at no time so calculated to mislead the people of England as had been that of Spain. The hatred of the people to the French had never, like the enthusiasm of the Spaniards, been exaggerated into the fixed determination of a whole nation to prefer extermination to the loss of independence. Men were, therefore, able and willing to look calmly upon the actual state of Portugal, and to estimate with tolerable correctness the value of the assistance which it could afford in the coming struggle with Napoleon. It was seen at once, that a whole people really opposed to an invader, and sincerely confident in those who were attempting to defend them, was a powerful auxiliary, although they should not prove active combatants. Now there were many chances in favour of the supposition, that the Portuguese might be made a confiding ally to England. The two countries had long been commercially connected, and the reciprocal benefits of trade predisposed men's minds to goodwill towards one another. Portugal, moreover, had never held as a nation the same high position as Spain; her people were therefore less arrogant, more docile, and amenable to advice and control than the Spaniards. The consequences of this difference were seen throughout the war. After the expulsion of Junot, the people generally became sincerely friendly to the English; the weakness and poverty of the government made it completely dependent on England and her armies; and her resources were placed at the disposal of the English government. Nevertheless, it must not be supposed that these beneficial results were obtained without difficulty, or that the advantage was easily retained. When Junot, at the command of Napoleon, rushed upon Portugal, and by one rapid and daring march possessed himself of Lisbon, the royal family deserted the country and emigrated to Brazil. Thus Portugal, like Spain, was left without a government; but a powerful faction, hating England, and bearing, with impatience amounting to fury, the predominant influence of English counsels, opposed at all times, and by all means which the most refined arts of intrigue could afford, every proposal for the defence of the country which came from the agents or the officers of England. The Patriarch of Lisbon, and the whole of his powerful family, were instigated with a deadly and untiring hostility to the English, which nothing but the greater hatred that they bore to the French, and the very imminent danger of French dominion, could for an instant suppress; and yet so bitter was their rancour, that at the very mo-

ment when the destiny of their nation and of themselves hung by a thread—when their only chance of independence, their only possible hope of aid, rested in the English army—they used every art, and practised every deceit to thwart the English general, and defeat the efforts of his troops. When the danger became less, they became more bold in their opposition, more fierce and clamorous in their attacks upon the people, the agents, the generals, and the army of England; and at last, when the armies of France were driven over the Pyrenees, they, like the government of Spain, prepared for open war with that very ally which had just delivered them from the dreaded dominion of France! In the earlier part of the contest, nevertheless, Portugal, spite of her poverty, the disorganization of her government, and the factious opposition of her priesthood and nobles, was a more efficient ally than Spain had ever showed herself to be during any period of the various campaigns which followed. Still, by herself Portugal could have done nothing against the invader. The very first burst of the French armies upon her territories, subjugated her whole people: her towns and fortresses fell an easy conquest, and the only portion of her soil secure from the domination of France, was that covered and maintained by the army of England. Whatever aid she lent, was aid brought into existence, fostered, and kept alive by English money, English counsels, English valour; her people were actually fed by England, and her army, if it could be called hers, was maintained, clothed, armed, and officered by England. Like Spain, she furnished us a favourable arena on which to meet the armies of France. But she did more than Spain; for she had a docile and confiding population, and her soldiers, under English guidance, were enabled to cope with the French in arms, and give some assistance to their deliverers from the dominion of their hated enemy. Colonel Napier speaks thus of the character of the Spanish and Portuguese people, and of the aid which the latter were enabled to render:—

'The Convention of Cintra, followed by the establishment of a regency at Lisbon, disconcerted the plans of the bishop and junta at Oporto, and Portugal was restored to a state of comparative tranquillity; for the Portuguese people being of a simple character, when they found their country relieved from the presence of a French army, readily acknowledged the benefit derived from the Convention, and refused to listen to the pernicious counsels of the factious prelate and his mischievous coadjutors. Thus terminated what may be called the convulsive struggle of the Peninsular war. Up to that period a remarkable similarity of feeling and mode of acting betrayed the common origin of the Spanish and Portuguese people; a wild impatience of foreign aggression, extravagant pride, vain boasting, and a passionate reckless resentment, were common to both; but there the likeness ceased, and the finer marks

of national character, which had been impressed on them by their different positions in the political world, became distinctly visible.

'Spain, holding from time immemorial a high rank among the great powers, and more often an oppressor than oppressed, haughtily rejected all advice. Unconscious of her actual weakness and ignorance, and remembering only her former dignity, she ridiculously assumed an attitude which would scarcely have suited her in the days of Charles V.; whereas Portugal, always fearing the ambition of a powerful neighbour, and relying for safety as much upon her alliances as upon her own intrinsic strength, was from habit inclined to prudent calculation, and readily submitted to the direction of England. The turbulence of the first led to defeat and disaster; the docility and patience of the second were productive of the most beneficial results.

'The difference between these nations was, however, not immediately perceptible; at the period of the Convention the Portuguese were despised, while a splendid triumph was anticipated for the Spaniards. It was affirmed and believed, that from every quarter enthusiastic multitudes of the latter were pressing forward to complete the destruction of a baffled and dispirited enemy; the vigour, the courage, the unmatched spring of Spanish patriotism, was in every man's mouth; Napoleon's power and energy seemed weak in opposition. Few persons doubted the truth of such tales, and yet nothing could be more unsound, more eminently fallacious, than the generally entertained opinion of French weakness and Spanish strength. The resources of the former were unbounded, almost untouched; those of the latter were too slender even to support the weight of victory; in Spain, the whole structure of society was shaken to pieces by the violence of an effort which merely awakened the slumbering energies of France. Foresight, promptitude, arrangement, marked the proceedings of Napoleon; but with the Spaniards, the counsels of prudence were punished as treason, and personal interests, every where springing up with incredible force, wrestled against the public good. At a distance the insurrection appeared of towering proportions and mighty strength, when in truth it was a fantastic object stained with blood, and tottering from weakness. The helping hand of England alone was stretched forth for its support; all other assistance was denied, for the continental powers, although nourishing secret hopes of profit from the struggle, with calculating policy turned coldly from the patriot's cause. The English Cabinet was indeed sanguine and resolute to act; yet the Ministers, while anticipating success in a preposterous manner, displayed little industry and less judgment in their preparations for the struggle; nor does it appear that the real freedom of the Peninsula was much considered in their councils. They contemplated this astonishing insurrection as a mere military opening, through which Napoleon might be assailed; and they neglected or rather feared to look towards the great moral consequences of such a stupendous event—consequences which were, indeed, above their reach of policy; they were neither able nor willing to seize such a singularly propitious occasion for conferring a benefit upon mankind.'—(Vol. i. p. 270, 272.)

On the English, then, the whole burden of rescuing the Penin-

sula from the domination of Napoleon, in reality rested; and when we consider their acts in this great struggle, it is necessary carefully to separate the proceedings of the Ministry and their agents from those of the army and its generals; for by this analysis we shall discover that, from prudent and statesmanlike forethought and provident arrangement on the part of those who directed the councils of England, little aid was derived by the army and its leaders; and that eventually the whole responsibility, even of carrying on the war, was thrown upon the English general. If there be glory, then, in the successful issue of the contest, that glory is peculiarly his; and none can truly estimate the height and reach of his capacity, or the extent of his good fortune, who has not patiently traced him in his proceedings with the various governments for whom he acted, and by whom he was misled, thwarted, and opposed.

At the outset of the operations on the Peninsula, the English Ministry were elate beyond all reason, and sanguine beyond any thing that their information justified. The belief in Spanish valour and enthusiastic patriotism, led to two disastrous consequences: first, English stores were lavishly thrown away upon imaginary Spanish armaments, while the English armies were but scantily and unequally supplied; and secondly, English troops were thrown into Spain upon the faith of Spanish co-operation and support. This belief led to direful results; that they were not yet more terrible was owing to the inherent excellence of the troops employed, and the capacity of the officers by whom they were commanded; that any such dangerous risk was run was the fault of the Ministers, who, blinded by their wishes, fancied that to exist which they desired, and rashly, and without due enquiry and consideration, believed all that the boasting Spaniards averred.

But if the Ministry were unduly elated, and sanguine of success on the breaking out of the Spanish insurrection, they were, in proportion, cast down by the ill success of that great movement, and the disasters which occurred to the English army which had been thrust into Spain, in order to foster and maintain it; thus showing that they had rushed headlong into a contest which they had neither capacity to direct, nor courage to sustain. Passing by for a moment Sir Arthur Wellesley's successful campaign in Portugal during the year 1808, and which was ended by the so-called Convention of Cintra, and confining our attention to Spain, the results of the view taken of Spanish affairs by the English Ministers will be equally apparent; and as it was in the beginning so it was unto the very end. The campaign in Spain by Sir John Moore, gave the true measure of Spanish performance, as well as of

the foresight and capacity of the Ministers who ruled in England; and the experience we then so bitterly obtained, was destined to be confirmed and strengthened by every transaction which occurred in the Peninsula during the perilous campaigns which succeeded;—even down to the very last hour in which our armies were connected with Spain, and warring for Spanish independence.

The insurrection, then, which dazzled and deceived the ignorant public, had the same effects upon those who ought to have possessed the surest means of information. The emissaries employed by England, seeking to please their employers, or being themselves unequal to the duty which their office imposed, transmitted nought but inflated descriptions of the valour, numbers, enthusiasm, and efficiency of the Spanish patriots. Armies almost without number were, according to them, ready in every part of the Peninsula to rush upon and extirpate the invader. All that was needed to bring these victorious armaments at once into the field, was English co-operation—and English co-operation is always found to mean English money. But the Ministers, not content with disbursing English money without stint, determined that English blood also should go to make up English co-operation. It was determined to send an army to join and assist the heroic Spaniards; and the general anticipation was, that the coming campaign was about to be a triumphant procession from Lisbon to the Pyrenees, in which the patriot hosts of indignant Spain were, as with the besom of destruction, to sweep from her polluted soil the miserable and pusillanimous slaves of the tyrant who had dared to oppress and insult her. Sir John Moore was the officer chosen to lead the English army to this assured and easy victory. Without instructions, almost without men, without arms, ammunition, or money, he was dispatched towards the close of the year 1808, to Lisbon. During the summer Napoleon had proposed peace to England; his proposals were scornfully rejected; and it might have been supposed that, when peace was so lightly refused, war had been carefully prepared for. Not so, however—not till the 6th of October was any plan proposed; and even at that late hour no effective preparations had been made to carry into operation the plan then determined on. It was decided that thirty thousand infantry, and five thousand cavalry, should be dispatched to the north of Spain. Ten thousand of this body of men were to be sent from England, and the remainder were to be supplied from the army already in Portugal. Sir John Moore was appointed to command the whole. He was directed to take the field immediately, either in Galicia or on the borders of Leon, and when in the field he was to concert

a specific plan of operations with the Spanish generals! A more light, rash, and criminal project—criminal, because the lives of thousands were hazarded upon what was essentially light and rash—was never devised by any statesman to whom the destinies of a great people had been confided. Mr Canning, who was its author, knew not the amount of the forces which this handful of men was sent to oppose; neither did he know that any Spanish generals with armies would be found in Galicia or Leon to co-operate with the English force! But this he did know—for the Duke of York in 'a formal minute, 'drawn up for the information of the Government,' told him so—'that the Spanish armies, being unconnected and occupying 'a great extent of ground, were weak; that the French, being con-'centrated and certain of reinforcement, were strong; that there 'could be no question of the relative value of Spanish and French 'soldiers, and that consequently the allies might be beaten be-'fore the British could arrive at the scene of action; the latter 'would then unaided have to meet the French army, and it was 'essential to provide a sufficient number of troops to meet such 'an emergency. That number he judged should not be less than 'sixty thousand men; and by a detailed statement he proved that 'such a number could have been furnished without detriment to 'any other service, but his advice was unheeded.'—(Vol. i. p. 333.) In spite of remonstrance, Sir John Moore was sent with only half the force thus deemed requisite—and of this small and inadequate force, some were in Portugal, some on the seas, some in England. Nothing was ready, and the winter was approaching. All these things the English minister well knew, and knowing disregarded; for he was elate with hope and confidence in Spanish promises. Of the true nature of the Spanish insurrection, he had indeed received timely notice, but of this he took no heed. 'Mr Charles Stuart, appointed envoy to the 'Galician junta, had arrived with Sir Arthur Wellesley at Co-'runna, (this was in July 1808,) and quickly penetrating the 'flimsy veil of Spanish enthusiasm, informed his government of 'the true state of affairs; but his despatches were unheeded, while 'the inflated reports of the subordinate civil and military agents 'were blazoned forth, and taken as sure guides.'—(Vol. i. p. 186, 7.) But what the minister did not know, was the power of that mighty torrent which this little force was sent to stem. The vigour, energy, and rapid genius of Napoleon, were beyond the calculation of men whose real views of his gigantic intellect were very correctly depicted in the caricatures of Gilray. Contumely was heaped on him, until the English minister, as well as the English people, actually believed him to be the con-

temptible thing they described; and no adequate preparation was made to cope with the force which, by the inspiration of his genius, was sent as a whirlwind into Spain when her boasting people rose in arms against his authority. On the 26th of October, when Sir John Moore with his small army marched from Lisbon,—and when, as he himself said, 'the army 'ran the risk of finding itself in front of the enemy with no 'more ammunition than the men carried in their pouches,'—Napoleon was preparing to enter Spain with an army, on the muster rolls of which there were above three hundred and thirty thousand men, and above sixty thousand horses, with two hundred pieces of field artillery, which followed the 'corps' to battle, and as many more being in reserve. (Vol. i. p. 427.) Before this host, as the Duke of York had predicted, the Spanish armies stood not a day. Quitting Bayonne on the 8th of November, Napoleon, having overturned every thing that opposed his progress, was on the 2d of December before Madrid. On the 4th that city surrendered, when the conqueror turned against the English army, which now alone remained to dispute his will, and oppose his progress.

Sir John Moore had been commanded to advance into Spain, and then to determine on a specific plan of operation with the Spanish generals. He did advance to Spain. On the 8th of November he reached the Spanish frontier, and on that day the Spanish army under Blâke was in flight before the French. On the 11th, Moore crossed the frontier. 'On that day Blake was 'completely discomfited at Espinosa; and the Estremaduran 'army, beaten the day before at Gamonal, was utterly ruined and 'dispersed.'—(Vol. i. p. 432.) On the 23d, Moore reached Salamanca with the centre of his army. On that day Castanos and Palafox were defeated at Tudela, and their armies utterly dispersed. Now, then, there was no Spanish army with which to co-operate, and all that hardy patriotism which was to call innumerable and invincible hosts into the field was nowhere to be found. Colonel Napier thus observes upon this narrative:—

'From this summary of contemporary events, it is evident that, notwithstanding Sir John Moore had organized, equipped, and supplied his army, and marched four hundred miles, all in the space of six weeks, he was too late in the field; the campaign was decided against the Spaniards before the British had, strictly speaking, entered Spain as an army. And it is certain that if, instead of being at Salamanca, Escurial, and Astorga on the 23d, the troops had been united at Burgos on the 8th, such was the weakness of the Spanish forces, the strength of the enemy, and such the skill with which Napoleon directed his movements, that a difficult and precarious retreat was the utmost favour that could be expected from fortune by the English.'—Vol. i. p. 435.

And now the reverse side of the tapestry began to appear. The voice of truth and reason was no longer drowned by the insolent boasting of the heroic patriots; and the weakness, incapacity, and cowardice of Spanish rulers and Spanish armies began to be made known to Moore. Mr Stuart, whose able co-operation with Lord Wellington in the succeeding campaigns materially contributed to his success, and without whose assistance failure would have been certain, was among the first to lay before the English general a correct statement of the situation of the Peninsula. Lord W. Bentinck also described the folly of the Spanish generals; and actual experience soon taught Moore, that from the juntas or from the people no aid was to be expected. The English minister had indeed told him, when commanding him to march into Spain, that a hundred thousand Spanish soldiers covered his march, and that the people were a nation of heroes, and enthusiastic in this holy war. But the soldiers, whatever their number, were now dispersed, and the people submissive. Confusion was in all the councils of Spain, and Moore soon saw that on himself and the valour of his troops alone he must confide, if he hoped to escape from the danger into which a sanguine and overweening minister had thrust him. The extent of his danger, however, was not known by him. Sent into Spain without information or the means of acquiring it, he knew not the amount of Napoleon's army, though he believed that he should have to cope with above a hundred thousand men. When at Salamanca, and before he had heard of the defeat of Castanos, his future operations had to be determined; and these had to be considered in two points of view: *first*, simply, as a general, what did his position, and that of the enemy, demand of him? *second*, what, as a statesman, seeking the independence of the Peninsula, was the wisest course to pursue? As a soldier, the rules of his art at once told him that an immediate retreat was needed; as a politician, in his then state of information, another and more daring course seemed to him likely to be useful to the cause of Spain. His first hope had been to unite with Castanos, and with their joint forces to make a forward movement; from this he expected perhaps to relieve Madrid, and certainly, by bringing the attention and the armies of Napoleon upon himself, to check the invasion, to relieve the southern provinces, and give them time to organize the means of resistance. Union with Castanos was, however, soon found to be impossible; his defeat became known; but there was hope, it was said, that Madrid would heroically hold out against the conqueror. This hope also was quickly frustrated, for Madrid yielded without a struggle; and now nothing remained but to make a forward movement, in order to bring the Emperor and his host upon him-

self, when retreat would be absolutely necessary, but the southern provinces would thereby be relieved. Such is Colonel Napier's explanation of the cause of Moore's forward movement to Sahagun: a measure that has been often the theme of severe remark, because of the disasters that followed it; but which, viewed in the light in which it is placed by Colonel Napier, must be deemed, though a dangerous, still a wisely daring and successful effort. That it was not rashly and without forethought undertaken by Moore, is certain. He knew the risks he ran, and the exact nature of the benefit to be expected from it. The benefit followed: the invasion was checked and the southern provinces were relieved. If the Spaniards did not afterwards avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded them, Moore was not to blame—neither could he be censured for believing that they would do so. All that the ministers and their most accredited agent, Mr Frere, had told him, would have induced him to believe that the Spanish people were burning with indignant ardour to meet and repel the invader. His own experience, and the experience of Sir David Baird, as well as that of the whole army, taught him to distrust these vaunting promises. Still he believed that some such feeling as that described really existed; but he well knew that time was required to organize resistance, and that the veterans of Napoleon were not to be repelled by an undisciplined mob. To give to the south of Spain the time thus needed, was his aim. This object he attained; he believed that he could do so, and yet save the army intrusted to his charge, and he again was right. He fell, indeed, when he had gloriously consummated his work—but his life had ever been ready as an offering to his country's good, and his glory is not the less because an adverse destiny attended the close of his immortal career. If the dangers which he incurred were useless to his country, the blame should fall on those who called for this wanton sacrifice, not on him by whom it was magnanimously offered up.

'To draw Napoleon from the south was Moore's design, and it behoves the man to be alert who interferes between the lion and his prey. On the 23d (viz. of December) Romana first gave notice that the French were in motion from the side of Madrid; and on the night of the 23d, when the troops were actually in march towards the Carrion, this intelligence was confirmed by the general's own spies. All their reports agreed that the whole French army was in movement to crush the English; the fourth corps had been halted at Talavera, the fifth at Vittoria, the eighth was closing up to reinforce the second, and the Emperor in person was marching towards the Guadarama. The principal objects of Sir John Moore's advance were thus attained; the siege of Saragossa was delayed; the southern provinces were allowed to breathe, and it only remained for

him to prove, by a timely retreat, that this offensive operation, although hazardous, was not the result of improvident rashness nor weakness of mind, but the hardy enterprise of a great commander acting under peculiar circumstances. As a military measure, his judgment condemned it; as a political one, he thought it of doubtful advantage, because Spain was really passive; but he desired to give the Spaniards an opportunity of making one more struggle for independence. That was done. If they could not or would not profit by the occasion, if their hearts were faint or their hands feeble, the shame and the loss were their own; the British general had done enough: enough for honour, enough for utility, and more than enough for prudence—the madness of the times required it. His army was already on the verge of destruction, the enemy's force was hourly increasing in front, the first symptoms of a retreat would bring it headlong on; and in the mean time the Emperor threatened the line of communication with Galicia, and by the rapidity of his march left no time for consideration.'—(Vol. i. p. 467.)

Of the hard fortunes of this gallant army and its fated general during the retreat that followed, a vivid and instructive description is given by the historian; and the five volumes of his masterly work are but a continued illustration of the facts revealed in this disastrous campaign. Moore had entered Spain deceived as to the feelings of the people, the state of her armies, and the condition and capacity of her generals and her government. He had been thus deceived by the ministers in England, and by some of their agents in Spain. Mr Frere, the friend as well as the agent of Mr Canning, never ceased till the very last hour to describe the armies of Spain as numerous active, valorous, and successful; while those of the enemy he represented to be spiritless, few in numbers, and every where ready for flight. The utter defeat of the Spanish army at Gamonal, which in reality confirmed the safety of the British army, he called 'the unlucky affair of the 10th at Burgos!' When, after the battle of Tudela, the French army about Burgos and Valladolid amounted to one hundred thousand men, he spoke of it as eleven thousand strong! Having taken no pains to be better informed, he continued to urge Moore into forward movements which must have proved fatal to the whole army; and when retreat was deemed necessary, he insulted the generous soldier whom he had so mainly contributed to deceive. The information which was derived from the Spanish generals, was for trustworthiness equal to that of Mr Frere. Romana was in communication with Sir David Baird during the advance of the troops under his command from Corunna. But all Sir David learned from him was to distrust the promises, information, and judgment of all Spanish generals. Nor can we wonder that such was his conclusion, when we find this very Romana promising Moore the aid of twenty thou-

sand troops, when the forces under his command never amounted to above six thousand men; and at the very moment when Napoleon on the one hand, and Soult on the other, were rushing forward, this worthy Spaniard wrote to the English general, 'that the French force in Spain was exceedingly weak; Palafox 'had not been defeated at Tudela: Soult, including Bonnet's 'division, had scarcely nine thousand of all arms; it was an object 'to surround and destroy him before he could be succoured!'— (Vol. i. p. 446.) Experience alone could make the English understand the character of their ally; but the strange part of the history is, that by the English Ministry or their immediate agents this knowledge was never acquired. Sir John Moore indeed quickly discovered, spite of the vauntings and falsehoods of all the Spanish authorities, that 'Spain was without armies, 'generals, or a government.' But they who ought to have learned the actual condition of Spain before they risked a British army in their defence, continued ignorant of their deplorable weakness. Moore was the first victim to this criminal neglect; we shall quickly see that Wellington was near being the second.

The English having been driven out of Spain, the invasion of the Peninsula went on, and Soult advanced against Portugal. Junot had in the year 1807 overcome that country, possessed himself of the capital, and made himself really master of the kingdom. The Spanish insurrection, however, excited the people to rise against him; and insurrection would there also have failed, had not an English army descended upon the coast, and sustained her independence by the valour of disciplined troops. In August 1808, the English under Sir Arthur Wellesley landed at Figueras on the Mondego river; and their forces, united at that place by accident, amounted to a little more than twelve thousand men. These being joined by some Portuguese troops under Frere, marched towards Lisbon, and eventually fought and gained the battle of Vimiero. In consequence of the strange and wavering determinations of the ministers in England, Sir Arthur Wellesley had hardly sailed for Portugal before he was superseded by Sir Harry Burrard, who, arriving the night before the action, became the officer in command. He was present during the action; but 'partly from delicacy, and partly from approving of Sir 'Arthur's arrangements, did not interfere' till the victory was gained—then when Wellesley desired to follow it up and advance, Sir Harry determined to halt. The next morning Sir H. Dalrymple arrived, and superseded Sir Harry Burrard;— 'thus in the short space of twenty-four hours, during which a 'battle was fought, the army fell successively into the hands of 'three men, who, coming from the ocean with different views,

'habits, and information, had not any previous opportunity of com-
'muning even by letter, so as to arrange a common plan of opera-
'tions; and they were now brought together at a critical moment,
'when it was more than probable they must all disagree, and that
'the public service must suffer from that want of vigour which is
'inherent to divided councils.'—(Vol. i. p. 219.) The so-called Convention of Cintra afterwards followed, and Lisbon and Portugal were again relieved from the presence of the enemy. But when the English under Moore were driven out of Spain, the tide of invasion re-occupied its former channels, and confusion and conquest followed. The Portuguese were unable to defend themselves, and the English forces were not in a condition to render them any effective assistance. However, Sir Arthur Wellesley being again appointed to command the British army in Portugal, arrived at Lisbon in April 1809. He had been dispatched by the Ministers, evidently with a proviso, that if he found affairs in a favourable condition he was to assume the command of the army, and attempt to defend Portugal—not otherwise. On the 24th of April, he informed the Ministers that he found affairs in such a condition that it was his intention to assume the command. His arrival created great enthusiasm, and raised the spirits of the people. The Regency appointed him marshal-general of their troops; Beresford had previously been placed in command over the troops of Portugal, with the title of marshal, and had been enabled thereby to bring them into a state of improved order and discipline. The invasion, under the divided command of Napoleon's lieutenants, had not advanced so rapidly as might have been expected, though Oporto had fallen, and many of the most fertile provinces were already subject to the enemy. The brilliant campaign of the Douro followed; and Portugal was again rescued from the grasp of the French. Again, too, the English army was brought into co-operation with the forces of Spain.

The spirits of the English ministers, which had sunk on the failure of Sir John Moore's expedition, rose to an extravagant pitch in consequence of Sir Arthur Wellesley's success in Portugual, and of a check received by Napoleon in Germany. The means at their command were great, and the opportunity appeared favourable for offensive operations. Ninety thousand men, disciplined and armed, were placed by the Duke of York at the disposal of the Government; who, unlike their great adversary, were heedless of the advantage to be derived from a concentration of force. In place of bringing this formidable army to bear upon one point, it was divided into several armaments, and its efficiency destroyed by the division. Having determined to defend

the Peninsula, and having the means of doing so effectually, it might have been expected that the army under Sir Arthur Wellesley would have been increased to the extent originally pointed out by the Duke of York. Nothing of the sort, however, was thought of. The finest armament that ever sailed from England was sent upon a useless and idle expedition against Antwerp—and there ruined. 'Sir Arthur 'Wellesley,' exclaims Colonel Napier, 'might have had above eighty 'thousand British troops on the frontiers of Portugal, and he was a 'general capable of wielding them. He was forced to commence 'a campaign upon the fate of which the Peninsula—a quick 'triumph or a long-protracted agony of twelve millions of people— 'depended, with only twenty-two thousand; while sixty thousand 'fighting men, and ships numerous enough to darken all the coasts 'of Spain, were waiting in Sicily and England for orders which were 'to doom them, one part to scorn, the other to an inglorious and 'miserable fate. Shall the deliverance of the Peninsula, then, 'be attributed to the firmness and long-sighted policy of Minis- 'ters who gave these glaring proofs of improvidence, or shall the 'glory of that great exploit lighten round the head of him who 'so manfully maintained the fierce struggle under all the burden 'of their folly?'—(Vol. ii. p. 382.)

The Ministers, indeed, believing in the tales of their agents, fancied once again that the time of immediate triumph was at hand. The past defeats of the Spaniards were forgotten; so also was the apathy of the people, and the misconduct of their rulers towards Moore, and the gallant army he had led to their support. Mr Frere was again ready to vouch for the enthusiasm and valour of the Spanish armies, and to describe the people of Estremadura 'as viewing the war in the light of a crusade, and carrying it on 'with all the enthusiasm of such a cause.'—(Vol. ii. p. 364.) Spaniards of every class were ever bringing the most authentic reports of the enemy's disasters: 'The French were beaten on 'all points; the marshals were slain or taken; their soldiers were 'deserting, or flying in terror at the sight of a Spaniard: Joseph had 'plundered and abandoned Madrid; Saragossa had not fallen.'

The Spanish authorities were as profuse of promise as they were ready with information; and the one and the other were equally trustworthy. Yet the English Government, again trusting to their vaunting declarations, a second time sent a British army of inadequate strength to meet a powerful and skilful adversary, upon the faith of their receiving efficient and ample support both from the Spanish government and the Spanish army.

The Spanish were eager for offensive operations; and Sir Arthur Wellesley having determined to join Cuesta, who with Vinegas was at the head of above sixty thousand men, well

armed and equipped, left Abrantes on the 27th of June, and marched into Spain with about twenty thousand men of all arms. He was quickly taught to understand the character of his new ally. The supreme Junta had, on his consenting to march into Spain with Cuesta, for the purpose of attacking Victor and advancing on Madrid, solemnly promised that the supplies necessary for the army should be forthcoming. The first week showed the falsehood and treachery of the Spanish rulers. No aid of any kind could be procured, and no supplies obtained. The people, sullen and ill affected towards the English, refused to employ their mules and cattle to transport ammunition or supplies, and the authorities never attempted to compel them. When complaints were made, fresh falsehoods were fabricated. The supreme Junta and their executive officers boldly asserted that all their promises had been faithfully kept, that the English had double rations, and were in want of nothing. In truth, the arrogant Spaniards believed, because a French corps had retreated upon the junction of the allied army, that victory was certain, and nothing remained but to chase the enemy over the Pyrenees. As these hopes rose, the value of English assistance fell in the estimation of the Government and their general. By the former, consequently, the English army was left destitute of food and of ammunition; by the latter, the opinions and wishes of the English commander were treated with neglect and scorn. At length the evil reached to such a pitch, that Sir Arthur Wellesley informed Cuesta and the Junta, that beyond the Alberche he would not move unless his wants were supplied; and threatened even that he would withdraw from Spain altogether. Writing to his brother Lord Wellesley, at the close of this campaign, Sir Arthur thus expresses the conclusion to which this short experience of Spanish co-operation had driven him:—'Till the evils of which I have reason to complain are 'remedied—till I see magazines established for the supply of the 'armies, and a regular system adopted for keeping them filled, 'and an army, upon whose exertions I can depend, commanded by 'officers capable and willing to carry into execution the opera-'tions which may have been planned by mutual agreement—I 'cannot enter upon any system of co-operation with the Spanish 'armies.'—(App. vol. ii. xvii. p. 529.) This determination was the result of what had occurred during his junction with Cuesta. When the English general halted at Talavera, and refused to advance, the Spaniard rushed on in reckless pursuit of the French, whom he fancied in full flight towards France. 'Inflated with pride,' says Colonel Napier, 'he marched as if chasing a deer; but on 'the 26th (of July) he discovered that he had been hunting a tiger.' On that day the French suddenly advanced upon his army, and a

general panic among the heroic Spaniards was the immediate consequence. They were saved, however, by the providence of the English general, and the valour of the English troops. But these gallant troops, with their anxious commander, were now to undergo that sharp and bitter trial which was the natural consequence of misplaced confidence in Spanish truth and valour. To save the English as well as the Spanish army, it was necessary to fight, and Wellesley chose his ground for the struggle upon some heights near Talavera. The Spaniards had about thirty-four thousand men, and seventy guns; 'the 'British and Germans were somewhat above nineteen thousand, 'sabres and bayonets, with thirty guns.' But so little aid did the English general hope to obtain from his scared ally, that he actually hid the Spanish army from the view of the French, by posting it on the extreme right of his own battle, where it was covered by a convent, by ditches, mud walls, breastworks, and felled trees. The battle was fought by the English and Germans alone, and the enemy came on with forty-four thousand infantry, nearly ten thousand cavalry, and one hundred pieces of artillery. 'But what a difference in the quality of the troops! the French 'were all hardy veterans, while the genuine soldiers of the allied 'army did not exceed nineteen thousand.'—(Vol. ii. p. 384.) After two days of 'hard honest fighting,' the enemy was finally repulsed, and retreated. The days of battle had proved the value of Spanish valour; the day of victory showed the worth of Spanish gratitude. When it was necessary to establish hospitals for the wounded, to procure provisions and other aids to prevent the wounded from perishing, Cuesta, his army, and the inhabitants of Talavera having the means, refused all assistance—nor would they help even to bury the dead.

'This conduct left an indelible impression on the minds of the English soldiers. From that period to the end of the war, their contempt and dislike of the Spaniards was never effaced, and long afterwards Badajos and St Sebastian suffered for the churlish behaviour of the people of Talavera. The principal motive of action with the Spaniards was always personal rancour; hence those troops who had behaved so ill in the action, and the inhabitants who withheld alike their sympathy and their aid from the English soldiers, to whose bravery they owed the existence of their town, were busily engaged after the battle in beating out the brains of the wounded French as they lay upon the field; and they were checked only by the English soldiers, who, in some instances, fired upon the perpetrators of this horrible iniquity. Cuesta also gave proofs of his ferocious character; he, who had shown himself alike devoid of talent and real patriotism; he, whose indolence and ignorance of his profession had banished all order and discipline from his army, and whose stupid pride had all but caused its destruction, now assumed the Roman gen-

ral, and proceeded to decimate the regiments that had fled in the panic on the 27th. Above fifty men he slew in this manner; and if his cruelty, so contrary to reason and the morals of the age, had not been mitigated by the earnest intercession of Sir Arthur Wellesley, more men would have been destroyed in cold blood by this severe old man, than had fallen in the battle.'—(Vol. ii. p. 407–8.)

The danger in which the army was placed was not yet averted, even by this hard-won victory. Much remained to be done: Soult with a fresh army was at hand, and ninety thousand combatants were ready to fall upon the English. No aid was given by the Spaniards; and Sir Arthur Wellesley, at length wearied by their folly, cowardice, and petulance, determined to withdraw from Spain, and retire into Portugal. This determination caused dismay and fury among the Spaniards, but was amply justified by the conduct both of the Spanish soldiers and Spanish government. Portugal hereafter was to be the real field of warfare, —of defence on the one part, attack on the other; and in the great campaigns which followed, Spain and her armies became an element of secondary consideration to either party.

But while the struggle, upon which the fate of the Peninsula really depended, was carried on in Portugal, much was occurring in various parts of Spain, demanding the attention of any one attempting to give a faithful and instructive history of this terrible contest; and, although to an Englishman the chief interest of the war was to be found in the exploits of the British army, yet no correct conception even of those exploits could have been obtained without a knowledge of what was occurring throughout the Peninsula. Colonel Napier, therefore, has carefully followed the armies of Napoleon, and described the fortunes of the invasion in every part of Spain. For the classical reader, much of this history, entirely separate as it is from the operations of the British army, has peculiar interest. The operations of the corps destined to the invasion of Catalonia, Valencia, and all the east and south-east of Spain, conduct the reader over ground which, in ancient times, was the scene of some of the greatest military exploits that history has recorded; and there is much of interest in tracing a modern army as it wins its way through the difficult paths long since trod by Hannibal and by Cæsar. The great features of the country remain the same; and the accurate descriptions of Polybius, Livy, Cæsar, and our own historian, bring these scenes vividly before us, enabling us to judge of the different tactics of ancient and modern warfare; and to learn how similar at all times are the principles upon which is founded the science of destruction. To a soldier, intent upon studying the history of his art, few subjects could

surpass in interest a comparison of the various operations that have occurred at distant periods of history in this celebrated field of battle. The campaign of Hannibal, and his march into Italy; the war which Afranius and Petreius, the lieutenants of Pompey, carried on against Cæsar; the campaign of the Prince of Condé, in the seventeenth century; and that of Suchet, and the other generals of Napoleon, during the last and greatest struggle in the Peninsula, are striking subjects of enquiry and comparison; which, if carefully illustrated by a scholar and a soldier, would leave little unexplored which appertains to war when considered as a science.

While Spain, thus left to her own resources, was fast yielding to the conquerors, the foresight of the English general was preparing Portugal for the great trial that was at hand. When the English retired from Spain, it was evident that the tide of invasion would flow onwards, and that Portugal a third time would be overrun by the forces of Napoleon. It was indeed expected that this attempt would be directed by the Emperor in person. Happily, more pressing necessities kept him in the north of Europe, and Massena directed this third endeavour to subjugate Portugal. And now was seen the marvellous forethought, and the undaunted spirit of the English general. Foreseeing the coming storm, he, unknown even to his own army, prepared the means of defence. Knowing that his inferior forces would have to retreat before the invading army of the French, he perceived that, if he trusted solely to the power of his troops in the field, he must quickly leave Portugal, and desert the Peninsula altogether. To guard against this evil, and prevent this disgrace, he formed the now celebrated lines of Torres Vedras. They who desire to attain a complete and accurate conception of the Duke of Wellington's mind and character, would do well to study with care and patience the description of his plans for this defence of Portugal. The long-sighted prudence which enabled him so long before to see the coming danger; the skill with which the means of defence were devised; and the patient firmness with which they were used, all prove him to have been a man formed for great times, and endowed with powers to domineer even over fortune.

But while he with undaunted spirit and wise forethought was thus providing for the safety of his army and the preservation of Portugal, the Ministry at home, utterly cast down from their sanguine expectations and high-flown hopes, were bewildered and terrified. They despaired of success, and were ready and anxious to desert the cause they had so rashly espoused. 'That 'nothing might be wanting to show how entirely the fate of 'the Peninsula depended in that hour upon Lord Wellington's

'firmness, the fears of the British cabinet, which had been 'increasing as the crisis approached, were now plainly disclosed. 'Their private letters contained hints at variance with their 'public despatches. They evidently wished their general to 'abandon the country, yet threw the responsibility entirely on 'him. They thought him rash, but it was they who were 'unequal to the crisis; and having neither the manliness to 'resign with modesty, nor to carry on the contest with vigour, 'cast their base policy with a view only to their own escape in 'case of failure. During the retreat from Beira, affairs had 'seemed so gloomy to some officers of rank, that their corre-'spondence bore evidence of their feelings; the letters of General 'Spencer and General Charles Stewart, especially, appeared 'so desponding to Lord Liverpool, that he transmitted them to 'Lord Wellington, and by earnestly demanding an opinion upon 'their contents, showed how deeply they had disturbed his own 'mind.'—(Vol. iii. p. 363.)

The English general nobly vindicated his character by the campaign which followed. Massena, a great commander, tried his capacity and his firmness; and, spite of the resistance of Busaco, compelled him to retire within the lines his foresight had provided, and for a time the fate of the Peninsula seemed to tremble in the balance. But safe within these impregnable lines, Wellington resolutely awaited the effects of his preconcerted schemes. Unable to maintain his army, Massena, in turn, was forced to retreat; the tide of fortune turned, and once again, having forced the enemy into Spain, Lord Wellington was hailed as the deliverer of Portugal.

From this period, until the end of 1813, a long, doubtful, and terrible strife was maintained by the armies of England and of France. Step by step, and with various turns of fortune, the invaders were thrust back upon France: at length the great victory of Salamanca shook the power of Napoleon in Spain to its very centre; and the yet more decisive blow given at Vittoria shattered it into ruins. The army of the invader was at last driven over the Pyrenees; and when the British forces crowned those great dividing landmarks between France and Spain, the English general might, in the pride of that hour, deem and call himself the deliverer of the Peninsula. Of the great deeds done on both sides during this long and deadly struggle; of the masterly combinations, and the happy strokes of art, on the part of the various contending captains; of the singular varieties of fortune—that goddess that presides over war, as seen throughout the whole continuance of the strife—a striking and instructive history is given in the work before us. Instructive, we say, and

to men of all classes—to the soldier, as illustrating, by great examples, the whole theory and practice of his science; to the statesman, as showing all the necessities, all the calamities, all the efficiency, whether for good or evil, of this dread instrument of the human will; and to the philosopher it is rife with examples of men, instigated by strong passions, and exhibiting, under their dominion, every various hue of virtue and of vice. Into this stirring history we cannot here enter; but we may, now when many long years have passed away, look back to those days of glory and of triumph, and enquire what good resulted from such mighty feats of arms; what benefit was conferred upon the nations thus warring, by the strife, the great efforts, the agony and suffering, of those dread hours of struggle and slaughter. Good there might be, in the very manifestation of greatness, of valour, of suffering, of enterprize—good in the shape of bright examples offered to the contemplation of all coming time. Allowing this, and without any affectation we will confess, that we deem such examples of energy and power bright lights to after times of sovereign worth and moral efficacy; yet, again, we are bound to ask what was the immediate consequence to the people thus delivered, of all the efforts made on their behalf? The history of the anxieties that came upon the English general in the very hour of his success, will furnish the true answer to this enquiry. That history, given at length, and without disguise, in the concluding volume of Colonel Napier's work, is the pregnant moral of his story.

No sooner was the invader driven from the soil of Portugal, than the factions which had ever cursed her government came into life and action. The hatred to the English, which had been suppressed by danger, burst forth, and every means were taken to thwart and insult the British army and its commander. Complaints were brought against the merchants of England, and their privileges were threatened, as well as they themselves abused. Lord Wellington even was accused of personal hatred to Portugal; and it was suggested that all our assistance had been afforded in order to subjugate that country to the dominion of England. These accusations at length reached to such a pitch, that he threatened to leave the Peninsula for ever; and he thus, in the bitterness of his spirit, expressed his sense of the treatment he had experienced:—'The British army, which I have the 'honour to command, has met with nothing but ingratitude from 'the government and authorities in Portugal for their services. 'Every thing that could be done has been done by the civil autho-'rities lately, to *oppress the officers and soldiers on every occasion* 'in which it has by any accident been in their power. I hope, 'however, that we have seen the last of Portugal.'

While such were our relations with Portugal, those with Spain were yet less friendly. Little, indeed, was wanting to blow the embers of discontent among both nations into the flame of war; and it would be difficult to say that the Spaniards were wholly without excuse for their conduct on this occasion. Deserted by the King and the established government, the people were driven to form, in the various parts of Spain, provincial bodies which exercised all the powers of sovereignty. Discontent at the conduct of these bodies was quickly created, and a general Cortes became the great object of desire among the Spanish people. The Cortes at length met, and they, like the rest of their countrymen, were fond of talk—boastful, arrogant, and profuse of promise—but they did little to rescue their country from the invader. When he at length, by the efforts of others, was driven forth, they naturally directed their attention to the re-establishing of their government upon a new and more rational basis than that on which the monarchy destroyed by Napoleon had rested. They no longer desired *an absolute King and an intolerant Church.* Disputes arose among the different sections of politicians; but the prevailing and more active partisans were in favour of liberal doctrines. But it was by no means the wish or the intention of the English ministers, or the English general, that these should be carried into practical operation. 'Their (the 'ministers') anger and mortification,' says Colonel Napier, 'were extreme, when they found success against the Emperor 'had fostered that democracy it was their object to destroy. 'They were, indeed, only prevented by the superior prudence 'and sagacity of their general from interfering with the internal 'government of Spain, in so arrogant and injudicious a manner, 'that an open rupture, wherein the Spaniards would have had all 'the appearance of justice, must have ensued. This folly, however, was stifled by Wellington, who desired to wait until the 'blow could be given with some effect, and he was quite willing 'to deal it himself. Yet the conduct of the Cortes, and that of 'the executive government which acted under its control, was so 'injurious to Spain and to his military operations, and so unjust 'to him personally, that the warmest friends of freedom cannot 'blame his enmity.'—(Vol. vi. p. 307.) Turbulent, ignorant, and factious, doubtless, these partisans of democracy did approve themselves, and unworthy to be the guides and legislators for a great people; but of one thing they were well assured, and that was, that the English general was the friend of those who supported the despotism of the ancient monarchy. They therefore set themselves strenuously to work, in order to thwart and counteract him. Of the Duke of Wellington's intentions and feelings

there can now be no doubt; nor of the condition in which he was placed by the enmity of the very people whom he had just relieved from the dominion of France. 'If the mob of Cadiz begin 'to remove heads from shoulders, as the newspapers have threat- 'ened Castanos, and the assembly seize upon landed property to 'supply their necessities, I am afraid we must do something more 'than discountenance them. It is quite impossible such a system 'can last. What I regret is, that I am the person who maintains 'it. If I were out of the way, there are plenty of generals who 'would overturn it. Ballasteros positively intended it, and I am 'much mistaken if O'Donnel, and even Castanos, and probably 'others, are not equally ready. If the King should return he 'also will overturn the whole fabric, if he has any spirit. *I wish 'you would let me know whether, if I should find a fair opportunity 'of striking at the democracy, the Government would approve of 'my doing it.*'—And in another letter, he seriously treated the question of withdrawing from the contest altogether. 'The 'Government were the best judges,' he said, 'of whether they 'could or ought to withdraw; but he did not believe that Spain 'could be a useful ally, or at all in alliance with England, if '*the republican system was not put down.*'—(Vol. vi. pp. 317–18.) Intrigues of every description were the natural consequence of this state of distrust. Napoleon, well aware of the difficulties of the English general, added to the confusion, by mixing in the various negotiations that were going on. Ferdinand was suddenly brought from his obscurity, and employed as a means to create perplexity and increase confusion. The popular party heaped insult upon the English general, until he was induced to offer his resignation of all command over the Spanish army; and every thing portended an open rupture between Spain and England. 'The malice evinced towards Lord Wellington by the 'Spanish Government; thē libels upon him and the Anglo- 'Portuguese army; the vices of the system by which the Spanish 'troops were supplied, and their own evil propensities fostered 'by long and cruel neglect and suffering; the activity of those 'intriguing politicians who were inimical to the British alliance; 'the insolence and duplicity of the Minister of War; the grow- 'ing enmity between Spain and Portugal; the violence of all 'parties, and the absolute hostility of the local authorities to- 'wards the British army, the officers and soldiers of which were 'on all occasions treated as if they were invaders rather than 'friends, drove Lord Wellington, in the latter end of November, '(1814,) to extremity. He judged the general disposition of 'the Spanish people to be still favourable to the English alli- 'ance, and, with the aid of the Serviles, hoped to put down the 'Liberals; but an open rupture with the government he thought

'inevitable, and if the liberal influence should prove most power-
'ful with the people, he might be unable to effect a retreat into
'Portugal. Therefore, he recommended the British ministers
'to take measures, with a view to a war against Spain. And
'this at the very moment when, victorious in every battle, he
'seemed to have placed the cause he supported beyond the power
'of fortune.—(Vol. vi. p. 428.)

The despatch of Lord Wellington, written on this subject, at this time, is a most instructive document as respects the real benefit derived from the war he was so successfully waging. The deliverer of the Peninsula was, at this very moment of victory, most anxious as to the means of escape from the people whom he had just delivered. 'Consider,' he says to the Ministers, 'what will be the consequence of this state of affairs if any
'reverse should happen, or if an aggravation of the insult and in-
'juries, or any other cause, should cause the English army to be
'withdrawn. I think I should experience great difficulty—the
'Spanish people being hostile—in retiring through Spain into
'Portugal, from the peculiar nature of our equipments; and I
'think I might be able to embark the army at Passages, in spite
'of all the French and Spanish armies united. But I should be
'much more certain of getting clear off, as we ought, if we had
'possession of San Sebastian; and this view of the subject is the
'motive for the advice I am about to give you as the remedy for
'the evils with which I have made you acquainted.'—(Vol. vi. p. 430.) Again he says, in the same paper:—'The truth is,
'that a crisis is approaching in our connexion with Spain; and
'if you do not bring the government and nation to their senses
'before they go too far, you will inevitably lose all the advan-
'tages which you might expect from services rendered to them.'

Is it not humiliating to see such a result, from such efforts?—The Duke of Wellington was, however, saved from this painful conclusion of his victorious warfare, by the sudden fate of Napoleon. The allies marched upon Paris, and the war was ended.

Such is a brief and very imperfect description of the subject of Colonel Napier's history. Of the mode in which it is treated by the historian, it is almost impossible to attain any conception without a careful perusal of the whole of his narrative. The greatest merit of the writer lies, perhaps, in his graphic and exciting descriptions of the complicated details of great military movements; but to us, the chief object of admiration is his power of clear, rapid, and interesting narration of contemporaneous events; and the admirable skill with which he keeps them all in proper subordination one to the other. Throughout the whole history, the principal subject of interest is ever the British army; and as in a well-combined picture, so in this history, every part

is kept subservient and subordinate to this chief figure; while all the accessary relations seem but to bring out into strong relief and illustration, the bright glories of the principal actors in the great scene.* As we look at the picture now, all seems natural and easy of attainment; but they who have attempted to separate, arrange, and describe complicate and entangled details—who have learned by experience how difficult is the task of selection and omission—will join in our admiration of the happy art with which the historian has chosen the events to be narrated: enough is always brought forward to suggest what has been before omitted; the attention is never fatigued by superfluous detail, nor the story rendered obscure by unskilful brevity.

From many of the opinions advanced, and positions maintained in the course of his long and laborious work, we certainly dissent. Bold, vehement, sanguine, and sensitive, Colonel Napier has examined and decided for and by himself on all the subjects that have come before him. His own views consequently are squared to no preconceived judgment of others, and constantly run counter to the leading doctrines of all existing classes and sects of politicians. Still, being honestly formed—formed, too, upon careful examination, and with such lights as his position permitted, they deserve consideration and respect. Moreover, the high-toned and chivalrous spirit he every where displays, his fair and generous appreciation of the merits of our opponents, and the severe and lofty morality he always inculcates, command and win our admiration and regard. In this history of a long and bloody war, there is nothing to foster national prejudice;—to keep alive that hatred which war but too fatally engenders, and which for ages has been rankling in the minds of the people of France and of England. This is a very great and also very singular merit—one which, when we endeavour to appreciate the value of Colonel Napier's labours, ought never to be forgotten. No matter in

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* Many of the remonstrances which have been addressed to Colonel Napier during the progress of his work, have arisen from the parties complaining not having paid attention to this necessity of the author. His work is a general history, and his duty was to notice only those movements and operations which affected the great general result. Voltaire thus sarcastically answers for himself in a similar case. Speaking of his history of Charles XII., in a letter to Frederic of Prussia, he says—'J'ai honte surtout, d'avoir parlé de tant de combats, de tant de maux faits aux hommes; je m'en repens d'autant plus que quelques officiers ont dit, en parlant de ces combats, que je n'avais pas dit vrai, attendu que je n'avais pas parlé de leurs régimens, ils supposaient que je devais ecrire leur histoire.'

what shape it comes, war must ever be the greatest calamity which nations can suffer. Still, great as is this evil, it may be lessened or aggravated by the mode in which it is conducted; and he surely does no slight service to mankind, who introduces into the deadly strife of warring nations rules of fair and honourable dealing;—rules, by which all useless cruelty is forbidden, and all personal and individual animosity is checked, if not utterly subdued. Every page of Colonel Napier's history inculcates these great lessons of humanity and honour; and it redounds highly to the credit of the armies both of England and of France, that, with some few melancholy exceptions, there was little of savage cruelty and ferocity shown throughout the long strife which they waged in the Peninsula: and one of the most remarkable circumstances connected with this war, one which most strikingly exhibits the softened manners of our age and people, was the peculiar understanding and relation that subsisted between the veteran armies under Wellington and Soult. Of this some interesting illustrations are afforded by Colonel Napier from his personal experience, and which form a painful contrast to the ferocities and unheard-of barbarities which occurred when the Spaniards and French were opposed to each other. It has indeed been said that, in those who wish to diminish strife, it is unwise to render the intercourse of warring armies less ferocious and destructive. By stripping war of its horrors, it is supposed that we foster a warlike spirit, and invest the horrible business of slaughter with an attractive and deceiving character. If, indeed, we could hope to put an end to all war, by making it terrible, then we might admit the justice of this argument; but of this happy state of universal peace we have no expectation; neither do we believe that we should conduce to its attainment by creating and increasing ferocious habits amongst opposing nations. Cruelty begets cruelty—one atrocity creates another, by way of reprisal—and national animosity is kept alive and heightened by a desire to gratify personal hatred and revenge.*

There are some important and perplexing questions closely allied to the matter we are here discussing, which receive very striking illustration from the events recorded in this history;—

* Our limits do not permit us to extract illustrations of these opinions from the pages before us; but we would urge the reader to peruse the observations on the Siege of Lerida, by Suchet, (vol. iii. p. 154;) on the famous Siege of Saragossa, (vol. iii. cc. 2 and 3;) on the less famous but far more illustrious defence of Gerona, by Alvarez, (vol. iii. p. 50, 1–2;) and lastly, on the atrocities of the French at Taragona and Tortosa; and the equally disgraceful conduct of the English troops at Badajos and St Sebastian, (vol. vi. p. 215, 1617.)

namely, first, in what mode, and to what extent, undisciplined and irregular forces may best be employed against an invading army, composed of regular troops; and secondly, to what extent the present laws of war permit the armed resistance of the invaded people. The use of irregular troops of necessity tends to create licentious and marauding habits, and ferocious conduct. War becomes embittered by personal animosity and rancour; and vengeance and hatred lead to the perpetration of every species of revolting barbarity. But while this shocking spirit of cruelty is thus fostered, no sufficient military advantage arises to compensate for the mischief. Irregular forces, no matter how ardent or brave, cannot meet or resist, in open fight, well-trained regularly disciplined troops. This assertion, which experience has shown to be but too true, overturns many an airy and sentimental theory, raised by excited and enthusiastic believers in the invincible spirit of people desiring freedom; and renders the arming of an angry and excited people, in any case, a very grave question of morals as well as of policy. Assisted by regular forces, an armed undisciplined population may certainly be rendered efficient to resistance; by themselves, and without the protection of a regular army, such a population, no matter how brave or ardent, would be utterly helpless. The truth of these positions was singularly illustrated by the fortunes of the Spaniards. The Guerillas, whom it was the fashion to extol as the invincible heroes who were to annihilate the armies of France, were never able to make any head against the invading forces; but they served materially to increase the horrors of war, and the sufferings of their own countrymen, who in many parts of Spain were more terrified by the vagabonds in arms, under the various Partidas chiefs, than by the soldiers of the invading armies. Colonel Napier has, by many who have been guided by their imagination rather than by facts, been accused of an ungenerous desire to detract from the worth of these partisan troops; but his estimate of their efficiency is strictly borne out by the results of the war which they waged; and we cannot but sympathize with his feelings of horror for the atrocities of which so many of them were guilty. They being inefficient to the end of resisting the invader, it was his duty to say so: being themselves cruel, and the cause of cruelty in others, a civilized people, even should they need their aid, would, if they were cognizant of the consequences, long hesitate before they created and employed so dangerous an ally. It may suit the purposes of rhetoric to describe their warfare as a glorious and patient struggle for freedom; but if the truth be, that the struggle, whatever its desired end, was useless as a means of re-

sistance, while it increased manyfold the horrors of the invasion, it is the bounden duty of the conscientious historian not to shut out the truth, but on all proper occasions to signalize and deplore it.*

One effect seems, however, to have resulted from these Partidas corps, which leads us to a very perplexing and somewhat novel enquiry. It is admitted by Colonel Napier, when discussing the efficiency of the Guerilla warfare, that, although it could never seriously check or openly oppose the advance of the regular armies, yet, by rendering the communication insecure between the various corps with themselves, and of all with France, it often marred the combinations of the enemy, and rendered necessary an increase of above thirty thousand men to keep the communications clear. To this extent, therefore, the employment of undisciplined forces was really beneficial to the cause of their country. But the French, being constantly harassed by these wandering and marauding troops, were accustomed to put them down with a strong hand. The Guerillas, whenever any luckless Frenchmen fell into their power, always treated them with horrible barbarity. This treatment excited the French to similar atrocities, by way of reprisal; and they determined to treat, and did often treat, such of the inhabitants as took up arms, as mere banditti;—punishing them as robbers, and prohibiting them on pain of death, if taken, from this irregular warfare. The consequence was, a contest of cruelty, till it became difficult to determine which party was guilty of the greater barbarity. Now, so long as the French were dominant in the Peninsula, and were the invaders, so long it was the fashion in England to describe these proceedings on the part of the French as contrary to the laws of nations and of civilized warfare; but a remarkable circumstance occurred when we became the invaders of France, which must have greatly startled those who had so loudly declaimed against Napoleon's atrocity in Spain. So soon as the Duke of Wellington entered France, the Spaniards, under Morillo, immediately commenced a system of unlimited plunder; this, had it been permitted, would have raised the people *en masse* against the invaders, and the Duke would have found advance impossible. He, therefore, repressed every attempt at plunder, and actually sent the Spaniards back to Spain, rather than suffer it to continue. The Spaniards wished to resist his commands, but Lord Wellington being firm, they were obliged to obey.

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* The reader who wishes to learn Colonel Napier's view of the Guerilla system, will find it fully explained in the 1st chapter of Book ix. Vol. iii.

A sullen disobedience followed this correspondence for the moment; but the plundering system was soon renewed; and this, with the mischief already done, was sufficient to rouse the inhabitants of Bidarray as well as those of Val de Baygorry into action. They commenced and continued a partisan warfare, until Lord Wellington, incensed by their activity, issued a proclamation, calling upon them to take arms openly and join Soult, or stay peaceably at home, '*declaring that he would otherwise burn their villages and hang all the inhabitants.* Thus, it appeared, that 'notwithstanding all the outcries made against the French for 'resorting to this system of repressing the warfare of peasants in 'Spain, it was considered by the English general both justifiable 'and necessary.'—(Vol. vi. p. 421.) Now, whether it was justifiable is just the question. Is such the established rule among civilized nations? Is it the rule which, for the sake of mankind, ought to be adopted? This assuredly is a perplexing question —not easily answered—but deserving the best attention and most serious enquiry on the part both of jurists and statesmen. It is, moreover, eminently a practical question; for no war can arise without the point coming immediately for decision; and misery without limit may be the result of an incorrect determination.

Colonel Napier, while relating the exploits of the opposing armies, could not fail, as a soldier, to do justice to our great adversary Napoleon, as well as to his rival. The occasion was fitting, and the historian equal to the task, for an elaborate and generous estimate of the relative merits of these two great masters of modern warfare. Into the truth of Colonel Napier's opinions respecting the general merits of Napoleon, we shall not now enquire, though we cannot but fancy that the surpassing genius of the *captain* has somewhat biassed the historian's judgment of the *man* and the *statesman.* But Colonel Napier was far too sagacious not to perceive the wonderful capacity of this great soldier; and far too honest not openly to avow his admiration even of an enemy. A soldier himself, learned in his art, instructed, too, above most other men as to the peculiar circumstances of the case before him, his judgment upon the character and capacity both of Napoleon and his great opponent, will, in all coming time, be looked to with deference and respect. No narrow prejudice of national hostility has led him to carp at or depreciate Napoleon's greatness; no pretended liberality has blinded his judgment when giving the measure of his illustrious rival's powers. English literature can offer us few examples which surpass, in aught that renders literature valuable, the closing chapter of this great work, which contains the comparison and estimate of which we are here speaking; and which, were we no

now coerced by our narrow limits, we should extract as an example of the historian's style of thought, feeling, and expression.

Of the two instruments wielded by these masters of their art, namely, an English and a French army—Colonel Napier has spoken with the knowledge and with the enthusiasm of a soldier. The differences, and the peculiar excellences of each, are pointed out with a sagacity and precision that long experience and accurate knowledge could alone supply; and with that fairness and candour which always belongs to a generous and exalted spirit. Had the writers of both nations, when treating of this subject, so rife of prejudice, and hate, and national antipathy, always adopted the same tone of generosity and respect, we should not now have to lament the ill feeling and suppressed rancour that still seems to rankle in the minds of both people. No man can rise from the perusal of Colonel Napier's history without perceiving that his own mind has been influenced by the generous chivalry of the historian. The reader finds therein no tendency to contemn or to hate our great rivals in arms; no desire to depreciate their valour or military capacity; no bitter feeling of national animosity; for he is taught to know that, if we ourselves be worthy for courage, for daring enterprise, for patient suffering, we have ever found in the French a foe worthy as ourselves in all the virtues of a soldier;—that throughout the long war described, a rich harvest of honour was reaped by both people, while none was lost by either. It had been well for the world if such were always the feelings created by those who have treated of the hostilities (too constant indeed) between England and France. Neither nation would now have believed that aught was wanting to the full establishment of its military renown, or that for its glory any further deeds of arms were necessary. Mutual respect for the great achievements and great qualities of each other, would have begotten permanent mutual regard; and an assured and continuous peace would lead to a noble emulation in those arts which conduce at once to the happiness as well as the glory of a people. A scientific history of war, proves beyond all doubt or cavil, that *fortune domineers over war;* and a moral may thence be derived which might conduce to peace and good-will among all nations. If fortune be supreme, victory is not the true test of merit—defeat is no proof either of want of valour or of skill—the bravest may fail, the most far-sighted and skilful may have the wisest councils crossed and thwarted by the merest stroke of chance. The blind decrees of fate do not award the palm of merit as of victory; nor is merit to be determined by the vulgar test of success. No one who follows the history of the armies of France, in their struggle for the Peninsula, can fail to honour

the valour of their soldiers, the skill of most of the commanders who led them; or be blind to the all-pervading genius, and the almost superhuman sagacity, prudence, and forethought, of their chief. Why then should an Englishman be taught to entertain any feeling but that of respect and admiration for the nation which sent these armies forth? or why should England and France still continue to be hostile, because a quarter of a century since their gallant armies waged a war with each other, wherein both gave great and equal proofs of valour and of skill? No matter what was the issue, each nation proved itself a foe well worthy of the other—and mutual worth should beget regard, not rancour.

It is doubtless fitting that there should be some amongst us, who look forward to, and propose to prepare men's minds for, that happy time when war shall cease among men. It is also proper that there should be others, who, regarding the world in its present state of hostility, seek to raise, as much as our nature will permit, the character of that necessary institution, an army —(necessary, however much we may deplore the necessity;) and to render it a school of honour, of noble aspirations, and generous and exalted sentiments. Few have laboured in this vocation more steadfastly or more successfully than Colonel Napier; and no sentiment evinced throughout his work does him greater honour, than his generous sympathy for the patient, hard-working, brave, but obscure soldier, without whom and his rough virtues the general would vainly hope for glory, or his country safety. On no occasion does the historian seek to palliate or to hide the faults of the soldier; but admitting all that can be fairly charged against him, he still challenges for him the highest place, as his just due for the soldierly virtues which, when rightly formed and properly commanded, he invariably evinces. It is the fashion among those who judge by hearsay and not experience, to call the British common soldier a machine, endowed as a machine with great powers, but without the light of intellect to guide or to exalt him. Colonel Napier, with generous warmth, treats this assertion as a calumny resulting from prejudice and ignorance; and he still more warmly impugns the statement of the late Lord Melville, which we have heard repeated, that a villain makes none the worse a soldier. To be an efficient soldier, a man must be patient under suffering, forbearing, able to resist temptations, quick to comprehend commands, and ready of resource so that he may effectively obey them: add to these qualities, courage and enterprise; and it does indeed seem strange, that a villain should put aside his nature in order to assume them! If it really so happen, then does he, by becoming a good soldier, cease to be a villain. But there is no truth in

the saying. Time is required to form the habits absolutely necessary for the soldier; these habits are virtuous habits; just so much as a man acquires them, he becomes a good soldier—and exactly in the same degree is he the opposite of a villain. A mere burst of valour, the daring recklessness which might lead a villain to rush into action, and perform therein great deeds of courage—this is not that sedate and steadfast habit which is necessary for the veteran soldier. Any bold bad man may fight through one day of battle; but a well-trained soldier can alone, with honour to himself and utility to his country, perform the arduous duties attendant on a long campaign. Short-sighted is the policy that would seek to degrade this character. The interest of all would teach us to exalt, ennoble, and purify it; to foster that enthusiasm which flings a radiant glory over the path of the soldier, and to make him feel that honour, his chief reward, is attainable by all; and then most surely to be won, when by great deeds most deserved. If, without this exciting hope, the British soldier has performed those feats of valour here recorded, how great must be his spirit, how quick of impulse to good, how patient, how forbearing! Let no gross natures measure his worth by their own. To those who fancy that plunder and pay are his coveted reward, his daring must appear madness, his patience folly; but there are noble natures among the poor who fight for a glory not given by a Gazette; and love their country's honour, even though that country be ungrateful. It is the duty of all to see that such a spirit is not assailed by calumny. Colonel Napier has determined that the great deeds to which it has given birth, shall not be forgotten for want of an appropriate record.

ART. II.—*Peter Paul Rubens, his Life and Genius. Translated from the German of Dr Waagen, Director of the Royal Gallery at Berlin. By* ROBERT R. NOEL, Esq. *Edited by* Mrs JAMESON. 8vo. London: 1840.

WE agree with Dr Waagen that Rubens furnishes an excellent subject for critical enquiry; 'not only because he 'was one of the most distinguished painters in the history of 'modern art, but more particularly because it has been his fate 'either to have been extravagantly extolled, or depreciated in an 'unjust and one-sided manner, instead of being judged in that large 'and impartial spirit which a mind and talents like his ought to

'command.' Endowed by nature with a genius of no common order in the profession to which he was more especially devoted—almost equally distinguished by his general talents—possessing a handsome person and remarkably pleasing manners—he seemed destined, almost from his childhood, to occupy a brilliant station in art and society; while his industry and perseverance appear to have at least kept pace with his various qualifications and accomplishments. He was born at Cologne on the 29th of June 1577. At the early age of sixteen, he seems to have first determined on following the profession of painting; and he was successively placed under three artists, the most distinguished of whom was Otto van Veen; but as no one of his instructors rose much above mediocrity in the art, he probably derived little more from their tuition than a fair proportion of its rudiments and mechanical practice. Once possessed of these, his genius was of too buoyant a nature to stand in need of the precepts of others, to determine him as to the path which a strong feeling of his own powers prompted him to follow; and he accordingly wasted no time upon lessons which might tend to fetter, rather than to advance his progress in that career which ambition had already placed before his youthful gaze.

During the few years he passed at Antwerp, under the guidance of his several instructors, his advancement in the art appears to have proceeded with a scarcely conceivable rapidity; for when he visited Italy he seems to have become rather the rival than the follower of the great ornaments of the Venetian school—Giorgioni, Titian, Veronese, and Tintoret; with whose works he quickly became enamoured, and after whose model he improved and confirmed his own system of colour and composition. In the spirit-stirring and daring genius of Julio Romano, and particularly in his Bacchanalian designs, he appears to have discovered a kindred mind; and he seems to have, in some measure, founded his own style upon the principles of that great, but somewhat dissolute painter. It is also evident, from some of the pictures of Rubens, and especially in the 'Raising of the Cross,' that he was familiar with the works of Michael Angelo, and occasionally infused into his own compositions the forms and daring foreshortenings of that wonderful genius. Of Raphael we discover few, if any, traces in the productions of Rubens. The purity, the chastity, and dignified simplicity, which so eminently distinguish the former, were not likely to make any durable impression upon the mind of an artist, who, like Rubens, was too apt to sacrifice propriety and purity of design and form, to gaudy magnificence, luxurious allegory, and reprehensible sensuality. Rubens went to Italy unusually well prepared for such a journey,

not only from the great proficiency he had made in the art, but also from his knowledge of antiquities, and his intimate acquaintance with the Latin language. These accomplishments qualified him to profit by 'a visit, which,' as Dr Waagen remarks, 'has 'often proved the rock on which the hopes of many young ar- 'tists of Germany and the Netherlands, both in former times and 'in our own day, have been miserably wrecked.' But were these the only advantages which rendered Rubens so brilliant an exception to the general rule? We think not. Some years before he visited Italy, he seems, from his early works, to have taken a determined view of art, and to have already formed that splendid system of colouring and design from which, in after life, he never essentially deviated. His style was, at that period, completely developed; and, in studying the works of foreign masters, his aim seems to have been directed to those excellences alone which could tend to embellish and invigorate his productions, and which would best amalgamate with the luxuriance and fertility of his own conceptions. In many instances the situation of a young artist, visiting foreign countries, is widely different. He may possibly possess, at starting, the literary acquirements of Rubens—he may have gained medals or honours for academical drawings—he may even have carried away from his competitors the prize for historical composition; but being probably altogether, or nearly ignorant of the theoretical part of his art, incapable of judicious classification, and perhaps absolutely unconscious of the real bent of his own talents, he will generally find himself when settled in Rome, or in any other great emporium of art, so surrounded by a multiplicity of objects, all crowding on his attention, that he becomes lost in the vortex, and wholly incapable of selecting and of arranging his materials in a mode which might conduce to his own improvement. He endeavours to grasp every thing—digests nothing—practises little—and too commonly returns from his travels a much more indifferent painter than when he left his native country;—an artist, in short, of mere 'shreds and patches,' pilfered from the works of others, which he has neither the experience nor the judgment to combine and apply to any rational purpose. It is far otherwise with men who, like Rubens and Sir Joshua Reynolds, visit Italy after they have become accomplished artists; when they are well acquainted with the peculiar bias of their own genius, and with what it will be most advisable for them to study in the works of others, in order to decorate and strengthen their own style without impairing its originality.

We began by stating that Dr Waagen has been fortunate in the choice of his subject—we wish we could add, that the mode

in which he has executed his undertaking were commensurate with the propriety of his selection. The title of his book seems to be a complete misnomer. It might with more propriety have been denominated a *catalogue raisonnée* of the works of Rubens, than a clear and comprehensive view of his artistical character. Considered simply as a specimen of biography, we have rarely met with a more unsatisfactory performance. We have risen from its perusal without having gained much additional insight into the mind of the artist; or the early circumstances which led him to direct its energies so largely to the blandishments of a gorgeous system of colouring, and to the dangerous and somewhat restricted walk of allegorical mysticism. These two features form the elements of Rubens's style; since, whenever he attempts subjects of a more elevated description, he is apt to introduce, without much discrimination, so considerable a portion of the one or the other as to detract from that simplicity and dignity which should always characterize historic composition. It probably might have proved more instructive and satisfactory if, instead of detailing a number of commonplace events, Dr Waagen had endeavoured to analyse the mind of the individual he was depicting, and the peculiar character of the times in which he flourished; and had thereby enabled us to form some notion of the causes which could seduce and divert the genius of this remarkable painter from the only legitimate road to the highest eminence of professional fame. An investigation of this nature, entered upon in the true and impartial spirit of criticism, might have been attended with beneficial results. It might have taught the youthful and aspiring genius, that, though the path which Rubens followed was adapted to the times and the country in which he lived; yet that it is by no means to be pursued in an age of greater refinement, when the truth of history cannot be violated with impunity; and when gross anachronisms in dress, manners, or religious observances, will be liable to instant detection and reprehension. Some warning, too, might have been afforded the inexperienced against the danger of regarding the works of Rubens as models for indiscriminate imitation, even in colouring; his system being more appropriate to the theatrical and ornamental, than to the natural or elevated styles; and it can never be safely adopted by any artist whose taste revolts from the gross and sensual forms which it portrays. The leading principle which pervades the productions of Rubens may be truly described 'as one and indivisible.' A *part* can rarely be selected for imitation; and those who attempt to follow the *whole*, like Jordaens and others, will commonly degenerate into mere copyists of his manner and worst defects. Taken altogether, it strikes us with

wonder and admiration, though it rarely touches our sympathies or elevates our ideas.

Instead of dwelling upon these and similar topics, Dr Waagen has contented himself with giving us, in rather a common-place style, a short and not very interesting review of the life of Rubens. In the course of this sketch, there is scarcely a novel incident or trait of character mentioned, which conveys any characteristic notion of this illustrious painter; but we are very carefully informed of the number of his patrons, and of the rather unusual manner in which some of them occasionally employed him. Thus, we are told that, 'towards the year 1601, 'he went to Rome, where, however, he remained but a short 'time. Soon after his return to Mantua, profiting by the per- 'mission of the Duke (Vincenzio, who had taken him into his 'service as gentleman of the chamber,) he proceeded to Venice; 'and while in this city, he employed his time in studying with 'great care the works of Titian and Paul Veronese; two masters, 'who of all others, seem to have most assisted him in the culti- 'vation of his strong faculty of colour. Three pictures, which 'he executed for the Church of the Jesuits in Mantua, exhibit 'the result of these studies.' The result was indeed singular enough; for, continues our author, 'after these new proofs 'of talent, the Duke, who had long wished to possess *copies* 'of some of the most valuable pictures in Rome, thought he 'could employ no *fitter* person for this object than Rubens.' Now, though we do not doubt the judicious selection made by the Duke on this occasion; yet we cannot help thinking, as Rubens was at this period above twenty-four years of age, and already considered an artist of eminence, that 'a Prince cele- 'brated for his taste in literature, and patronage of the fine arts,' would have acted a wiser and more liberal part, if, instead of employing so accomplished an artist in the unprofitable drudgery of copying, he had commissioned him to paint a few original subjects, which might have tended to increase both his fame and his fortune. But Duke Vincenzio's notions of encouragement appear to have been somewhat singular. He first takes Rubens into his service as 'gentleman of the chamber,' next employs him as we have seen above, and finally calls him from his studies and professional engagements at Rome in 1605, when he had reached the age of twenty-eight 'to convey to Philip the Third 'of Spain, a splendid state carriage, and six horses of uncommon 'beauty.' This mission, however, seems to have turned out advantageously. He was very graciously received by the King, whose portrait, together with those of some of the most distinguished nobility, he was employed to paint, and for which 'he

'received princely remuneration, in presents and applause.' Upon his quitting Spain, he repaired once more to Mantua, and soon obtained leave of the Duke to revisit Rome. He subsequently went to Milan and Genoa; in the latter of which cities he received much professional encouragement, till he was recalled to Antwerp by the dangerous illness of his mother, but arrived too late to find her alive. This loss affected him so severely that he had taken the resolution of permanently settling at Mantua, to which step he was still farther induced by the flattering offers he had recently received from the Duke, and his own predilection for Italy. What the nature of these offers was does not appear; and indeed the author mentions no instance, that we can discover, but the solitary one above quoted, in which his early patron had given him any professional employment. From his intention of finally taking up his abode in Italy, he was diverted, by the earnest entreaties of the Archduke and the Infanta, to remain in the Netherlands. They wished to attach him to their court, but he begged that he might be permitted to choose Antwerp as the place of his residence; wisely judging that the pomp and distractions of a court might prove a bar to his reaching that high eminence as an artist which he hoped to attain.

Being now settled in his native land, he next turned his thoughts towards marriage; and 'soon found the person he 'sought in Elizabeth Brant, the daughter of a magistrate of 'Antwerp, to whom he was united in 1609.' Having thus secured his bride, he, contrary to the practice usually observed on such occasions, proceeded to build her a house in the Italian style, and from designs of his own, on a scale commensurate with his increasing fortune and magnificent ideas. This mansion he adorned with the choicest productions of art; and here, for the first time in our author's narrative, we recognise, in the character of the man, the congenial qualities which distinguish the painter. The following passage describes his ordinary habits of life, and of the mode in which he distributed his time and pursued his avocations:—'Being now established according to his 'taste, he apportioned his time in the following manner: He was 'in the habit of rising very early, in summer at four o'clock, and 'immediately afterwards he heard mass. He then went to work, 'and, while painting, he habitually employed a person to read to 'him from one of the classical authors, (his favourites being Livy, 'Plutarch, Cicero, and Seneca,) or from some eminent poet. This 'was the time when he generally received his visiters, with whom 'he entered willingly into conversation on a variety of topics, in 'the most animated and agreeable manner. An hour before dinner

'was always devoted to recreation, which consisted either in allowing his thoughts to dwell, as they listed, on subjects connected with science or politics, which latter interested him deeply, or in contemplating his treasures of art. From anxiety not to impair the brilliant play of his fancy, he indulged but sparingly in the pleasures of the table, and drank but little wine. After working again till the evening, he usually, if not prevented by business, mounted a spirited Andalusian horse, and rode for an hour or two. This was his favourite exercise; he was extremely fond of horses, and his stables generally contained some of remarkable beauty. On his return home, it was his custom to receive a few friends, principally men of learning, or artists, with whom he shared his frugal meal, (he was the declared enemy of all excess,) and passed the evening in instructive and cheerful conversation. This active and regular mode of life could alone have enabled Rubens to satisfy all the demands which were made upon him as an artist; and the astonishing number of works he completed, the genuineness of which is beyond all doubt, can only be accounted for through this union of extraordinary diligence with the acknowledged fertility of his productive powers.'

There is one statement in this passage which staggers our belief. That Rubens, when painting certain parts of his works, may have employed persons to read classical or other authors to him, or that at such times he might be in the habit of receiving visiters, we can imagine; but that he should admit of interruptions of this nature while occupied in composition, or in painting for expression and character, we cannot help doubting, since we know of no art nor science which commands a more profound and absorbing devotion than the intellectual departments of painting. If what our author advances on this head be correct, we can only say that it furnishes a strong proof how much the reputation of this great artist depends upon colour and mechanical excellence.

From the period of Rubens's establishment at Antwerp, he seems to have been engaged in a continued course of employment. Commissions poured in upon him, not only from his own countrymen, but from many of the potentates of Europe; and were it not well known that he derived much assistance from his numerous pupils, it might excite surprise how a single individual could have found time to complete half the productions which pass under his name: yet we find that, besides his professional engagements, he took an active part in the political events of his day; and that he was sometimes selected to conduct delicate

and important negotiations. In 1626 he lost his wife, and, to divert his grief, took a journey to Holland and visited some of its most eminent painters.* 'About this period,' continues the author, 'Rubens distinguished himself in quite another 'field than that of the fine arts—that of diplomacy. The 'melancholy condition of his native land, continually a prey 'to war, had affected him so deeply that he made it his aim 'to gain every possible information on political subjects, and 'had carefully considered the aspect of affairs in the Nether-'lands, as well as in the other most influential states of Europe: 'he had accordingly seized every opportunity of increasing his 'stock of political knowledge, and had acquired a singular ease 'and tact in his intercourse with society; he was also master of 'several living languages, thanks to his having been well grounded 'in Latin in his youth. These peculiar advantages had not 'escaped the penetration of the Archduke Albert, who esteemed 'Rubens so highly that he stood godfather to his eldest son. It is 'said, moreover, that shortly before his death in 1621, he enjoined 'his wife to trust to the advice of Rubens in matters of difficulty, 'as to that of an upright, wise, and clear-headed man. From this 'time Rubens received many marks of distinguished favour at 'the hands of the Infanta; on her return from the siege of Breda 'in 1625, in company with the Marquis Spinola, she even 'honoured him with a visit in his own house.' After this visit, the Infanta wished to have sent him to negotiate a truce with Holland; but this project having been defeated by court intrigue, he was in 1627 sent ambassador to Philip the Fourth of Spain, whose confidence, as well as that of his Prime Minister, he soon acquired. During his residence in Spain he painted many admirable pictures; and, before he returned to Brussels, was raised by the king to the office of Secretary of the Privy Council. Subsequently to this he visited London in the character of Ambassador to Charles the First, and was ultimately successful in the object of his mission. His pleasing manners, abilities, and genius, quickly gained him the regard and esteem of that accomplished monarch, who employed him to paint several subjects during the slow progress of the negotiations. Among others, Dr Waagen with great simplicity informs us, he was engaged 'to make sketches for the nine pictures which were in-

* It seems remarkable that Rembrandt is not mentioned among the artists whom he visited, though, according to De Piles, that great painter must then have been twenty-eight years of age, and an artist of first-rate eminence.

'tended to represent, in an allegorical style, *the illustrious deeds* '*of James the First*, to decorate the ceiling of the Throne Saloon 'at Whitehall.' So untoward a commission must, in all probability, have proved rather a severe imposition upon the imaginative powers of even Rubens himself; but the pictures were afterwards finished at Antwerp, and can in no respect be classed with his first-rate productions. Before he left England he received the honour of knighthood, and was dismissed with the most flattering marks of attention and respect.

Not long after his return to Antwerp in 1631, he entered into a second matrimonial connexion with a beautiful young woman of the age of sixteen, he himself being at that period in his fifty-fourth year; but, in spite of the disparity of age, the match appears to have been a happy one. Judging from her portraits, her style of beauty must have partaken a good deal of the Flemish, which he so much admired. With, perhaps, a pardonable vanity, he frequently introduced her portrait into his historical pictures, and sometimes successfully employed her as his model; though we are not prepared to admit that the full and voluptuous character of her person was at all adapted to represent the divine purity in countenance and form which ought to distinguish the Mother of the Saviour. Reputation, affluence, and honours flowed in upon him from all quarters, and adorned, with no common lustre, the close of his splendid career. About four years after this marriage, Rubens became subject to frequent attacks of gout, which, falling into his hands, confined his exertions to the painting of small easel pictures—landscapes forming his favourite subjects. He gradually withdrew from all public business; but his enthusiasm for art and science survived the decay of his bodily powers, till he fell a victim to his disorder in 1640, in the sixty-third year of his age.

In giving this slight sketch of the life of Rubens, we have purposely abstained from dwelling on the various paintings which the author has noticed and criticised in the course of his narrative. These criticisms might with greater propriety have been reserved till he came to that division of the work which is more immediately devoted to the consideration of the artist's productions, and which forms the most valuable portion of Dr Waagen's publication. His comments upon many of the pictures he describes, discover much knowledge of art, and no small degree of critical acumen. Some of his incidental reflections, also, upon the peculiarities of Rubens's character and genius, appear to be exceedingly judicious. It is only when he attempts to sum up the claims of his subject to first-rate eminence, that he is unequal to his undertaking. Embarrassed and perplexed by the splendid

and versatile talents of Rubens, he seems incapable of penetrating or developing the leading and invariable principles which swayed him in all his productions—no matter whether his subject be sprightly or severe, sensual or refined, gaudily allegorical or religiously dignified. It must be admitted, however, that Rubens often applied his exclusive principles with singular felicity in compositions which were congenial to the irregular flow of his ideas, and to the generally voluptuous turn of his mind. In his Bacchanalian designs, with the exception of Julio Romano, and perhaps of Nicolas Poussin, he stands without a rival. The colour, the form, the unbridled licentiousness and drunken jollity of his fauns, nymphs, and satyrs, seem to embody the very agents described by the ancient poets in their revolting descriptions of these brutalizing ceremonies; though the whole scène rarely carries us sufficiently back to the remote periods when such excesses were practised. Among his works of this class, his large picture at Blenheim is one of the best, and the least offensive. Conceived with equal vigour, but with far greater indecorum, is a small painting we have seen, entitled 'The Centaurs,' which for delicacy and beauty of colour, spirit in design, and ardour of expression, has rarely been surpassed. Alas! that such a specimen of art should be necessarily condemned to obscurity from the palpable impropriety with which the subject is treated. Of equal merit, but nearly as exceptionable, though in a somewhat different style of art, is the well-known picture of the 'Village Fête' in the Louvre, which, with many perfections as a painting, is open to severe censure from its indelicacy.

The extensive and varied range of natural and supernatural objects, admissible in the allegorical style—its monstrous combinations of heterogeneous form and matter—the unrestricted license it allows to the imagination, and the reckless anachronisms which it tolerates—all tended to captivate the fervid but irregular fancy of Rubens; and it is, accordingly, in subjects of this class that the powers of his peculiar faculty of colour, chiaroscuro, and theatrical composition, are most advantageously displayed. Nevertheless, even in this walk of art, and especially in his female forms, he is often repulsive. The most advantageous specimen of his works of this order, considered as a whole, is the 'Gallery of the Luxemburg,' which exhibits amazing powers of art wherever his own hand is apparent in the series. Yet, in spite of its numerous beauties, and the imposing appearance of its general effect, there is little or nothing that appeals to our sympathies, enlarges the ideas, or elevates the mind. The whole resembles some magnificent pageant spread before the eyes of the beholder, which dazzles and astonishes the senses, but which

passes rapidly from the memory, without leaving any permanent or beneficial impression. In the year 1802, we had the advantage of examining this collection in the palace of the Luxemburg, when the pictures were undergoing repair, and were standing on the floor of the room in which they were placed; and, from a careful inspection of them, we entirely agree with Dr Waagen and others, that no inconsiderable portion of several of the pictures must be the work of some of Rubens's scholars, executed after his finished designs, and subsequently retouched and harmonized by the hand of the master; since nothing can be more sketchy and feeble than the pencilling in some of the pictures of least importance. In this, as well as in most of his other works, the female forms are repulsively vulgar, and overloaded with flesh;—take, for instance, the three Fates weaving 'the destiny 'of the Queen;' the three sea-nymphs in the 'Embarkation 'of the Queen at Marseilles;' and the monstrous *libel* on her majesty and the court ladies in the ceremony of her coronation. This unfortunate princess, together with her conductress Minerva, is still more hardly dealt by in the 'Escape from the city of Blois;' to say nothing of the fat unwieldy kitchen-wench dropping from a window, and who is intended, we presume, for one of the maids of honour. We notice another picture of this series, because it furnishes a striking instance, however 'great his predilection for 'ancient art,' that Rubens, though he may have written to the contrary, was unable to appreciate the excellence of the antique statues, or to profit by their example in his own works. The picture to which we allude is entitled 'the Government 'of the Queen;' and surely, in all that has no relation to colour and arrangement, such a representation of the heathen deities has not often been exhibited. In this design the god of day, assisted by Mars and Minerva, is in the act of expelling from the Queen's government Discord, Fury, Envy, and Fraud. To dwell on the vulgar style in which the two latter deities are conceived, or on the indelicate figure of Venus attempting to restrain her paramour, would be a waste of words. It is otherwise with regard to the Apollo, who occupies the central place in the composition. This figure is a direct copy of the Apollo Belvidere as to attitude and accompaniments: so much so, that it is quite impossible the awkward plagiarism should escape the notice of the most careless observer. But where is the purity of form, the majesty and contemptuous dignity of expression, which characterize the original! And how has Rubens endeavoured to amalgamate it with his own coarse and inelegant conceptions?—not by elevating his ideas to a level with the excellence of the Grecian model, but by degrading its perfections to his usual Flemish notions of form

and expression. The painter who could thus tastelessly disfigure and caricature this exquisite production must have been equally insensible to its manifold beauties, and to the refined and profound principles of art which it displays. Sir Joshua Reynolds has judiciously observed—'That he who borrows an idea from an ancient 'or from a modern artist, not his contemporary, and so accom-'modates it to his work that it makes a part of it, with no *seam* 'or joining appearing, can hardly be charged with plagiarism.'—'Borrowing or stealing,' he continues, 'with such art and caution, 'will have a right to the same lenity as was used by the Lacede-'monians, who did not punish theft, but the want of artifice to 'conceal it.'—It must, however, be admitted that this species of appropriation is always attended with considerable risk of discovery, even though the genius of the purloiner may be on a level with the original; but in the instance of Rubens, whose peculiar turn of mind pervades his whole art, such an attempt, if not in itself absurd, would at least be sure of immediate detection. Before we take leave of the Luxemburg Gallery, it is but justice to add, that a few female forms may be noticed in the work, which, though stamped with the manner of Rubens, are nevertheless free from the unpleasant defects which too generally mark his representations of the sex. Such are the figures of a nymph seated on the right hand side of the picture of 'the 'Government of the Queen;' the three Graces in 'the Education' of the same personage; and an elegant and nymph-like figure, attendant on her majesty in her journey to the bridge of Cé—which we, however, learn with some surprise, is intended to personify the attribute of force.

The splendid colouring and fertility of invention which characterize the art of Rubens, he appears to have employed with singular success in the humbler departments of animal and landscape painting. His lion-hunts, boar-hunts, &c., are conceived and executed with a fidelity and spirit which almost defies rivalship; while his landscapes, though seldom rising in subject above the ordinary level of Flemish views, are often rendered highly interesting by the introduction of some domestic circumstance or natural appearance. Many of the prints engraved after his pictures by Bolswert and others, contain beautiful specimens of the mode in which he was accustomed to enrich and embellish the most unpromising and commonplace scenery.

As a portrait painter his reputation is considerable, though possibly somewhat overrated; some of his pictures of this class not appearing to possess any great share of individuality or resemblance. They seem for the most part to want the fidelity and elegance of Vandyke, the truth and dignity of Titian, and

the gracefulness and inimitable strength of character which distinguish the portraits of Reynolds. His women, in this walk of art, are generally inferior to his men.

The essential qualities inherent in the mind of Rubens admirably adapted him to succeed in most of the departments of art to which we have alluded. We now proceed to consider his claims to first-rate eminence as an historical or religious painter; and here we must freely acknowledge, however the author may have failed in giving a clear and comprehensive view of the true character of Rubens's genius, that many of his criticisms discover sound judgment, just taste, and an intimate acquaintance with the subjects on which he writes. Some, too, of his remarks and general reflections seem to be unexceptionable; and the only matter for surprise is, that so accomplished a writer should have been unsuccessful in giving a bold and distinct delineation of the powerful, though often perverted genius of his illustrious subject. In confirmation of these opinions, we give the following passages, which appear to be rather at variance with each other, if not absolutely contradictory:—'With regard to 'fertility of invention,' observes Dr Waagen, 'Raphael and 'Albert Durer are the only modern painters who can be com-'pared with him. There is the greatest difference, however, 'between Raphael and Rubens in this respect.—The pecu-'liarity of Raphael consisted principally in the perfect compre-'hension of his subject, and in proving on the canvass that he 'had *penetrated* into its inmost signification; whereas Rubens 'made every subject conform to his own *one-sided* nature, and 'he accordingly treated all such as were foreign to it in a most 'capricious manner. Therefore it is, that, while all the works 'painted by Rubens himself bear the true stamp of genius, 'and captivate us by the originality and freshness of thought 'exhibited in them, as well as by the masterly keeping, the 'vigour and glow of the colouring, and the talent displayed in 'the treatment altogether, yet the gratification we derive from 'them is ever in proportion to the harmony which existed be-'tween the subject and his own natural disposition.'—Again he says in the following page—'Generally speaking, it is impos-'sible to derive unmixed pleasure from those works of Rubens 'in which the subjects are taken from the sacred writings, where 'so much of the effect depends on the elevated expression of moral 'beauty, sanctity, purity, and calm beatitude. Even in the treat-'ment of subjects from the mythology of the ancients, indelibly 'associated in our minds with the idea of divine gracefulness and 'delicacy of form, Rubens was seldom successful. Not only was 'he naturally deficient in the *perception* of such qualities, but

'here more particularly his rash and rapid treatment, the want 'of study, defective drawing in the figure, and a capricious and 'unquiet arrangement of the drapery, are frequently and dis-'agreeably felt. His representations of the Madonna but seldom, 'and his representations of the Redeemer scarcely ever, excite 'those ideas which we should consider appropriate and worthy 'of those divine subjects.' Now, all this appears to be exceedingly just and admirably expressed, but what is the inevitable conclusion?—that the genius of Rubens was unfit for the representation of subjects requiring refined form, simplicity, and dignity of expression or elevated sentiment. Of the latter, indeed, we cannot call to mind a single instance, in that large portion of his works which we have inspected. The *manner* of the painter, and the 'one-sided' view he uniformly takes of nature in all her varieties, is constantly present to the beholder, and produces a disagreeable monotony of effect, which greatly impairs the interest of his works; however great in some respects may be their acknowledged excellence. His pictures put us too much in mind of an actor who is never oblivious of self, whatever may be the character he is engaged to represent.

It seems singular, in spite of the serious defects which the author has above admitted to be inherent in the style of Rubens, that he should nevertheless have ventured the assertion contained in the following passage:—'But in subjects which really required 'to be treated in a *dramatic* style, more particularly in those 'wherein the expression of *power*, grandeur, and *strongly-excited* '*passions* were admissible; and when he consequently could give 'free scope—unshackled, unreproved—to all the inspirations of 'his genius, there we recognize Rubens in all his glory. I have 'no hesitation in pronouncing him the *greatest* of all *modern* 'painters, when he had to deal with subjects depending on the 'momentary expression of powerfully excited passion, which can 'only be seized upon and developed in the imagination.'—It would have been more satisfactory if, instead of broad assertion, Dr Waagen had named any single picture by Rubens, even in the dramatic style of art, which for an instant can be placed in competition with Raphael's two cartoons of the 'Death of Ananias,' and the 'Preaching of St Paul at Athens;' or with any of the series of pictures by the same hand (and especially the Heliodorus) which constitute the great ornaments of the Vatican; to say nothing of his 'Transfiguration,' nor of the 'Murder of 'St Peter Martyr,' by Titian—a picture which appears to disclose almost every excellence of which the art is capable. The conception is noble and terrific, the colour sombre and appropriate, and the savage and dreary landscape is the very scene adapted

to the perpetration of so sacrilegious and barbarous a deed. The dignified resignation of the half-murdered superior—the ruthless and hardened villain who is dealing with him—the fear-stricken attendants flying for their lives—and, above all, the wounded and inferior monk struggling in the agonies of death, and, by an almost superhuman effort, vainly endeavouring to stagger from the frightful scene—are masterpieces of conception, character, and expression, which, we will unhesitatingly affirm, Rubens has never approached in his most celebrated productions.

Let us now consider how he has treated an historical and religious subject which demanded, in its management, the greatest degree of solemnity and dignity. We allude to his famous painting of the 'Crucifixion of Christ,' formerly in the Louvre, and now, we believe, replaced in its original situation, in the church of the Recollects at Antwerp. We are aware that this picture has formed the theme of high eulogium from the respected pen of Sir Joshua Reynolds; but greatly as we admire the taste, the judgment, and vast practical knowledge of that distinguished artist and writer, we must confess that in the instance before us he appears, though perhaps unknown to himself, to have been carried away from his usual discretion by the splendour of the colour, the novelty of the composition, and the dexterity and power of the execution. These, we admit, are essential ingredients to the formation of a great picture, though, when misapplied, they may be transformed into defects instead of beauties. Throughout the whole range of subjects adapted to the pencil, we know of no one which requires to be treated with greater seriousness and dignified propriety than the Crucifixion. This awful event was accompanied by tempests and earthquakes, and the scene was shrouded in supernatural obscurity. What then shall be said of the painter who, in direct violation of this description, has represented so appalling a subject in the garish light of open day, and in colours which appear to emulate the hues of the slaughter-house; and who has lavished these hues, with so unsparing prodigality, upon the bodies of those even, who, during three days and nights, had endured all the agonies of the cross? The act of piercing the side of the Saviour by the executioner, may be tolerated perhaps from its typical signification; but the loathsome ostentation with which the breaking of the robbers' legs is depicted, admits of no excuse; much less the disgusting introduction, in the left hand corner of the picture, of a brass vessel half-filled with blood, which a dog is about to lap! It seems strange, that, though Sir Joshua has justly censured Rubens for representing, in his design of the Last Supper, a dog gnawing a bone, he should yet have passed over without comment the above abomina-

tion in the Crucifixion. In hazarding these remarks upon a work so highly celebrated, we wish it to be understood that we are far from being insensible to its great merits in colour, composition, and execution, *separately* considered. We only lament their gross misapplication.* How an artist, gifted with Sir Joshua's refined taste, could have bestowed such unqualified praise upon this production, it seems difficult to understand; more especially as he appears to have entertained some notions of an opposite stamp only a few years afterwards. In his fifteenth, and last Discourse at the Royal Academy, he mentions a conversation he had once had with an ingenious French artist at Rome, who appeared not to comprehend 'on what ground the fabric of the art 'is built. * * * He saw and felt,' continues Sir Joshua, 'the 'excellences of the great works with which we were surrounded, 'but lamented that there was not to be found that nature which 'is so admirable in the inferior schools; and he supposed, with 'De Piles and other theorists, that such a union of different 'excellences would be the perfection of art. He was not aware 'that the narrow idea of nature, of which he lamented the ab-'sence in the works of those great artists, would have destroyed 'the grandeur of the general ideas which he admired, and 'which was indeed the cause of his admiration.' In truth, nothing can be more subversive of elevated art than the attempt to combine with its principles incompatible and minor perfections: let any one, for instance, conversant with the Roman or Florentine schools, imagine what would be the effect produced were the mighty designs of Michael Angelo, Raphael, or Julio Romano, to be clothed in all the gaudy and meretricious accompaniments of Rubens! It may, indeed, be said that the latter artist has attempted no such absurd incongruities—his design, his colour, and his forms, characters, and expressions, being all of a piece, and well adapted to create the effect at which he *aimed.* Be it so; but his very *aim* rendered him unfit to execute the grave, historical, and religious subjects which he was fond of selecting for his pencil; and for the *just* conception of which the whole structure of his mind rendered him incompetent.—Perhaps the only work of Rubens which can with propriety be considered as exempt from this general condemnation, is his celebrated picture of 'the Descent from the Cross,'—a composition which certainly partakes in a larger degree of the elevated style

* Mrs Jameson has, in one of her Notes, made some excellent remarks upon the above painting, which, in spite of her generally strong bias in favour of Rubens, do great credit to her critical powers. (See p. 72.)

of art than any of his productions with which we are acquainted. It is doubtless a very splendid design, though many of the characters are far from historical. The colouring is more serious and appropriate to the subject than in many of his other works; and the mode in which he has contrasted the flesh-tints with the large volume of white drapery, introduced into the centre of the picture, could only have been ventured upon by a colourist of the first order. It has been said that the design is almost literally borrowed from an Italian print; and that the picture had been much injured by retouching and cleaning. We cannot, however, help doubting the correctness of the former statement; and with respect to the latter, we can only observe, that when we saw the work in a very glaring light, in the Louvre, in 1802, we noticed nothing of the kind. Possibly the French repairers might have removed the old varnish and the emendations of which Sir Joshua complains;—an operation which we have seen successfully performed by *judicious* picture-cleaners in England.

In his enumeration of the works of Rubens, Dr Waagen, to our surprise, has omitted all mention of the 'Raising of the 'Cross'—one of that master's most celebrated compositions; and which was the first public work he painted after his return from Italy. It was exhibited in the Louvre, if we rightly recollect, directly opposite to the foregoing, but is now probably restored to its former position in the church of St Walburg at Antwerp. This picture has been ably criticised by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in 'his Journey to Flanders and Holland,' where he considers it 'as 'one of Rubens' best and most animated compositions.' Some portions of it remind us of 'the manner of Tintoret;' others very strikingly of Michael Angelo—particularly an herculean but rather grotesque figure who assists in raising the cross. The design is full of bustle and motion, and abounds with daring foreshortenings; yet the whole produces no strong impression on the beholder. The *end* appears to be lost in the *means*, and the colouring (for Rubens,) though less ostentatious than is usual with him, produces rather a monotonous and chalky effect, and adds neither solemnity nor terror to the scene.

Dr Waagen, in describing a class of horrible subjects in which Rubens was too fond of indulging, discovers great good sense and feeling in reprobating such atrocious selections as fit objects for representation; and as the passage does him credit, we subjoin nearly the whole of it. 'A comprehension,' he observes, 'of the coarse and sensual nature which pervaded, and in some 'sort depraved, the innate artistic talent of Rubens, will enable 'us to understand how he could even choose the most hor-'rible subjects, when once his fancy had been caught by the

'dramatic incidents which they afforded. These he treated with 'all his characteristic power and skill; but the very luxuriance 'of his genius, and his wondrous mastery over the technical de- 'partment of his art, conspire to render such subjects more 'intolerably fearful and repulsive from *his* hand than from that 'of any other painter.'—Again he continues, 'In this class of 'subjects (those remarkable for the representation of physical 'horrors) may be mentioned Judith in the act of cutting off the 'head of Holofernes with a kind of hatchet: the wretch, in the 'agonies of death, turns up his eyes in a most horrible manner— 'Progne showing to Tereus the head of his son after he had 'devoured the rest of his body—the martyrdom of the holy 'saint Lieven: his tongue has been torn out, and is held before 'a dog, who is snapping at it—St Justus holding his head, which 'has just been cut off, in his hands—and lastly, the celebrated 'Massacre of the Innocents, in the Munich gallery. This picture 'seems to me to deserve its great reputation as little as the Last 'Judgment, in the same collection. The subject can derive a 'really fearful and tragic interest only through a perfectly ideal 'treatment, such as we see in the engraving of Marc Antonio, 'after Raffaelle; whereas, the Massacre of the Innocents by 'Rubens is, in fact, a mere scene from common life, producing 'the same repulsive impression with a modern scene of butchery 'brought immediately before our eyes. The women, in modern 'costume, attempt, in their despair, to defend themselves by 'biting and scratching. One cuts her hand by seizing the 'murderer's knife. To all this must be added, that the light 'and spirited treatment of Rubens is not to be found in this 'picture, and still less his admirable colouring.' *

We have seen only a few of the subjects by Rubens taken from the Annals of Greece and Rome; but those which have come under our observation by no means appear to justify the terms of high eulogium in which Dr Waagen mentions them. Among all the artists of great eminence, Rubens seems to have been perhaps the least qualified to represent the rough energy and unadorned simplicity of the Roman character, as it existed previously to the reduction of Carthage, and before it became intoxicated by conquest, or vitiated by Eastern luxury and debauchery. In what respect the history of such a people can be said to be congenial with the gorgeous and highly ornamental style of Rubens, we confess ourselves utterly at a loss to conjecture. His genius

* There is an admirable piece of criticism, in Mrs Jameson's Note on this detestable picture, (p. 86.)

is perhaps even yet further removed from the classical elegance of Grecian character and story.

In the foregoing observations, it has been our chief aim to place the genius of Rubens in that just position in the art, which his productions entitle him to hold. Considered as an ornamental painter, which necessarily embraces every species of mechanical excellence, he perhaps stands without a rival. The principles of his colouring, though occasionally arbitrary, are generally grounded upon nature. His knowledge of *chiaroscuro* was extensive and profound, and the fertility of his exuberant fancy nearly unlimited. He knew enough of the human form, as it appertains to vulgar nature, and indeed of every other natural object, to represent them with vigour, though sometimes with incorrectness and occasional distortion,—if it suited his purpose by these means to give variety to the shape of his groups, or force and effect to his masses of light and shade. His perception of character was at times strong, but almost always coarse and indiscriminating. His expressions were inappropriate and seldom elevated, and his notions of the human figure, in both sexes, were so biassed in favour of Flemish exuberance, as to render them very unfit vehicles for the representation of refined sentiment, dignified passion, or pathos; and hence it is, that he commonly fails in the delineation of subjects (we speak comparatively) of an historic or religious character. Yet, in spite of all the astounding defects which are often to be observed in the component parts of his compositions, it may be doubted whether the agents he employs are not better adapted to the effect it was his ambition to produce, than if others were substituted of a more exalted or refined description: at least it appears certain, that he could not have connected his exaggerated system of colour with forms of greater purity, or a less revolting nature. The main design of his art was to appeal to the sensual, not to the mental qualities of the spectator; and though we may condemn the error of his choice, he is nevertheless entitled to the full meed of our admiration, for the success which has attended his gigantic efforts in a branch of the art, which, though subordinate in itself, he has contrived to raise into importance, and to illumine by the fervour of his genius. We must be cautious of censuring him too severely for the absence of perfections which he probably neither felt nor perceived, and to which the original formation of his mind rendered him unequal.

The genuine field for the full display of his powers he found in the allegoric style, which, overleaping propriety and probability, confounds time and place, manners and customs, and admits of almost every variety of form, costume, and material, which the

imagination can conceive or the pencil embody. This mass of heterogeneous elements, his genius arranged and methodized with surprising facility; and by means of the splendid medium in which he enveloped the whole, gave it the stamp of reality rather than of fiction. The productions of Rubens appear to be ill adapted to the Senate House or the Church: their proper sphere is the luxurious banqueting-room or the gorgeous saloon. As an artist he has left a great name, though perhaps nothing has had a more pernicious influence on the succeeding generations of painters than the seductive nature of his example. As far as his views extended, his powers were unquestionably great; but they can never, with propriety, be placed upon an equality with the exalted genius which animated the mighty restorers of the art in the fifteenth century.

The character of Rubens, in domestic and public life, presents a very interesting picture of private virtues and rare endowments. His habits were studious, temperate, and industrious, while his disposition seems to have been totally exempt from the meanness of envy. Courteous and affable in his manners, easy and dignified in his commerce with the great, he appears to have possessed every distinguished and amiable quality which could adorn an individual, and render him an ornament of society. The important public situations which he was called upon to fill, furnish indisputable proofs of his extensive capacity and practical ability; and it is matter of surprise that he was able to devote so large a portion of his time to public affairs, while actively engaged in the prosecution of a profession which, in ordinary cases, appears to require the most unwearying and exclusive application.

We must not leave this elegant volume without informing our readers, that, besides a lively and ingenious Preface by Mrs Jameson, by whom it is edited, it possesses some Notes from her pen which add considerably to its value.

ART. III.—1. *Essay on the productive Resources of India.* By J. F. ROYLE, M.D., F.R.S. 8vo. London: 1840.

2. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to consider the Petition of the East India Company for Relief, and to Report thereon to the House, with the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee.* Folio. 1840.

3. *Report from the Select Committee on East India Produce, together with the Minutes of Evidence.* Folio. 1840.

4. *A View of the Evidence given before a Select Committee of the House of Commons on a Petition from the East India Company, praying for relief to India, in reference to unequal duties and other grievances.* 8vo. London: 1840.

MORE than half a century has passed since Burke said of Mr Grenville, that 'he conceived, and many conceived 'along with him, that the flourishing trade of this country was 'greatly owing to law and institution, and not quite so much 'to liberty; for but too many are apt to believe regulation to 'be commerce, and taxes to be revenue.' Though practical wisdom has made considerable advances during the interval, the state of some branches of trade, and especially the favour that is shown to some of our Colonies at the expense of others, and the manner in which those who are wronged by one regulation are privileged by another to indemnify themselves at the expense of the public, demonstrate that either enlightened principles, or an honest determination to act upon them, are still, in some respects, wanting; and that it behoves the people to ascertain for themselves whether their true interests are not sacrificed, in some important particulars, to the selfish views of certain powerful classes, whose voices are too much listened to by statesmen of all parties; and who are in too strong a position, and defend it with too much vigour, to be defeated and driven from it otherwise than by the loud and sustained expression of public opinion.

But whilst self-interest is sleepless—provident against every danger, and foregoing no advantage—nothing short of grievous and long-continued injustice is sufficient to rouse the public to resistance. It is proverbial that what is every man's business is done by nobody; and wrongs so general as to be shared by the whole community, are scarcely felt by those classes to whom the power of giving effect to complaints, by tongue or pen, is almost exclusively confined. Under ordinary circum-

stances, the members of the Legislature, those with whom they habitually associate, and those by whose opinions and feelings they are principally influenced, cannot suffer any material inconvenience from the viciousness of our colonial system. But the millions in middle and humble life, by whom ninety-nine hundredths of our commoner imports are consumed, feel sensibly—in too many instances acutely—the rise of every farthing per pound in the price of the necessaries or comforts of life; and have consequently—though the bulk of them are little aware of it in their present state of ignorance—the deepest interest in those questions of financial and commercial policy which statesmen generally dispose of with too little reference to the mute mass of indirect tax-payers. The straitened incomes of a few West Indian proprietors, who 'mingle with the magnates of 'the land,' call forth more sympathy than that curtailment of the enjoyments of millions, amongst the most useful and deserving of our countrymen, which is inseparable from the enhancement of the price of such an article, for example, as common sugar;* and compared with the interests of a fraction of the influential classes, it does not appear to be matter of consideration, how much injury is done to the revenue, and therefore to the general body of tax-payers, by giving such privileges to the producers of costly spirits, as effectually to exclude the cheaper, though at least equally good and wholesome, article from the market;—to the wilful waste of the difference between the higher and lower cost of production, which—as it would not be desirable to reduce the price to the consumer—might most advantageously be drawn into the public purse.

These remarks have been suggested by an examination of the questions now at issue between those who desire to promote the agricultural and commercial prosperity of British India, and the body of West Indian proprietors, backed by certain classes in this country;—a controversy in which we take a very lively interest in behalf of the former, because, firstly, as they ask for no exclusive privileges, but merely to be put upon a footing of

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* This year has afforded a notable example of this privation of enjoyment. Much fruit, of which the crops have been profusely abundant in many parts of the country, has been absolutely wasted, in consequence of the very high price of sugar, which has deterred all but the comparatively wealthy from making preserves. This may appear insignificant to those who enjoy many other luxuries; but it is no trifle to those who have been compelled to deny themselves, and those whom they love best, their usual wholesome and almost sole indulgences.

equality with others, and to be allowed to contend in the fair field of competition for the benefit of supplying our markets, the principles which they assert are those which this Journal has uniformly and zealously maintained; because, secondly, it is evident, from this simple statement of their claim, that their cause is that of the great body of the people of England; and because, thirdly, the good government and happiness of millions of our fellow-subjects in India (for which, by assuming the rule over them, our Crown and Legislature have made themselves responsible) are intimately bound up in their success. The character of Great Britain is no less at stake than her pecuniary interests. Our splendid possessions in India confer lustre on the one, as much as they advance the other. The whole world regards them with admiration or envy; and we have no right but that of mere might—the abuse of which would be tyranny—to inflict upon the people who have been subjected to our sway, for very different ends, and to whom we are nationally so deeply indebted, any partial disadvantages.

Hitherto, with some exceptions, in very recent times, there has been a strange propensity on the part of our statesmen to look upon British India as a step-child, and to subject it to many and great disadvantages as compared with more favoured possessions; and pertinaciously to refuse to treat it as a member of a great body, one and indivisible in respect to rights and interests. It is impossible to give a stronger proof of the truth of this allegation than the simple fact, that the term 'British possessions' in acts of Parliament, tariffs, and the like, is always held to be exclusive of the most valuable dominions of the British Crown, merely because they are governed by the instrumentality of the East India Company. The colonies of the Crown, taking their cue from the conduct of the mother country, have uniformly regarded their sister dependency as an alien, treating goods imported from British India as 'foreign.' The cause of this partiality is palpable. With the exception of a few merchants, India has had no friends, no advocates, but those whom mere philanthropy and a sense of justice have enlisted on her side; and these are principles, which, except in extreme cases—like the slave-trade—have little chance in a contest with the untiring energies of self-interest. Till only the other day, not an Englishman owned an acre of land in India; and well it was for the people of that country that those who—in the early days of our ascendancy—were 'infamous for plundered provinces,' were prevented from appropriating the provinces themselves. Still, the effect of the restriction has been to check, almost altogether to preclude, the

growth of an Anglo-Indian interest possessed of any influence in Downing Street or St Stephen's. It is notorious, on the other hand, how well West-Indian property is represented in both houses; and that there is not a single respectable branch of trade in Great Britain which does not possess the means of making its wishes or its complaints more effectively heard than all the millions of our fellow-subjects in Hindostan; even when backed by the few who, in this country, are inclined to support their claims. We should, therefore, feel that we were undertaking a hopeless cause, were we not convinced that we shall be able to demonstrate, that England cannot persevere in injustice to India without inflicting deep injury on herself.

But, to make our first appeal to the nobler emotions, let us examine the claims of British India upon our generosity and our justice. Setting moral considerations aside for the moment, what are our direct pecuniary obligations to the only one of our foreign possessions which supports its own civil and military establishments;—reimbursing to the Crown the cost of every soldier sent thither to maintain the integrity of dominions, in the vast extent and importance of which, every reflecting Englishman must feel a pride?

The relation of India to England is very different from that in which we stand to any of our other transmarine possessions. Our colonies take our manufactures, and pay us for them,—and our manufacturers and shipowners make their respective profits by these transactions. India, also, buys our manufactures to a large and increasing extent; and, if we govern her well, and treat her fairly, her value as a customer will increase very quickly and greatly. Every facility given to the sale of her produce here, must add to the fund from which she pays for British manufactures. But India is more than a customer. The peculiar circumstances in which she is placed, render her tributary to us to a very large amount. The East India Company draw annually from the revenue of the territories which they administer, a sum which their Secretary, Mr Melvill, estimates at L.3,200,000. The aggregate of their receipts, however, under this head, during the last five years, amounts to L.16,961,000, being very little short of L.3,400,000 per annum. This sum, which is applied to what is called the 'home expenditure,' is, in fact, the price—the necessary price—which India pays for the connexion which subsists between her and England. There may be differences of opinion among honest men, as to the propriety of charging this or the other item to India; but there is no doubt, that the great bulk of it is fairly due from her; if it be right—as seems unquestionable—that she should pay the legitimate expenses of her admi-

nistration. It is equally certain, that, heavily as such an enormous annual drain must press upon the resources of a country which those only who are ignorant of its real condition have imagined to be rich, the advantages of its relations to England are cheaply purchased, even at this high price; especially if we allow ourselves to look forward, and to anticipate, with not unreasonable confidence, the adoption of a juster and more liberal policy towards this noble dependency, than that which has rendered our past connexion comparatively unprofitable to both parties. With the exception of a small fraction which is remitted in payment for military stores, supplied from this country, the whole of this sum of L.3,200,000 is a direct and substantial annual transfer from the income of India to that of England. But this is not all. The remittances on account of private fortunes, the families of Anglo-Indians, and the like, are estimated by the best authorities as not less than L.500,000 per annum. We think that this sum is considerably below the truth, which L.750,000 would more nearly represent. On the whole, we are persuaded, that the amount of public and private remittances from India, for which this country makes no return, is very little, if at all, over-estimated, at four millions per annum.

The advantages which we derive from our colonies are usually calculated by the value of our manufactures which they purchase. All the parties concerned in the exportation of such goods are abundantly satisfied, we presume, if they realize among them a gross profit of twenty per cent. The payments which India makes to England, without receiving any return for them, are equivalent, at this calculation, (which allows for a constant large profit,) to the purchase of our manufactures by the former, to the value of twenty millions per annum. Besides this, she took, on the average of the three years ending with 1838, British manufactures to the value of L.3,817,000 per annum.

In the course of Mr R. M. Martin's examination before the Committee of the House of Commons, Mr Goulburn attempted to show, that British India has no higher claims than the West Indies on the score of gratuitous payments; and that the incomes which proprietors of plantations in those colonies draw from them, and spend in this country, are to be regarded exactly in the same light—equally beneficial to England, and equally impoverishing to the dependency—as the remittances, without return, received from India.* In the fencing-match of question and answer, the examiner had certainly the better of

* See Questions and Answers, 4138 to 4157.

the witness; who altogether failed to comply with Mr Goulburn's requisition, that he should show 'what difference of 'claim arises on the part of a country from the remittances 'being made to an absentee proprietary, or being made to pub-'lic servants, who have left the service of the country in which 'they were employed.' But there are, nevertheless, some most important distinctions between the two cases, which place them in essentially different categories.

In the first place, all the capital from which the produce of the West Indian colonies is raised, was originally furnished by England. Secondly, There is no one in those colonies who has any right to complain of the abstraction of the produce of the land; there is no one in relation to whom the exportation to England, of all the sugar and rum of all the islands, can be considered unjust. The natives of the soil have long since disappeared, and the whole population consists of those who actually raise the produce, and of those who minister to their wants. Both these classes are, and must be satisfied, before the surplus can be sent to England; and the complaint is now, that after they are so satisfied, there is no surplus left. But, be that surplus more or less, it would be just as reasonable that the field should complain that the wheat is carried into the barn, as that the West Indies should allege it to be a grievance that no return is made to them for much of the produce which they send to this country. England is certainly the better by the net amount of that produce—less the fair interest of her capital invested in the West Indies; but a very heavy deduction must be made from this benefit. This country bears a large share of the expense of governing and protecting the West Indies, where it constantly maintains a very considerable military force. India, on the other hand, has never received any capital from this country; and she has her millions who have a right to be satisfied that no more than what is reasonable and just is abstracted from the produce of their fields, in liquidation of those charges necessary for their good government, which are incurred, or which it is proper to pay, in England. India, also, making such payments, is justified in demanding, that her means of rendering them should be as much facilitated as possible; that none of the articles in which she would, if unshackled, desire to make them, should ~~be virtually excluded from our markets, in order to~~ give advantage to the produce of more favoured dependencies; and that England, benefiting so much by the connexion, should discharge its counterpart obligations by placing her—which is all that she seeks—on a footing of equality with other foreign territories.

With such equality of treatment, however, the advocates of the West Indian interest are by no means satisfied. They demand partial favour, in tones which would better become them if they were asserting an undeniable right. But to place themselves even on a level with India, in respect to just pretensions to consideration, they must at least show that, like her, they subject England to no expense;—that they bear the whole charge of their establishments, civil and military. This they cannot show: and, failing in this, Mr Goulburn's endeavour to prove that the importations from the West Indies are of the same character, and confer the same claims, as the gratuitous remittances from India, is obviously futile. The West Indies are, in fact, simply an outlying farm of England; and all that the proprietors of land in those colonies have a right to demand, is that they should not be subjected to any disabilities or disadvantages in comparison with British subjects holding property in any other British colony;—a demand which those who are contending for the rights of India have always been forward to acknowledge as just.

The claims of India being such as we have shown them to be, let us see how England has hitherto acknowledged and requited them. Her fiscal treatment of India cannot be better stated, in its general outlines, than in the words of the petition, presented by the East India Company to both Houses of Parliament, from which the late investigation resulted. To that valuable document we must refer our readers. But there are many circumstances of aggravation, not noticed, or but slightly alluded to, in the Company's petition, and which require to be stated before the whole injustice and hardship of the case can be adequately appreciated.

The case of spirits made from the sugar-cane is the grossest. In 1836, an act of Parliament was passed, allowing sugar, the produce of such parts of British India as should consent to forego the importation of sugar from foreign countries, to be brought to England at the same rate of duty as sugar the growth of the West Indies, viz. 24s. per cwt.; the duty having previously been 32s. But even this measure of equal justice, tardily accorded after many years of partial favour to the colonies of the Crown, at the expense of the people of India, was saddled with a limitation which greatly detracted from its value; *—the pro-

* When the Mauritius, a Crown colony, was put upon the same footing of duties as the West Indies, in 1825, the boon was complete. The duties on both sugar and rum were simultaneously equalized.

ducts of the sugar-cane, only second in importance to its great staple, have been left subject to the unequal imposts exhibited in the following statement:—

Duties on Importation into England.

The produce of, and imported from any British possession in the West Indies, America, or the Mauritius:—				The produce of, and imported from, any British possession in the East Indies:—			
Rum, per gallon, .	L.0	9	0	Rum, per gallon, .	L.0	15	0
Rum Shrub, per do,	0	9	0	Rum Shrub, per do,	1	10	0
Cordials, sweetened or mixed, per do, .	1	0	0	Cordials, sweetened or mixed, per do, .	1	10	0

Duties on Importation into New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land.

Rum, the produce of the British possessions in the West Indies:—				Rum, the produce of the East Indies:—			
New South Wales, per gallon, .	L.0	6	6	New South Wales, per gallon, .	L.0	8	6
Van Diemen's Land, per do, . . .	0	7	6	Van Diemen's Land, per do, . .	0	10	6*

The excluding pressure of this discriminating duty is aggravated by the circumstance, that East Indian rum is greatly inferior in value to the produce of Jamaica; and bears at this time a much lower price, even than that imported from the Leeward Islands. The present average market price, in bond, and at English proof, of Jamaica rum, is 5s. 2d.; of Leeward Islands' rum, 3s. 6d.; and of East India rum, 2s. 7d. per gallon.† The

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* These rates appear to be altered from time to time, but the proportion is always maintained against India.

† When this paragraph was written, Leeward Islands' rum was 3s. 8d., and East Indian rum 3s. 6d. per gallon. There has been a general fall in the market, which has affected one article to the extent of 2d. and the other to the amount of 11d. per gallon, their intrinsic value being as nearly as possible equal. But an article which has only one or two outlets, must always suffer, by comparison, in a falling market; and there is but one price, at any time, for East Indian rum;—owing to the disabilities under which it labours, it always sells at the lowest price of any rum, without benefit from any excellence of flavour. Just now, its disabilities have been enhanced. Great stress was laid by several members of the Committee of the House of Commons upon its admission into the navy contracts. By the last advertisement for tenders to supply the navy, the maximum of East Indian rum to be taken, has been fixed at half of the whole demand. Hence the enormous fall in its price.

duty in the latter is, therefore, 581 per cent on the value of the article, whilst on Leeward Islands' rum, it is 258 per cent, and on Jamaica rum, only 174 per cent. The direct result has been, to shut East Indian rum entirely out of the home market—with the exception of a precarious demand for the supply of the navy. The average annual importations of rum, during the last three years, having been 4,996,000 gallons, (of which 83,345 gallons were East Indian,) the average entries for home consumption have been 3,050,312 gallons; one gallon of which only, during the whole triennial term, being $\frac{1}{9,150,936}$th of the aggregate amount, was East Indian.

But the indirect, or rather more remote, consequences of the partiality of which we complain are still more injurious; and that not to the natives of India alone, but also to the people of this country. The whole concatenation of evil cannot, however, be understood by those who have not studied the subject, without some preliminary explanation of the state of things in the West Indies, which has brought the question to its present crisis.

Owing partly to the natural and unavoidable effect of the breaking up of the system of slavery—aggravated by mismanagement or apathy in some instances, and by irritation, injustice, and reciprocal wrong in others, and partly also, in some of the colonies, to drought—the crops in the West Indies have fallen very considerably short of their former standard. The sugar imported into this country from those colonies in 1839, was less, by more than 1,200,000 cwts. than the average imports of the five years ending with 1832; and less, by nearly 500,000 cwts. than the imports of 1837; which, again, were considerably smaller than those of any year since 1814. And the increase of population in this country has enhanced the disproportion of the supply to the demand.

The primary consequence of this disproportion has been, of course, as is too well known, a great rise in the price of sugar. British India, which was not relieved until 1836 from the pressure of a discriminating duty, 8s. per cwt. in excess of that imposed upon the produce of the sugar colonies of the Crown, has been unable to supply the deficiency. The imports from India in 1839 did not exceed 500,000 cwts. and those of 1840 are estimated at 800,000 cwts. Even this quantity,—that supplied in 1839 being little more than half the average export of Jamaica alone in former times,—was not produced without great exertions, and very spirited outlay, on the part of the merchants and planters of Calcutta and the adjacent provinces, under the stimulus of the high prices prevalent in this country.

In fact, under existing circumstances, owing to a variety of

causes, which we shall explain in the sequel, (when we come to investigate how far the West Indian planters have reason to fear competition on even ground with the producers of our Eastern empire,) sugar cannot be grown and manufactured cheaply in British India. The truth, as to this point, lies somewhere between the sanguine anticipations of Mr Trevelyan, and the desponding estimates of Mr Larpent. When the former gentleman says that the valley of the Ganges could supply the whole world, he shows, by what he afterwards states of the rent of sugar-land, and of the necessity of irrigation from wells by the labour of oxen, or even of men, that it can be, under such circumstances,—superadded to the great home demand, and the very high rate of interest which obtains throughout India,—only at such a price as the article bears at present in the market of Great Britain; and which it is neither probable nor desirable that it should maintain. On the other hand, we conceive that Mr Larpent forms too low an estimate of the results which may reasonably be expected, at no very distant date, from the greater and more free application of English capital and energy to the agriculture of British India, and to the rude processes of manufacture now prevalent in that country; and from the tendency of the successful cultivation of one staple to stimulate by rendering cheaper, and therefore more profitable, the production of other articles. Indigo has already acted in this manner on sugar. And commercial enterprize must be encouraged by the increased and increasing facilities of communication with our Eastern empire, and by the improvement of its general administration.

At the same time, the parliamentary evidence furnishes abundant proof, that up to the present time, at least, nothing but the factitiously high price of sugar has enabled the East Indian producer to export any considerable quantity to this country. Upon this point, the testimony of Messrs Larpent and Rogers, founded upon practical experience, and fully supported by facts and figures, is quite conclusive. In 1839, the former gentleman sent out an order for 300 tons of sugar, giving 'very large limits,' —as high, he thinks, as rupees 12 per maund of 82 lbs; but he could not get a single pound at the port of shipping; 'and at 'that time, when sugar was to be had, it was not to be had 'under rupees 10, 11, or 12, in the interior.'—'At rupees 9 per 'maund, exchange 2s. 1d., freight L.5, it will stand in London at '34s. per cwt., all expenses paid to London; at rupees 10, it 'will stand at 37s.; at rupees 11, at 40s.; at rupees 12, at 43s. '10d. Then there are dock-charges (about 7d. per cwt.) and 'various charges for commission and insurance to be added; and 'thus putting the duty at 24s., you will see what profit there is

'on the price of sugars in the market: it may be now some-'where about 67s., duty included.' Mr Larpent adds, 'My 'memorandum is, that good Benares sugar has been rupees 9 'for these twenty years.'—(2433–2441.) Mr Sym states, that on the 10th January last, the price in Calcutta was from rupees 11 to rupees 12, 8, per maund.—(1120.)

Mr Rogers has personally tried the experiment of manufacturing sugar in Bengal, at a place where, from being the proprietor of very extensive indigo factories, he has a great command of land; and 'superior European superintendents, and all 'the superior native superintendents, paid by the indigo works; 'and the greater part of the buildings were eligible for the pur-'poses of sugar.' Yet, in spite of these and other advantages, the result of the speculation (which Mr Rogers displayed to the Committee, by producing before it the accounts actually furnished 'between partner and partner, without any motive or 'reason for deception') has been so unsatisfactory, that the money invested in it would have been better employed if lent without risk at the ordinary interest of the country.—(4426–4469.)

Some of the causes which combine to produce this result are beyond the reach of legislation; except in so far as the wise and benevolent administration of British India will certainly, though gradually, tend to the moral and physical improvement of that noble country. But there is one hinderance to the production of sugar at such a cost as will admit of its being brought to England, with a reasonable profit to the importer, at other seasons than those of scarcity—which is patent on the surface—and which it is within the power, as it is assuredly the duty, of the legislature immediately to remove. We refer to the duty of 15s. per gallon on East Indian rum, which absolutely excludes it, as we have shown, from the English market—(the difference of 6s. between the duties on East and West Indian rums being more than three times the value of the former at the port of shipment)—and which, when coupled with the corresponding treatment of the article in all of the Crown colonies, with the exception of Canada, (where it is admitted on favourable terms, solely through a blunder in the framing of an act of Parliament,) detracts to a most ruinous extent from its commercial value.

The effect of this circumstance upon the cost of manufacturing sugar, needs but a brief explanation even to the least informed. Sugar cannot be made without leaving as refuse the material from which rum is distilled. The operation of converting this refuse into rum is not expensive; and when the whole produce of the cane can be profitably worked up and sold, the sugar, of

course, costs the producer much less than if he were obliged to throw away, or to sell for a trifle (as has very generally been the case in India) the molasses and skimmings of the boiling process. When waste or sacrifice is unavoidable, the sugar-planter is exactly in the same predicament in which the English farmer would be placed, if prevented from turning the straw of his crops to any profitable use; with this aggravation, that the rum stands in a much higher relation of value to the sugar, than the straw to the corn.

Hitherto the molasses, &c., have been principally sold to native confectioners and distillers; but Mr Sym, a gentleman who holds 60,000 acres in the district of Goruckpue, about 500 miles from Calcutta, where he manufactures sugar to a considerable extent, states, that although he 'would rather sell 'them for very little at the works, than be at the trouble of 'sending them to Calcutta,' he has now altogether outstripped the demand for them. He says, 'Our last year's molasses, I 'understand, were not sold at all; to the best of my present 'knowledge, there was no market in the neighbourhood for 'them.'—(862.) He adds, that the molasses have hitherto paid from 4s. to 5s. per cwt. of the cost of manufacturing sugar; and this at the low price of 1s. 6d. per maund of 82 lbs., at which they have been sold to the confectioners.—(868.) Of course, if the duty were such as to admit East Indian rums to a fair competition with the produce of the West Indies in the English market, the share which the molasses, &c., would pay of the whole cost of growing and working up the sugar-cane, would be much larger. But it is to add insult to the understanding, to injury to the interests of the East Indian planter and merchant, to spin sophistical arguments to show that they are not at all, or very slightly, wronged, because their rum is not excluded from every market of the world; or because, at a moment of unparalleled high prices, it is saleable in England, at a profit, for navy contracts or for exportation. No one, however, can be better aware than Mr Gladstone, (who appears to have examined Mr Sym and Mr Rogers, with a view to elicit an admission, that there is not at present any difficulty in disposing of East Indian rum to advantage,) that, at the existing unequal rates of duty, nothing but the short production of the West Indies could have afforded any opening, narrow as it is, for the introduction of that article; and that prudent men cannot be expected to venture their capital in an undertaking, the success of which must necessarily be contingent upon circumstances connected with the amount of labour available in the Anglo-American sugar colonies, altogether beyond their control.

In fact, the narrowness of the market depreciates East Indian rum below its real value. It is of no use in England except for certain limited purposes; and the large purchasers know that they have the importers—who can send the article only to one or two places—to a great degree in their power.* Again, there is much inconvenience in the purchase of it. The large dealers in spirits vat them in bond; but they must have distinct vats for East Indian rum, as the mixture of a single gallon of it with a thousand or ten thousand gallons of West Indian rum, would subject the whole to the duty of 15s. It is in evidence, that, but for this circumstance, East Indian rum could be very advantageously used in what is called 'parting,' *i. e.* giving flavour to the richer spirits of the West Indies. There is nothing more certain in trade than that such disabilities must depreciate. †

We must again quote Mr Rogers, whose evidence entirely bears out that of Mr Sym. He is asked,—'Would you have 'built your sugar manufactory, if it had not been in the ex-'pectation, whether well or ill grounded, that the duties on su-'gar and rum would be equalized? Certainly not.—(4470.) If 'the duties on rum were equalized, you would then make a much 'larger profit? Yes, and if the duties on rum are not equalized, 'we must give it up.' Again, 'If your belief and opinion was, 'that the duties would not be equalized, or that there was a strong 'probability that they would not be equalized, would you extend 'your risk in the cultivation of sugar? I would not: I would 'make the first loss the least, by selling the whole sugar factories 'that I have got, sacrificing the whole outlay.'—(4560.)

In a word, if those duties be not equalized, British India can aid in supplying us with sugar only when the price of that necessary of life is extravagantly high; and the consequence must be—if the people of England will endure it—that the West Indies will have a monopoly of that article as well as of rum.

But we have exhibited, as yet, only a part of the mischief inflicted upon Great Britain by the partiality complained of. The preference given to West Indian rum does not merely shut out East Indian rum, and raise the price of East Indian sugar;—it also diminishes the supply, and, consequently, raises the price of West Indian sugar. This results from the circumstance, that

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* It is not, perhaps, generally known, that the merchant service must take one-half of their ship stores in West Indian rum. For the remaining moiety, East Indian rum is on no better footing than rum made by slave labour, French brandy, Geneva, or any other foreign spirits.

† See Questions 881 and 882, and 4543 to 4570.

the West Indian planter having to meet the East Indian sugar in the market, on comparatively even terms, (though we have shown how the unequal duties on rum affect this competition,) but having an absolute monopoly of rum for home consumption, finds the manufacture of the latter article to be the most profitable mode of working up the cane.

There is ample proof of the correctness of this position both in the statistical returns, and in the evidence before us. Collating the Appendices, (Nos. 8 and 16) to the Report from the Committee of the House of Commons, we find that the imports of sugar and rum from the British plantations in America, during the last three years, were severally as follows:—

Year.	SUGAR. Cwts.	RUM. Proof Gallons.
1837, . . .	3,305,238 . .	4,421,212
1838, . . .	3,521,434 . .	4,648,752
1839, . . .	2,823,931 . .	4,113,977

This statement shows that the manufacture of rum has suffered much less reduction than that of sugar. We have direct evidence as to the cause of this difference, in the examination of Mr B. B. Greene, agent for the management of several estates in the West Indies. 'We have written out,' he says, 'to 'alter the proportions on one or two estates in Jamaica, and 'directed more rum to be made and less sugar, in consequence 'of the rum being of greater value than the sugar from which it 'is made:' and again, 'At present the falling off in rum is not 'in proportion to the falling off in sugar; at least, I believe it 'so happens at present; and I think, owing to the high price 'which rum bears, that many planters have been anxious to 'make a larger quantity of it; the quantity has not fallen off in 'proportion to the quantity of sugar.'* This is, in fact, the recoil upon the heads of the people of England, of the unwise and unfair preference with which they have suffered their rulers to treat one class of their colonies, to the injury of other, and certainly not less valuable, possessions.

This course of policy has been pursued so long, that the habit of regarding fiscal questions solely as they affect the interests of this or the other class, in unconcealed disregard of the interests of the public, has become, in some minds, altogether inveterate. Several of the witnesses examined before the Committees, made it their principal object to prove, that spirits are made, or might

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* Answers to Questions 1177 and 1188.

be made, in India, so cheap and so good, that it is indispensable to exclude them by a duty very much in excess of that levied upon West Indian or home-made spirits; lest their merits in those respects should cause them to supersede all other articles in the market. Mr B. Greene tells the Committee of the House of Lords, 'that when rice is combined with molasses, he considers 'them the most perfect materials that can be combined to produce 'the most perfect spirit.'—(1072.) Statements are given in to show how dangerously cheap and excellent—'9d. better and 7d. 'cheaper,' (Idem, 1082)—spirits could be manufactured in India; as if it were an object that the people of England should be compelled, notwithstanding, to drink what is comparatively dear and bad; or as if it were not desirable that the revenue should benefit by the difference between the two costs of production, leaving to the consumer the advantage of using a superior article. Mr M'Queen is just as explicit upon this point as Mr Greene. He is asked—'What would be the effect of the introduction into the 'British market, to any considerable extent, of spirits distilled 'either from rice or cane juice in India, upon West India rum, or 'upon British-made spirits?' He replies, 'The effect would 'be exceedingly injurious indeed, from the superiority of the 'spirits that could be distilled from the pure juice of the cane in 'India. If admitted into this country upon equal duties as West 'India rum, it would certainly supersede West India rum in 'this country, because it could be sold much cheaper, and it 'would have the same effect upon all British-made spirits, espe-'cially the malt spirits, and the raw grain spirits which are used 'in rectifying, because the East India rice spirit would be made 'cheaper than the raw grain spirit.' *

The mention of rice spirits here and elsewhere in the evidence, is a bugbear, got up to alarm the distillers, maltsters, and barley growers, in order to bring them to the rescue of the West Indian interest; for it is in evidence that no such spirits are made in India, and all that is demanded on behalf of that country is the equalization of the duty on rum. It is urged, indeed, that if the duty on rum were equalized, the rice spirits, when made, would be used to adulterate and increase the quantity of rum; but as Mr M'Queen (the great authority for this fearful anticipation of fraud on the Customs) informs us, that a gallon of rum can be made in India for 9¼d. (Q. 3146), whilst 'the 'prime cost of a gallon of rice spirits in India' is 11d. (Q. 3162), no person who does not fear that a bad sovereign will

* Question 3182.

be passed upon him between two halfpence, need be under any apprehension that either the revenue, or the West India planters, will be wronged by the substitution of a costly for a cheap article. The testimony of Messrs Gouger (Qs. 2085-2100) and Rogers, (Qs. 4579-4581), is quite conclusive as to the fact, that rice is not at present distilled in Bengal to any extent worthy of notice. The latter gentleman states, with great truth, that the excise laws and practices are most efficient in India, to prevent the adulteration of spirits manufactured for exportation; and the government has a direct interest in such prevention, there being an export duty of 2½ per cent on grain spirits, whilst spirits distilled from the produce of the sugar-cane are free. But this explanation is only needed by the uninstructed. The real alarm,—in which the British public, when once apprised of the true cause of the outcry, is not likely to participate,—is that India, if admitted to a fair competition, will supply our market with such superior rum, at such a low price, that the West Indians will not be able to contend against it. We do not believe,—for reasons founded on the present and probable future state of things both in the East and West Indies, which we shall presently state,—that this will be the case; but it certainly appears to us to be but common justice, both to the people of England and to the people of India, that the contending parties should be placed on equal ground; in order that, whichever may carry off the prize, the full benefits of the contest may be secured to the public of England.

We have now reached a point in the investigation of the matter at issue between the planters of the East and West Indies, and their respective supporters, at which other and broader considerations, connected with our home manufactures, interweave themselves with the question which we have been discussing. It is necessary, therefore, to the effective treatment, as a whole, of the important subject before us, that we should combine some new threads with those which we have been hitherto pursuing.

The Select Committee of the House of Lords lays down the following sound principles, in its Report on the Petition of the East India Company:—'It appears to the Committee that the 'general principle upon which commercial regulations, affecting 'the intercourse between the United Kingdom and the Colonial 'dependencies, should rest, should be that of perfect equality, 'subject to exception only where the permanent interests of the 'whole Empire, or the temporary circumstances of any part of 'our foreign possessions, may seem to render such exception ne-'cessary or expedient; that no partial favour should grant to

'one colony any advantage over another, either in the colonial 'ports or in those of the United Kingdom; still less that Par- 'liament should partially secure for the produce and manufac- 'tures of the United Kingdom, any advantage in any colonial 'port over the competing produce and manufactures of its own 'dependencies; for it is the firm conviction of the Committee, 'that colonial possessions, scattered over the four quarters of the 'globe, and legislatively dependent on the acts of a distant Go- 'vernment, can only be maintained in peaceful and willing 'obedience, by making strict justice and impartiality the sole 'guide of every legislative proceeding by which they may be 'affected.'

After specifying one or two comparatively unimportant cases in which, in the judgment of the Committee, these principles should be immediately acted upon,* the Report proceeds:—'It would 'have been very gratifying to the Committee had they deemed 'themselves justified in recommending further, at the present 'moment, that the duty on East Indian rum should be at once, 'and in all cases, assimilated to that levied in British ports on 'rum, the produce of the colonies in which slavery has been 'recently abolished; but they are reluctantly compelled to admit 'that the circumstances detailed in the evidence as to the state 'of transition in which those colonies now are, afford grounds 'for excepting them at present from the rigorous application of 'the principle of equality.' Accordingly, India is sentenced to struggle on under the existing system of partiality, 'although,' it

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* 'The Committee first strongly recommend the immediate removal 'of all those distinctive duties in Australia and in Ceylon, by which ad- 'vantage is given to the industry of the United Kingdom over that of 'India, and of our other Colonial dependencies.' There is no distinction between the Cape of Good Hope and the colonies that are specifically mentioned; yet so late as the 10th of August last, a new tariff for the former colony was passed by her Majesty in Council, under which [besides that the sugar of the Crown colonies is admitted at 2s. 3d. per cwt., and the spirits of those colonies, or of Great Britain, at 4d. per gallon, (French brandy bearing the same duty,) whilst East Indian sugar and rum are placed on the same footing as foreign sugar and spirits, and are severally charged at 4s. 6d. per cwt., and 1s. per gallon,] 'Goods, wares, and 'merchandize, not otherwise charged with duty, and not declared free of 'duty, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United King- 'dom, or of any of her Majesty's possessions abroad,' are charged at the rate of 3 per cent; but East Indian goods, &c. have to pay, in common with those of 'any foreign state,' 10 per cent.

is acknowledged that 'it must have the effect of withholding from 'those engaged in the cultivation of the sugar-cane a new source 'of profit, in which it is admitted that, on general principles, 'they have a just right to participate; and of postponing, for a 'period, the important relief which the consumer in this country 'would derive from the increased cheapness of sugar.'

Thus it is that general principles are too often treated by our legislators. In the abstract, that is, when they interfere with the advantage of no powerful interest, and can be but of little, if any, practical benefit to the community, they are strongly asserted and commended. In the opposite case, those who thrive upon the perpetuation of abuses, and those who are disposed to aid in maintaining them, never find any difficulty in showing some special reason, more or less plausible, why general principles ought to be set aside, and partial favour be made the rule of proceeding. But we think that we shall be able to prove that 'the state of transition,' which is made the sole argument for the extended grant of the monopoly of rum to the West Indies and the Mauritius, is by no means peculiar to 'the colonies in which 'slavery has been recently abolished;' but that British India has been for some years, and still is, in that predicament—owing solely to the favour which Great Britain has shown to herself in her commercial intercourse with her magnificent, but unjustly treated, dependency. On the other hand, there is ample evidence to show, that under whatever difficulties the West Indian proprietors at present labour, they are in a great measure attributable to their own mismanagement, want of energy, and loss of temper; which, again, owe their origin more to the habitual favouritism with which they have been treated by the legislature of Great Britain, than to all other causes put together. If they had not been so spoiled, they would now be at least as competent to walk alone, without the crutches of discriminative duties, as British India has been able to bear up against the heavy disadvantages to which she has been so long subjected; and we should not now be required, after paying to the West Indies the best part of L.20,000,000, as the price of the emancipation of their slaves, to undertake, at the expense of the overburdened middle and lower classes of this country, and to the admitted injury of India, the proverbially hopeless task of teaching men to swim, without allowing them to venture into the water.

To demonstrate, in the first place, that British India is in 'a 'state of transition:'—Her cotton manufacture, a branch of useful industry, which, probably, was first cultivated by her children, has been gradually destroyed by the superior skill and capital of England. But the contest has not been carried on

fairly. The dominant country has abused its power, to take undue advantage of the helplessness of its dependency. The cotton fabrics of England, strong in its steam-engines and its spinning-jennies, and in the enormous concentrated wealth which confers upon it such unrivalled power as a manufacturing country, have been admitted into India at a duty of 3½ per cent; whilst the products of the rude industry of India—wonderful, in many instances, with reference to the unfavourable circumstances of their manufacture, for their beauty and substantial excellency—are charged in Great Britain a duty of 10 per cent. The result has been the almost absolute annihilation of the cotton manufacture in India; attended, of course, with the sacrifice of a very large proportion of whatever capital—large in relation to the poverty of the country—was invested in it; and with great suffering to the numerous class of weavers, their families, and dependents. It was of this state of things that the late Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, spoke in his Minute of the 30th May 1829, recommending the free settlement of Europeans in India. 'No stronger argument can be adduced 'in favour of the present proposition,' said his Lordship, 'than 'is exhibited by the effect which European skill and machinery 'have produced against the prosperity of India. In the last 'despatch in the commercial department from the India House, 'dated 3d September 1838, the Court declare that they are at 'last obliged to abandon the only remaining portion of the trade 'in cotton manufactures, both in Bengal and Madras, because, 'through the intervention of power-looms, the British goods 'have a decided superiority in quality and price. Cotton piece 'goods, for so many ages the staple manufacture of India, seem 'thus for ever lost. The Dacca muslins, celebrated over the 'whole world for their beauty and fineness, are also annihilated 'from the same cause; nor is the silk trade likely long to escape 'equal ruin. In the same despatch the Court describe the great 'depression of price which this article sustained in consequence 'of the diminished cost of the raw material in England, and of 'the rivalry of British silk handkerchiefs. The sympathy of the 'Court is deeply excited by the report of the Board of Trade, 'exhibiting the gloomy picture of the effects of a commercial revolution, productive of so much suffering to numerous classes 'in India, and hardly to be paralleled in the history of commerce.'

This representation is by no means exaggerated. Mr Trevelyan states that 'the finer sorts of Indian cotton manufactures 'have almost disappeared. Only a very small quantity of Dacca 'muslin is now made, as an extraordinary luxury for the Rajahs 'and other wealthy natives; the peculiar kind of silky cotton

'formerly grown in Bengal, from which the fine Dacca muslins 'used to be made, is now hardly ever seen: the population of the 'town of Dacca has fallen from 150,000 to 30,000 or 40,000; 'and the jungle and malaria are fast encroaching on the town.' —(Q. 1824.) Mr Larpent quotes a paper given to him by a gentleman who had resided thirty-five years in India in the civil service, who states that, at one time, 200,000 persons were employed in the manufacture of the fine cotton fabrics of Dacca, in that city and its environs. 'It is supposed that a much less 'number than 10,000 in the district now practise the art. They 'have all disappeared. The city is reduced from 300,000 in- 'habitants, to about 30,000.'—(Q. 2776.)

The statistical returns fully bear out this testimony. Those documents show that the quantity of cotton piece-goods imported into Great Britain from the East Indies has fallen off to the extent exhibited in the annexed statement.

	White Calicoes and Muslin, Pieces.	Dyed Cottons and Grass-cloth, Pieces.	Total, Pieces.
1814	967,652	298,956	1,266,608
1821	275,352	259,143	534,495
1828	203,848	218,656	422,504
1835	Particulars not given.		306,086
1837	Do.	Do.	414,450*

We learn also from the evidence, that whilst the average value of all piece-goods annually imported into this country from India, during the five years ending with 1814, was L.1,400,000, the value of cotton goods brought to England, and entered for home consumption during the five last years, has averaged only L.2,526, and of silk goods L.92,285 per annum.—(Qs. 554 and 610.)—'In 1815,' says Mr R. M. Martin, 'the cotton goods 'exported from India were 13,000,000 of rupees (L.1,300,000;) 'in 1832 they were less than 1,000,000 (L.100,000). In the 'year 1800, Calcutta exported piece-goods alone to the amount 'of 3,908,810 in number, and in value L.1,795,887; while in '1835, the total number of cotton, silk, and embroidered piece- 'goods received in Calcutta from the interior, was only 348,727 'pieces, value L.150,000. The cotton piece-goods received at 'Calcutta from the interior in 1812, were 4,000,000 of pieces; in '1835–36 they were only 250,000.'—(Q. 3877.)

But this change of circumstances—great as it is—is only a part of 'the transition' that has taken place. Not only has India

* Appendix, No. 22.

almost entirely ceased to export her cotton manufactures, but her native industry has been superseded to an enormous extent, in her own markets, by the products of the British power-looms. The appendix, No. 23, displays the following remarkable facts :—

'*An account of the quantities of British manufactures exported to India.*

	Cottons and Muslins, White and Plain. Yards.	Cottons and Muslins, Checked and Dyed. Yards.	Total. Yards.
1814	213,408	604,800	818,208
1821	9,423,352	9,715,374	19,138,726
1828	30,411,857	12,410,220	42,822,077
1835	39,459,172	12,318,105	51,777,277
1837	Particulars not given.		64,213,633

Being about a yard for every man, woman, and child in British India. Even this, however, is not all. We are not satisfied with displacing the complete native manufactures to this enormous extent. In 1825, we began to return to India her own cotton in a state ready for weaving. In that year, the value of twist and yarn sent to India was L.16,000. In 1837, it had increased to L.602,000.* Upon receiving this information, Mr Irving appears to have asked, 'That must have increased the 'looms employed in the manufacture of cotton in India, must it 'not?'—And Mr Brocklehurst, 'Though looms have been sup-'pressed by the introduction of British manufactures, probably 'the number has been increased by the quantity of yarn sent out 'for another manufacture?' To which Mr Melvill replied, 'I 'think not, as they must have previously made the yarn them-'selves.'† Such are the miserable straws which even intelligent men are compelled to catch at, when they are sinking under the hopeless weight of a bad cause.

We desire, however, that we may not be misunderstood. We have quoted Lord William Bentinck's Minute only to show, by unexceptionable testimony, that 'the transition' which has taken place—to the signal benefit of England—(the export of whose manufactures to India has increased from L.2,819,000, on the average of the three years ending with 1835, to L.3,817,000, on the average of the three years ending with 1838,)—has necessarily inflicted severe suffering upon certain classes of the natives of our Eastern empire. But we by no means think, with his Lordship, that the effects exhibited have been 'produced by Euro-

* Mr Melvill: Answer to Question 604.

† Answers to Questions 605 and 607.

'pean skill and machinery against the prosperity of India;' still less do we agree with the opinion more explicitly stated by Mr Irving, that 'the manufactures of this country that go into India 'so materially interfere with the native manufactures that in 'place of giving wealth they give poverty to the inhabitants;' or with Mr R. M. Martin, that 'where we are supplanting the 'native manufacturers,' we are 'consequently impoverishing the 'country;' that by the increased importation of cotton twist, 'great injury has been caused to India;' and that that importation is to be regretted, with reference to the interests of the people of India, 'because it displaces to that extent a portion 'of their manufactures without giving them any corresponding 'benefit.' On the contrary, our conviction as to the bearing of the matter upon the real interests of India, is entirely in unison with that stated by Mr Melvill in the following passage of his evidence. He is asked, 'What, in your opinion, would be the effect of 'raising the duty on the import of British manufactured articles 'into India, which now stands at an *ad valorem* from one and a 'half to three per cent, until some equalization of the duties on 'the raw produce of India brought into this country was 'effected?' He replied, 'Independently of the check which it 'would give to British manufactures, I think the imposition of 'higher duties on articles used in India would be injurious to the 'people of that country.—Why so?—Because it would make the 'articles dearer.'*

This is sound and enlightened principle; let it by all means be acted upon. Let the machinery of Manchester and Paisley be worked to its full power; let it be improved until the reduced cost of its produce shall enable every native of India to clothe himself comfortably for half the price which his father was compelled to pay for an inferior article. It is impossible that the great body of the people of any country can be injured by being enabled to supply their wants at a cheap rate. But let us deal with 'one weight and one measure.' Let us not proclaim, and act upon, this doctrine by pouring our cotton cloth, yarn, and twist into British India, at an almost nominal duty, whilst we impose a duty of ten per cent. upon the expiring cotton manufactures of that country; and—which is a far more practical

* Questions 575 and 576. The really wise and practical retaliation would be to abolish the distinctions in the duties levied in India upon goods imported and exported on British and foreign bottoms respectively. Such a step would probably compel Parliament to do justice, for very shame's sake.

grievance—protect our own dearer and inferior silk goods by a duty of twenty per cent. This is not common justice; it is not common sense. It would be quite as advantageous for the people of England to have from India the cheapest and best silk pocket-handkerchiefs, as it is for the people of India to have from England the cheapest and best cotton piece-goods. We can see that free-trade is a blessing to India; why should we imagine that it would be a curse to ourselves?

But the matter of the silk trade and silk duties demands fuller exposition; though we need not enter here upon the history of the futile endeavour, so long persevered in, to secure our home manufacture from rivalry, and to ensure the prosperity of those engaged in it, by prohibiting the importation of all foreign silk goods. It is sufficient for our purpose to show that British India has been treated, in regard to the silk manufacture, with uniform selfishness and injustice. Whilst we have given our possessions in India no advantage over the south of Europe, or any other country, in supplying us with raw silk—(a course of proceeding, which, though we by no means find fault with it, is very different from the preference given to the staple productions of the colonies of the Crown,*) and have burdened her manufactures with a duty of twenty per cent, we have compelled her to admit our manufactures at a duty of three and a half per cent. Yet even this must be acknowledged to be a great step in advance; for up to 1826, the corahs and bandannas of India, though used by everybody above the poorest classes, were actually contraband.† The consequence was, that whilst they were smuggled directly into this country by thousands, they were sold by hundreds of thousands, in bond, at the East India Company's sales, to be exported to the continent; for the purpose of being smuggled back again, at a greatly enhanced price to the consumer, but equally barren to the revenue.

Since 1826, thanks to Mr Huskisson—who stated most truly, in his speech of the 8th March 1824, that 'to the prohibitive 'system it was to be ascribed, that in silk only, in the whole 'range of manufactures, we were left behind our neighbours'—

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* The duty of 1d. per lb. levied on all raw silk not being *ad valorem*, it falls of course much more heavily upon the coarse staple of India, than upon the more valuable produce of France or Italy.

† Corah is the plain silk cloth, (called by some 'grey cloth',) undyed. 'Bandanna' is the same article dyed; 'choppa' the same printed. But all dyed or printed handkerchiefs appear to be called indiscriminately 'bandannas' in England.

our measures have been somewhat wiser. Still, the protecting duties have been greatly too high; and they have produced, in the exact ratio of their practical operation, all the evil consequences of monopoly. As regards India, the effect of the existing system has been to encourage the manufacturers of England to waste their time and their skill in making articles which India is capable of making both better and cheaper; to the neglect of branches of the art into which she could not enter into competition with us, and for the produce of which she would be an excellent customer. Mr Rogers informed the Committee that India is 'capable of supplying any sort of corahs, and the rough 'sort of silks—a great part of the value of which consists in the 'raw material—much cheaper than they can possibly be manu-'factured in England.' On the other hand, it appears 'that 'French manufactured silks—the lighter qualities of gauzes, very 'light sarcenets, and that light, showy, unsubstantial, gossamer 'sort—have been exported to a great extent to India, for native 'consumption;' notwithstanding that the duty is 'about twice as 'much as upon English silks,' solely 'because the article is su-'perior, the taste of the Indians being much cultivated in France.' Exactly in proportion as the English manufacturer is encouraged by the high protecting duty to persevere in producing the heavy silk handkerchiefs—which, after all, are not by any means equal to the article of the same description made more cheaply in India—the motive is taken from him to exert his superior ingenuity in making the light showy silks, the material of which costs little; which the people of India cannot make for themselves; 'unless 'they pay ten times the cost for the manufacturing;' and which, if we do not persist in denying them the means, by excluding the product of their ruder industry, they would be most forward to purchase. Mr Rogers states that, 'if the production of arti-'cles suited to their taste were cultivated, he has no doubt that 'a vast trade could be carried on between this country and India 'in silk goods;' since there is 'no article which possibly could 'be more suitable to their taste: for, more or less, every man or 'woman wears some article of silk produce on their person.'—'Why do you come to that conclusion?' (as to the extent of trade that might be driven)—'Because very considerable quantities are 'imported from France. French goods bear an excessive duty 'in India, as compared with that charged on British goods im-'ported there. They can only meet that by having cultivated 'the taste of the natives more, and, of course, by supplying them 'with an article that they can afford to give a higher price for.' Such is the effect of legislative protection. Our manufacturers are taught to rely upon something else than their own ingenuity

and exertions; consequently, ingenuity is not exercised, and exertions are not made; and in spite of a discriminating duty, they are beaten by foreigners in the market of our own transmarine possessions.

The present condition of the trade in manufactured silks, between India, England, and the Continent, is very remarkable. The change of system, incomplete as it was, which took place in 1826, has had the effect of doubling the export of British silk manufactures—the average value of the exports in the three years ending with 1824, having been L.368,753; that in the three years ending with 1840, L.713,013. Still, enough of the old leaven of protection has been retained to keep some branches of the trade in an unhealthy, unnatural state. One witness, Mr John Francis, told the Committee that he could purchase a piece of Indian corah for a less price than he could buy a pound of silk wherewith to imitate it. He had 'laid 'out L.2000 in machinery, for the purpose of making corahs, 'and that is now standing still,' as he lost 25 per cent in his last speculation of working up L.4000's worth of coarse silk. He employed 150 to 200 men in manufacturing bandannas only, besides about 80 engaged in working the machinery. All these have been thrown out of employ, and he has not now a single loom going. (Questions 6784-89.) By struggles such as these, possession of the home market has been partially maintained; but the trade with the Continent in British bandannas has been superseded by the Indian article; as the following table, showing the value of British and Indian silk handkerchiefs exported to France, will demonstrate.

Years.	British Silks.	Indian Silks.
	£	£
1832, .	50,600	28,500
1833, .	36,300	60,400
1834, .	32,700	77,700
1835, .	16,800	114,400
1836, .	15,600	107,600
1837, .	10,000	174,500
1838, .	9,400	202,200
1839, .	5,500	168,500

To meet this largely increasing demand in France, and the gradually increasing demand for home consumption, the importation from India of bandannas and choppas, has increased from 71,300 pieces in 1831, to 146,000 pieces in 1839; and of corahs, from 66,400 pieces in 1831, to 363,600 pieces in 1839.

British industry has been beneficially employed in printing the latter; an art in which we excel not only our Indian fellow subjects, but also, as it appears, our ingenious neighbours of France, who deal with us very largely for the article. When shall we rest satisfied with doing that which we do best, and cease to think it profitable to pay our countrymen for making goods dear and bad, which we can buy cheap and good elsewhere; and that too, in the present instance, from those who would gladly take in return our own cotton or light silk manufactures?*

We think we have demonstrated, that certain classes in India have suffered grievously from 'a state of transition,' induced by England, and of which England has reaped the principal benefit; that the once flourishing cotton manufacture of India is almost extinct; and that she is struggling against great difficulties and disadvantages, imposed on her by England, to increase her export of the coarser silk fabrics, in which circumstances enable her both to excel and to undersell the British manufacturer. Further, her woollen goods are excluded from consumption in this country, by a duty of 30 per cent; though Mr M'Gregor states, in his evidence before the Committee on Import Duties, that our woollen manufacturers have represented to the Board of Trade, that 'they want no protection whatever.' Add to this, that the natives of India are awake to the injustice with which they are treated, and have actually represented their grievances in very forcible terms, by petition, to the local government.† Under such circumstances—the enormous tribute of L.4,000,000 per annum being also borne in mind—we leave it to the justice of England to say, whether it be equitable that her

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* We are glad to find the opinions expressed in the text entirely borne out by the evidence of Mr M'Gregor, of the Board of Trade, before the Committee on Import Duties. That gentleman remarks: 'It is a curious fact with regard to some manufactures that are protected—the linen and silk manufactures, for example—that those two branches of industry have been more frequently in a greater state of distress and misery than any other. I allude chiefly to the silk manufactures, which have been most highly protected.' He states also, that 'notwithstanding the high duty, the legal imports (of silk) yielded L.247,361, net revenue. Which shows, that whilst we receive a great revenue on silk goods, silk manufactures are manufactured so much cheaper in other countries as to be able to bear a duty of from 30 to 40 per cent. Both facts are, at the same time, evidence of the fictitious state of manufactures requiring such protection.'

† See Mr Melvill's evidence, Questions 561-63; and Mr Trevelyan's, Questions 1769-71.

Indian subjects should be any longer excluded from advantages, 'in which it is admitted' (by the Committee of the House of Lords,) 'that on general principles, they have a just right to 'participate,'—merely because the West Indians do not now, from diminished production, enjoy the enormous profits which their monopoly formerly secured to them.

But, as we have substantiated the wrongs and the just claims of British India by evidence that cannot be gainsaid, it must not be expected that we shall admit, without close investigation, the allegations of those who have been selected to represent the suffering state of the West Indian interest, and the consequent necessity of continued favour. Their plea for such partial indulgence is founded solely—as in decency it must be, with reference to the liberal compensation paid by the public for the abolition of slavery—on 'the state of transition,' in respect to the command of labour, through which the sugar colonies are alleged to be passing. Even Mr M'Queen, who is 'certain that the 'increased cost of production is not less than 9s. to 10s. per cwt. 'upon sugar,' (2889) would have no fear of the competition of British India, if labour were procurable in the West Indies upon what he deems reasonable terms, (3119.) Let us inquire whether it be true that labour is, and threatens to continue, generally deficient throughout those colonies; and how far such deficiency, where it is proved to exist, is either attributable to the unwise or unjust conduct of the planters and their agents, or might have been remedied by a more judicious and energetic course of conduct upon their part.

There is no doubt that there has been, as we have already shown, a diminished exportation of sugar from the West Indies. And this, though in some measure to be ascribed to drought, and, in a still smaller degree, to increased consumption in the colonies themselves, is beyond question attributable, in the main, to the difficulty—in some cases, perhaps, the impossibility—of procuring a sufficient and constant supply of labour during the excitement and unsteadiness attendant upon the crisis of emancipation.

But it is undeniable, that in several of the colonies, even the primary effect of that righteous measure has been any thing rather than prejudicial to the pecuniary interests of the planters. Antigua—where the legislature was wise enough to anticipate the great change in the condition of the labouring population, by dispensing altogether with the probation of apprenticeship—is reaping abundantly the good fruit of that judicious liberality. Dr Nugent, a resident in that island for twenty-five years, during twenty-three of which he was Speaker in the House of Assembly,

states, that although there has been emigration to Trinidad and Demerara, 'the labour of the country has been sufficient,' and that there has been an actual increase in the production of sugar, (5665-77); the exportation of 1838 being greater than that of any year since 1826, except 1834, and considerably above the average of the five years ending with 1818. Mr Prescod 'gives the names of five estates' (in Antigua), 'with their owners' 'names, which had been dismantled for many years, and thrown 'entirely out of cultivation, but which have been re-established 'between 1834 and 1840, and had been brought into a very 'thriving condition. Within the very same period, three stock 'farms have had sugar works erected upon them, and are now 'also in promising cultivation.'—(5987.) Sir William Colebrooke, the Governor, and Mr Joseph John Gurney, whose well-timed publication manifests throughout the most truly Christian and philanthropic* spirit, bear corresponding testimony to the great increase in the value of landed property, the redemption of mortgages, and other proofs of prosperity. In Barbadoes, again, there is no deficiency of labour. Mr Prescod, indeed, states that it is 'superabundant' (5909), though from this island also there has been emigration. The sugar exported in 1837, (cwts. 445,713), was double the average of the five years ending with 1818; and the exportation of 1838 was cwts. 27,874, in excess of that of 1837. As to the value of real property, Mr Prescod states, that the negroes 'have a great desire for land, but they cannot procure 'it.—What are the obstructions to their getting land? The 'price of land is so very high, as high as L.100 to L.200 an 'acre; but the great difficulty is to get it at any price.'—(6001-2.) The exportation of sugar from Dominica in 1838 was greater than in any year since 1834, and considerably in excess of the average of the five years ending with 1818. From Trinidad, the exportation of sugar in 1838 was more than double the average of the five years ending with 1818. Besides the islands which we have mentioned, we have Mr Gurney's unexceptionable evidence, as an eye-witness and a most careful enquirer, backed by the testimony of the many most respectable persons whom he consulted in the several colonies, and whose names and words he gives, that free labour is working well and beneficially for the land-owner in Tortola, St Kitts, Nevis, and Montserrat. There is no question that Demerara is equally thriving.

In fact, it is in Jamaica alone, comparatively speaking, that

* *A Winter in the West Indies, described in familiar Letters.* 8vo. London: 1840.

there has been any signal deficiency of labour, resulting in an equally marked defalcation of produce. 'But here,' says Mr Gurney, 'comes the critical question, the real turning point. 'To what is the diminution in the quantity of labour owing? 'I answer deliberately, but without reserve, mainly to causes 'which class under slavery, and not under freedom. It is, for 'the most part, the result of those impolitic attempts to force 'the labour of freemen, which have disgusted the peasantry, and 'led to the desertion of many of the estates.' (Pages 172, 3.) And without going so far as Mr Barrett, who states that 'the 'planters would not plant last year;—that they sacrificed their 'property to make an outcry that the people will not work; '—that the people begged for work, and they would not give 'it:'—(6421, 22.) it is clear to us that he is borne out in saying that 'the people wish to work, and will work when they 'get fairly paid,' (6426;) and that if the planters of Jamaica had manifested more judgment, more energy, more equity and reasonable forbearance, and more temper, they would not have suffered, to any extent comparable with their actual losses, from the want of labour at the first burst of the excitement of emancipation; and, still less, would now find any difficulty in maintaining their former amount of cultivation and manufacture, or even in increasing it.

The causes, indeed, of the peculiar bad working of the change of system in Jamaica are soon told. Foregoing events had generated bad blood between the negroes and their employers in that island, to a degree apparently quite unparalleled in any of the other colonies. When emancipation came, therefore, the planters were not in a temper to make reasonable allowance even for those natural ebullitions of novel freedom, with which feelings of political or social malignity had really nothing whatever to do. The new-born freemen, on the other hand, enjoyed no exemption from the evil passions of their kind; their stripes were scarcely healed; their ancles were still aching from the stocks or the shackle-bolts; many of them had seen their nearest and dearest relations shot or hung for what they could not but deem the assertion of their just rights, or their wives or daughters stretched on the ground, bleeding and writhing under the lashes of the cart-whip. These are not wrongs the remembrance of which is to be effaced speedily, even by the most righteous acts of national justice and conciliation. But great honour is due to the emancipated population for the almost absolute oblivion, to which, generally speaking, they consigned all past grievances. As, however, even the great moral revolution which had been so peaceably carried through, did not arrest the ordinary course of

the seasons; before the intoxication of the first draught of liberty had subsided, came the demand for labour,—urged too often in the tone of a master calling upon a slave to renew his hated toil. Some, who had a little hoard to support them in indolence, did not choose to work at all. Others used the licence of freedom to select walks of useful industry more agreeable to them than the field labour of which they were weary, and which was associated with all the hatefulness of bondage. A third class, who had no objection to work in sugar or coffee plantations, did not think fit to engage with their former masters, whom, perhaps, (with or without sufficient cause,) they disliked; or who considered themselves entitled to the services of their late bondsmen—still residing upon their estates—at lower wages than were given elsewhere in the neighbourhood. Men who had all their lives been slave-owners, and whom the failure of a sufficient supply of continuous labour would subject to grievous loss, could not witness such conduct, or listen to such pleas, without indignation. But, unhappily, they suffered that emotion to overcome not only their sense of justice, but their judgment in regard to their own interests; and having two courses before them, either of which, or both united, might have been pursued in such a manner as greatly to diminish, if not altogether to fend off, the losses with which they were threatened, those to whose outcries of impending ruin we are now listening, took—on the impulse of passion—a third course, which has very naturally led them into the difficulty and distress out of which they desire to persuade us that it is the duty of England and India to combine—to their own heavy common detriment—to deliver them.

We have said that the planters of Jamaica had two wise and by no means incompatible courses open to them. They might have tried generally and systematically, what many individuals tried with the best results in regard to their own interests, the plan of conciliation; 'by sincerely turning away,' (in the words of Mr Gurney), 'from all relics of slavery, to the honest free 'working of a free system.' Or they might have applied the only effectual and legitimate coercion to the languid or capricious industry of the emancipated population, by taking prompt and energetic measures for drawing to the island a sufficient stream of immigration. That this was practicable, is clear from the fact, that another island has actually effected what Jamaica has neglected to do. 'The measures that I have adopted,' says Mr Burnley, (the agent appointed by Trinidad for this special purpose), 'are very simple; as the people are extremely well in-'formed there, (in the United States), I have had nothing more 'to do than to explain to them the advantages they would de-

'rive from changing their residence from America to the island 'of Trinidad, and, in consequence, about 800 of them have al- 'ready gone to that island. I understand that the report they 'have given is favourable, and, consequently, I expect that we 'shall receive many more.'—(5440). Guiana has followed the same course, and it is a strong proof of the intelligence which Mr Burnley ascribes to the free population of colour in the United States, that upon the representations of the agent of Guiana, they deputed two of their number to ascertain and report 'the prospects for labourers emigrating to that colony.'—(5321.) Jamaica herself has tardily followed these examples. She has appointed a commissioner of immigration; and the following paragraph, announcing, doubtless, the results of his operations, appears among the heads of news received by one of the latest arrivals from America:—'Numerous free negroes are 'emigrating from Baltimore to the island of Jamaica. An Eng- 'lish ship has just sailed full of labouring coloured passengers, 'and several American ships are preparing for the same trade.' If this measure had been taken, as it might have been with equal ease and certainty of effect, in 1838 or 1839, there would have been very little, if any, interruption of the necessary continuous labour. If it had been generally united with conciliation and forbearance, the island would not now be suffering 'from 'the unfortunate state of misunderstanding between the managers 'and the labourers,' that Mr Anderson describes at length, in his answer to Question 6434; but which our limits forbid us to quote.

This misunderstanding,—though the term is too mild adequately to represent the existing relation of the parties,—has arisen from the unwise endeavour of the planters to compel labour, by the exercise of a species of coercion futile for every purpose but annoyance and exasperation. It has been attempted to make the dwellings and provision grounds of the negroes, the instruments of compelling them to work for the land-owner on whose plantation they reside, or of reducing their wages. The language used has been, 'if you will not work for me, you must quit im- 'mediately your house and land," (to the latter of which the labour of the tenant has given its principal value); 'if you demand 'so much a week for wages, I demand so much for rent, or rather 'so much for each member of your family, without reference to 'the actual value of the tenement and its appurtenances; and 'the one demand and the other shall be simultaneously ad- 'justed.' The strong arm of the law has been liberally invoked, to carry on the contest commenced on such grounds: legislation has not been spared to render it stronger. The planters being the makers, in some instances the administrators, of the laws,

enactments of the most heterogeneous description have been brought to bear upon the unfortunate labourers. There are the contract act, the poundage act, the fishery act, the huckster and pedlar act, the petty debt act, the police act, and the vagrant act; all of which (except the first, which he does not mention) Mr Gurney designates as 'local laws opposed to the true in-'tent and purpose of the act of emancipation.' 'The petty 'debt act,' he says, 'affords tremendous facilities to that oppres-'sive system of penal and fictitious rents, which is now the very 'bane of Jamaica. A police, armed with deadly weapons, is 'always, to say the least of it, a dangerous expedient; and in 'country districts where there is confessedly scarcely any crime, 'it can be regarded only as a needless source of irritation and 'alarm. Too soon may it also become an instrument of oppression 'and cruelty. Finally, in a country where there is scarcely to be 'found an instance of real vagabondism, but where labourers are 'often compelled to leave their homes in search of new locations, 'one cannot but be alarmed at the tendency of a law, which 'subjects every poor fellow who may be found sleeping under a 'hedge, or in an outhouse by the road-side, to a long term of 'imprisonment, with hard labour in a penal gang.' In other cases, still rougher measures have been taken to coerce labour, or to revenge its being withheld;—'cocoa-nut and bread-fruit 'trees have been felled; cottages have been unroofed, and some-'times demolished; pigs have been shot; provision grounds have 'been destroyed; the pleasant fruit of God's earth uprooted by 'the rude hand of violence, or trodden under feet of oxen.'

Is it reasonable, is it just, that England and India should be called upon to hold a body of men harmless against the inevitable consequences of such a course of conduct as this? It is easy to connect it with the deficiency of labour. 'Rent and wages are 'arranged,' says Mr Gurney, 'irrespectively of each other, on 'several large properties near the town, (St Anne's.) Those are 'all doing well; but on others, where rent is made the instrument 'for compelling labour, confusion and disputes have followed.' Mr Anderson, recently a member of the house of Assembly, states, 'I consider that there is in the island of Jamaica, a popu-'lation sufficient to work the capital invested in Jamaica, if there 'was a good mutual understanding,' (6437.) Again, he is asked, (6441,) 'Do you consider that immigration would be the means of 'temporary assistance, or of permanent assistance, to the island of 'Jamaica?' He replies, (having previously stated that he 'con-'siders that the present number of negroes are competent to keep 'up the cultivation to the amount of the last few years,' (6440)—

'I think it would promote the general prosperity of the island 'exceedingly, because there is a great deal of valuable land which 'is not under cultivation; but unless those misunderstandings 'between the masters and managers and the peasantry were 'rectified, there could be no prosperity, if the land were full 'of inhabitants.' Mr Gurney quotes a letter addressed to him by Dr Stewart, a clergyman of the church of England, dated 'Mandeville, Jamaica, March 28th, 1840,' who states, that 'wherever rent and labour have not been mingled together, 'prices have been reduced,' in many of the most important branches of labour, to a very considerable extent. The same gentleman speaks with equal decision, and with equal reference to facts and figures, of the reduction of the gross expenses of labour upon estates, (Pp. 155, 6.) We regret that we cannot transcribe Dr Stewart's very interesting letter at length.

The fact is, that in one case alone can slave labour be really cheaper than that of equally able-bodied freemen.* It probably is cheaper when the system is worked with the frightful recklessness of human suffering which appears to obtain in Cuba, where, with trifling exceptions, males alone are imported, with the deliberate purpose of getting the quickest and largest returns from their thewes and sinews, and of killing them off, by unmitigated toil, long before they can become burdensome through age or infirmity. Blessed be God! some years have passed since such a system could have been acted upon by Englishmen. But we are convinced that, in a pecuniary point of view, no other system will answer. When slavery is tempered with ordinary humanity, what Mr Gurney calls 'the dead-weight,'—the maintenance of 'the old, the infirm, the sick, the shammers of sickness, the 'mothers of young infants, the numerous children,' make the aggregate expense of labour ruinous. 'It is worthy of more 'than passing notice,' says the same gentleman, 'that the con-'stant tendency of slavery was to diminish capital; and now that 'it is exchanged for freedom, the want of labour on many pro-'perties is obviously to be traced merely to the want of money 'to pay for it.' This sentiment is fully substantiated by Mr Anderson, who states:—'There have been considerable difficul-

* We have put the comparison here much against our own position, for men will work when they are free, who will not work as slaves. Mr Gurney was shown an excellent stone wall, 'the whole of which was 'built under the stimulus of job work, by an invalid negro, who during 'slavery had been given up to total inaction.' Page 154.

'ties, I know, in the way of getting coin in Jamaica to pay the 'wages,—very formidable difficulties indeed; and some of the 'irregularities may have proceeded from that cause; and, I dare 'say, some may have arisen from the difficulty of the parties 'themselves in obtaining a supply of money, when the support 'of the merchant was withdrawn from them.' (6435.) It is evidently to this impoverishing tendency of mitigated slavery to which that intelligent witness, Mr Burnley, alludes, when he says—'We committed the error of suffering the existence of 'slavery, whilst the slave-trade was abolished. The system was 'continued, after the supply was cut off, whereby these colonies 'were paralysed.' (5647.) In truth, slave labour can be maintained in efficiency, and with profit to those who employ it, only by means which England will no longer tolerate.

We have dwelt upon this branch of our subject at this length, because we pledged ourselves to prove that there was no real foundation for the alarm felt or affected by the West Indian proprietors, that, if the duty were equalized, they should be driven out of the field in the supply of our market with rum by the produce of British India. The West Indians examined by the Committees are unanimous in declaring that they should have no fear for the result of such a contest, if they could obtain a sufficient supply of labour. We have, therefore, brought together a large mass of evidence to show that nothing but conduct and energy are needed to enable them to command such a supply; for the effect of even limited immigration would not be merely the addition of a few hundred hands to the labouring population of the colonies, but the coercion of that population to work for their subsistence. But there is still further proof that the West Indies are very far from being in any jeopardy of future deficiency of labour. Mr Barkley says of Jamaica, which he left so late as last April, 'I have no doubt that 'the population will increase rapidly, because the people are liv-'ing very comfortably, and morality has greatly increased, and 'is still increasing.'—(5773.) Mr Marcey told Mr Gurney that the number of the people in his neighbourhood 'was increasing, 'under freedom, in a geometrical ratio.' The same gentleman was assured by Dr Stewart, that 'concubinage, the universal 'practice of the coloured people, has wholly disappeared from 'among them. No young woman of colour thinks of forming 'such connexions now.' That clergyman married, during the last six years of slavery, 421 couples; in five years of partial or entire freedom, 2014 couples. 'The vicar of St John's, (Antigua,) during the last seven years of slavery, married only 110

'pairs of negroes. In the single year of freedom, 1839, the 'number of pairs married by him was 135.'* Under slavery, licentiousness and irregularities of every description were the rule, and population had a constant tendency to decrease. Under freedom, on the other hand, those who were once treated, and consequently behaved, like the beasts that perish, have begun to respect themselves. There is no fear that when the Almighty's ordinances are attended to, His purposes will be accomplished, by the increase of rational and responsible creatures.

There is equally satisfactory demonstration that the general condition of the labouring population throughout the West Indian colonies is rapidly improving under the blessed influence of liberty. Captain Warren is asked—'Is there any strong 'desire on the part of the negroes for any thing beyond actual 'necessaries of life?' He answers—'A great desire, particu- 'larly since the commencement of the apprenticeship system; 'when they began to earn money, they were very eager to 'obtain more of what to them were luxuries.'—(5022.) Mr Prescod vouches for the great improvement of negroes in 'gen- 'eral condition,'—'in morals, and religion, and education.'—(5877–8.) Mr Anderson states, that their fondness for the comforts and luxuries of life is 'very much' on the increase—(6453;) Mr Barrett, that 'the people are very happy now, and going on 'well.'—(6455.) He adds, that 'the oldest man they have got 'is learning to read.' Mr Burnley testifies that the negroes 'are 'extremely anxious for education,' and that 'the colony is sup- 'plying additional schools every day.' In Antigua, and throughout the islands, there has been a great diminution of crime. Even in regard to Jamaica, Dr Davy, the custos of Manchester, states —'the parish over which I preside contains 22,000 souls. There 'is no crime in it now. The jail has only three inmates,—one 'old convict, and two persons for an assault.'† The imports have greatly increased in the colonies generally. In Antigua, the duties on imports, which were £13,576 in 1833, had increased to £24,650 in 1839. Mr Gurney's work abounds with facts corroborating all these statements; and it is utterly impossible that such improvement can take place among the labouring population, without great benefit to the employers of labour.

Mr M'Queen mourns over the luxury of the negroes. They indulge, he says, in porter, and even occasionally in champagne; and he anticipates the worst results from this extravagance. He

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* Gurney, 135. † Ibid. 25. 1.

might as reasonably rejoice that hundreds of thousands of the people of Ireland are satisfied to support existence on 'lumper' potatoes; or felicitate those tribes of South America, whose plantain trees, Humboldt tells us, the Spanish government was obliged to destroy, because as long as they could get plantains, they would labour for nothing else. Mr M'Queen may be assured, that when people are brought to feel wants, and to desire comforts and luxuries, they are in the fairest way towards making strenuous efforts to remove the one, and to procure the others. The peasantry of the West Indies cannot thus exert themselves without benefiting the planters at least as much as themselves. They will soon find out that the cost of a bottle of champagne will purchase articles far more useful and durable. In the great majority of cases, the little outbreak of folly and extravagance, so natural in the circumstances in which the emancipated negroes have been placed, will do no permanent harm to the character. Their own wants, and immigration, will soon drive them back to reasonably hard and continuous labour; and the equilibrium between demand and supply being once duly established, they will enjoy just their fair proportion of the advantages of the soil, the climate, and the invested capital of the beautiful islands of which they are now, happily, the free adopted children, and of their connexion with Great Britain. An abundant share of benefit will accrue to the landowners and capitalists.

Would that we could reasonably entertain equally favourable anticipations in behalf of British India; would that the impediments to the speedy and complete development of her intrinsic means of improvement were no more substantial than those which affect—for good or evil—the prosperity of the West Indies! If the capitalists of those colonies be really alarmed for the immediate effects of competition, never did reasonable men start at a vainer shadow. Not that we despair for our Eastern empire; on the contrary, we feel assured that if its interests be treated with ordinary justice by the supreme authorities, who are under solemn obligations to regard the foreign dominions of Great Britain as all entitled to equal parental favour; and if those interests are properly studied, and duly fostered by those who are more immediately responsible for its good government, even we of the present generation shall see British India flourishing in a degree which the most sanguine of those who formerly calculated upon direct tribute never ventured to dream of. But the obstacles to such a consummation are many and formidable, and some of them, as we have said, are beyond the reach of direct legislation, and can be removed only by time and

vast moral changes. We have not yet, however, exhausted the specification of those unjust distinctions, by which the agriculture and commerce of our noblest dependency have been so unfairly depressed. The case of tobacco is a flagrant instance. This article, if the produce of, and imported from any British possession in the West Indies, America, or the Mauritius, pays a duty of 2s. 9d. per lb.; if the produce of British India, it pays a duty of 3s., being the same that is levied upon all foreign tobacco, principally the produce of slave labour:—with this aggravation, that as, at present, the tobacco of India is very inferior to that of the United States, Cuba, and Manilla, the duty bears, of course, a much higher relation to its value, than it does to the produce of those and other foreign countries. The general result is, that of 22,000,000 lbs. cleared for home consumption, but 45,000 lbs. are imported from British India. Mr Melvill quotes the opinion of 'parties conversant with the trade,' that if the duty were reduced to 2s. 9d., a very considerable consumption of East Indian tobacco would ensue. 'Although,' says his informants, 'the shipments of East Indian tobacco have hitherto been very limited to this country, we have obtained sufficient knowledge of the quality that might be produced; and we have no hesitation in stating, that if more care were taken in the cultivation, and the sorts of tobacco cultivated, a very superior description might be grown, and to an extent quite sufficient, even in the finer descriptions calculated for cigars, to supersede the use of Colombian tobacco and second-rate qualities of Havannahs; of which sorts the number of pounds cleared for home consumption generally averages 36,000 lbs. per month, with a gradual increase,' (425): and there is little doubt that, as in the case of coffee, the reduction of duty would result in such an increase of consumption as would effectually protect the revenue from loss, if not improve it.

The duties upon spices, drugs, and other articles of minor value, though not unequal, are extremely and mischievously high, as the following table will evince:—

Article.	Relation of Duty to Value.
Mace,	62½ per Cent.
Nutmegs,	65 „
Cubebs,	70 „
Cassia Lignea,	100 „
China Root,	147 „
Cassia Buds,	154 „
Oil of Cloves,	161½ „
Senna,	185 „
Cocculus Indicus,	3500 „
Nux Vomica,	4000 „

The total value of the imports of these and other similar articles, is not large; but Mr Larpent truly states, that a reduction of the present enormous duties would be beneficial, 'as 'leading to an attention to their cultivation, and to their export 'to this country without loss, and probably to the improvement 'of the cultivation in India, and of general science, and particularly medical science in this country.'—(Commons' Com. 2784.) The same gentleman informed the Lords' Committee, that when he urged his correspondents in India to improve the quality of some of these articles, he was told 'your duties are so high, that 'it is of no use to attempt to improve them.'—(384.)

Our limits forbid us to discuss the question, how far the tributary and dependent states of India are entitled to be admitted to common fiscal privileges, in relation to Great Britain, with those parts of the peninsula which are more immediately administered by our countrymen. But it is clear to us, that as we have deprived many of those states of their sea-ports, for purposes connected with our safety or aggrandizement, and have prohibited all of them from entering into commercial or other treaties with foreign powers, they have a very strong claim, in equity, to the counterbalancing advantage of participation in whatever fiscal privileges have been, or may be, accorded to British India. Messrs Melvill and Trevelyan have shown the special injustice of denying this immunity to Mysore, which is substantially British territory.—(429—507, 1395—1406, 1488—1491.)

The length to which this article has already extended, forbids us to attempt an adequate exposition of those causes which, combining with the fiscal injustice of England to depress British India, have hitherto limited to a small fraction of their intrinsic amount the actual development of her vast resources. What those resources are, cannot be better stated, in general terms, than in the words of Professor Lindley, as quoted by Mr Royle:—'From the great extent of the British possessions in 'India, and the infinite modifications and combinations of soil 'and climate to be found within them, there can be no doubt 'whatever, that almost every production of every climate except 'the Arctic, may be so completely naturalized, that when they 'are of any importance as objects of cultivation, they may be 'brought to all the perfection of which they are susceptible in 'other countries; provided skill and care are shown in the selection of their situations.' How grievously this noble field has been neglected or mismanaged, the great inferiority of the cotton of India to that of America, and of its silk to that of Italy, and even of China,—the comparatively petty quantity of sugar

which it is able to export, and the high cost of production, and the wretched quality of its tobacco,—will sufficiently demonstrate. The proximate cause is palpable to the most superficial observation—India is miserably poor. What Mr Rogers says with respect to silk, is true in regard to every other of the great staples with which she is, in one sense, able to supply the world:—'There is not sufficient private capital, or private credit, in India, 'to produce one twentieth part of the silk that the country is 'capable of producing.'—(4350.) The next link in the chain—the cause of this poverty—is not so obvious to those who cannot make up their minds to ascribe it, in the gross, to the system of land revenue, and the extortions of the Anglo-Indian Government.

The poverty of India must be cured by the attraction of British capital to its fields of production. United, as it happily is, with England, it can never become a manufacturing country. For, spite of the ostensible cheapness of labour, the enormous concentrated capital, and the superior science of this country, will render competition in that line of industry futile;* and this—if justice be done in other respects—is no more a wrong to India, than it is to the hop-planters of Farnham, that they cannot rival the artizans of Manchester in spinning piece goods; or to the graziers who fatten oxen in Northamptonshire, that knives are made for them in Sheffield, far better and cheaper than they could make for themselves. Being happily disabled, by their relative position, from levying contributions upon each other by domestic-industry-protecting Tariffs, the people of India may employ themselves profitably, for a period to which it is impossible to fix a limit, in raising raw produce to exchange for the manufactures of Great Britain. But both the capital and the intelligence necessary even for this purpose must come from England. The mere need of them, however, will not bring them. No reasonable man can be expected to enter such a field, without an adequate knowledge of the openings, the inducements, and the safeguards for, and attending the investment of capital. Up to this time, the means of gaining such knowledge are almost absolutely wanting to those who are not able or willing to collect it for themselves in the course of a long residence in India: even residents are kept, in frequent instances, very much in the dark as to the

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* See Mr Gouger's evidence regarding the experiment made at the Fort Glocester Mills, near Calcutta.—Commons' Committee, Question 1956, *et infra.*

principles which govern the policy of their rulers, in those respects which come home most intimately to their business and bosoms; and those rulers—opposed, till lately, to the free access of Englishmen to the territories which they govern—have made no efforts worth mentioning to enlighten the public mind on the many subjects of vast importance to the interests alike of Great Britain and of its subject empire, and which can scarcely be made known at all,—certainly cannot be effectively promulgated,—otherwise than by their instrumentality. Consequently, the most profound ignorance obtains in England upon all those points, a knowledge of which is essential to render our connexion with India really valuable. It may safely be affirmed, that, Anglo-Indians excepted, there are not ten men among the members of both Houses of Parliament, or the capitalists of the City, who could give even a tolerably correct account of the principles of Law or Custom which regulate the reciprocal relations of the state, the Zemindars, and the Ryots; who know how far the Permanent Settlement extends, or by what processes the land-revenue is realized within and without the pale of that arrangement respectively; who could state the difference between the property obtained by the purchaser of an estate by public or by private sale; or what rights must be acquired before an English planter could deal absolutely with any land which he might desire to cultivate with hired labour. Information about soil, labour, amount of produce, means of communication, markets, and the like, is just as rare. Though we have held the provinces of Bengal and Behar three parts of a century, as little is generally known by practical men of their social state and rural economy, as of the interior of Japan. We hail Mr Royle's work (the title of which is placed at the head of this article, and which we recommend to the attentive perusal of all those who desire to inform themselves on the many important topics which it treats) as the harbinger of a better order of things; and honour is due to the Directors of the East India Company for the spirit and energy with which they are now co-operating with Lord Auckland, (whose valuable Minute on the subject has been published,) to improve the great staple of cotton. But not a tithe has yet been done of what might be done, and ought to have been done thirty or forty years ago, to awaken the intelligence and to guide the enterprize of England, in its intercourse with India. From this apathy it has resulted that the union of two such countries—each of which is eminently suited to profit by the possessions and capabilities of the other,—has been comparatively barren; and

that now, when we ought to be reaping an abundant harvest, we are obliged to urge the sowing of the seed.

It is by no means too late, however, to enter upon a wiser course. The spirit of British enterprize was never more active and energetic than at the present day. All that India needs is, that a fair proportion of the current should be directed to her shores. To this end, the diffusion of popular information is the first requisite. The next is, the improvement of the institutions of the Anglo-Indian government. We are happy in the assurance that the administration of Civil Justice has, of late years, been greatly amended; principally through the abandonment of the vain attempt to meet the demands of a vast population by the almost unassisted agency of a handful of European officers. No pains should be spared to render the law of landlord and tenant plain and appropriate: incalculable mischief has been done through the efforts of mistaken benevolence, to make the Ryots something more than the tenants of the Zemindars, after those parties had been recognized as proprietors—whether rightly or wrongly, by the measures of Lord Cornwallis. The establishment of an effective system of registration is equally essential to improvement: the enormous rate of interest which prevails, is attributable in a still higher degree to the insecurity to which the capitalist is exposed by defective institutions, than even to the general poverty. But on these subjects, as well as on the state of Crime, Police, and Criminal Justice, we shall probably take an early opportunity of treating at large. It is sufficient to add, that though much has been done, and is doing in the way of judicious reform, still greater exertions must be made, if it be desired to place the administration of civil and criminal justice upon such a footing that British capital may be safe, on the one hand, both from lawless violence, and from the slower, but not less fatal, spoliation of frivolous litigation; and that the natives may be completely protected, on the other hand, from the wrongful encroachments of unscrupulous Englishmen. Our ancestors endeavoured to guard against the latter evil, by the clumsy contrivance of placing the ingress of their countrymen into India under such jealous restrictions as excluded the intelligence and the capital, at least as effectually as the adventurers, of England. Let it be the boast of the legislation and administrative system of our day, that whilst they are strong to coerce and to punish the wrong-doer, they shall oppose no obstacles to international intercourse, and to the freest development of the resources of our empire; that blood or birthplace shall confer no privileges, and subject to no disabilities; and that there shall be

but one law and one judicatory for the masters of British India, and for our Asiatic fellow-subjects.

But no measures, having for their object the attraction of British capital to India, can be expected to succeed, unless they embrace improvements in the practical working of the administration of the land revenue. To hold, with the British India Society, and with many who pin their faith to the bold assertions of its itinerant orators, that the appropriation to public purposes of the greater part of the rent of the land throughout India, is the chief cause of the poverty of that country, is the most baseless of delusions;—mischievous just in proportion as it draws off attention from really useful and practicable measures of reform. But there is abundant room for amendments in the administration of the system; and these must be made if it be desired that Englishmen should become landholders to any considerable extent, in the capacity either of Zemindars, or of renters under those parties for long terms of years. And the establishing of this intimate connexion between British capital and energy, and the soil of India, is indispensable, alike to the enabling that country to increase materially its exportation of raw produce to England, and to the improving of the condition of the great body of its industrious classes. No other circumstance will so speedily and certainly arrange the existing mischievous confusion and uncertainty of rights and tenures connected with land, into the known relations of landlord, tenant, and labourer. Nothing else will so effectually tend to the protection of the Ryots. And such a connexion of Englishmen with the soil of British India, and with its peasantry, will add greatly to the strength of the tenure by which we hold our dominion over it. But this most desirable state of things will never be brought about, to any extent large enough to produce important social and political effects, until the Government shall take the trouble to make the leading principles of its revenue administration generally known;—to simplify the system, and to afford every reasonable facility and encouragement to capitalists willing to invest property in land.* At present, not only Anglo-Indians, not in the public service, but

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* For example, English Zemindars, or others desiring it, might be permitted to pay the revenue of their estates in Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, or even in London; or they might be allowed to redeem the payment for a term of years, or in perpetuity, if the appropriation of the purchase money to the liquidation of the public debt could be effectually secured.

the very natives of the land, are almost as ignorant of the principles which govern the proceedings of their rulers in the domestic matters of the land revenue, as in their foreign political relations. And they know absolutely nothing of the nature and bearings of the very various tenures which obtain in the different parts of the country; except in as far as they have learned a few isolated and purely local facts by personal experience, or casual hearsay. Under the circumstances of India, it is the duty of the Government to provide, without delay, for the publication, in a popular form, of a body of practical information upon all the points that we have alluded to, sufficient for the safe guidance of those who wish to avail themselves of it. Men earnestly engaged in business have not time to enter upon a study of the crude and undigested mass of the revenue regulations; from which so few even of the ablest public servants can form a scheme of administration consistent enough to satisfy their own understandings. It is equally requisite that the Government should formally declare the principles by which they mean to abide in the future administration of the land revenue. For instance, Lord Auckland has stated in his Minute on the cultivation of Cotton in the East Indies, above referred to, that 'it is now the general rule and 'practice throughout India, that the assessment on land, cultivated with superior products, shall be no higher than the average rate of land of similar quality, whatever the crop reared 'upon it.' This is a principle too sound and politic to be trusted to the keeping of a detached Minute of a single functionary, however high; its proclamation, with all possible publicity, should be a solemn act of the Government; and it should be made more explicit and practical, by a declaration that the rent of land cultivated with the staple grain of the province shall in future be considered as the basis upon which the public revenue in that province shall be adjusted. We are by no means advocates for the settlement in perpetuity of the revenue of those provinces which are beyond the pale of Lord Cornwallis's measure, and of the corresponding proceedings at Madras; but it is essential that the principles upon which new assessments must, from time to time, be made for long terms of years, should be publicly avowed, and thus placed beyond the contingency of evasion on the one part, or of misunderstanding on the other.

Of necessary legislative or administrative reforms, we will only mention in this place, the amendment of the laws under which lands are sold for the recovery of arrears of revenue, which has been for some years under a consideration, somewhat, it would seem, hyper-cautious; and the general detailed survey of the whole of the permanently settled provinces. This measure is

indispensable, alike for the security of the public resources, and to give safety and facility of transfer, and, therefore, enhanced value to landed property; as well as to relieve the courts of justice from the pressure of the numerous suits which owe their origin to the haste in which the Permanent Settlement was framed. Upon that occasion, the revenue was assessed upon estate A, estate B, and estate C, without an attempt to ascertain and record the locality and boundaries of the lands responsible for the several sums. During the fifty years which have passed since the date of Lord Cornwallis' measure, innumerable divisions and subdivisions, separations and annexations, have been made;—some in good faith, but many also for the purpose of defrauding the state. The result of both classes of cases has been, that confusion has become worse confounded; that the definite allocation of revenue to land is generally quite impracticable; that the public revenue is consequently, in some districts, in extreme jeopardy; that it is often impossible to give possession to purchasers, whether they buy at public sales or by private contract; that the time of the courts is most unprofitably employed; and that the value of landed property is still more mischievously depreciated. A survey, however expensive in the first instance, will prove eventually a cheap, as it is the only certain, cure for all these evils, and it should be vigorously undertaken without loss of time.

ART. IV.—*Ancient Spanish Ballads, Historical and Romantic. Translated, with Notes, by* J. G. LOCKHART. *A New Edition revised; with numerous Illustrations from Original Drawings.* 4to. London: 1841.

THE sister arts of poetry and design, never so graceful as when united, have here combined to enhance the previous attraction of Mr Lockhart's Spanish Ballads. A more appropriately as well as beautifully embellished volume never was offered to the world. These charming records of an age of chivalry and romance, are now brought out, like the restoration of some historical drama of Shakspeare, with all the increased effect which results from a well-directed observance of scenery and costume: the text throughout is accompanied with heraldic and ornamental embellishments; with views of localities and representations of subjects, which present an admirable commentary on the stirring stanzas. The names of the artists and amateurs by whom these fine illustrations are

furnished, offer in themselves a guarantee that truth and propriety have in nowise been sacrificed to meretricious effect, or typographical speculation, which is too much the order of the day. The accessories of decoration require to be kept in strict subservience to their principal, or, like melody, they will become the tyrants, not the handmaids of literature. The trash of our *opera librettos*, and the glittering nonsense of our *annuals*, exhibit sad examples of this tendency. The union of the pencil and graver with the pen, is perfectly legitimate, provided each retains its proper place and rank. A doubled impression is thereby created on the reader's mind, when the abstract is invested with form and substance by the reality of a drawing, into which, a portrait mute of itself, a breath of life and meaning is inspired by immortal verse. A new power of memory is thus called into action; we see with the understanding, and read as if we were actually transported to the sites, and acquainted with the heroes of Castile. Picture and Poem act reciprocally on each other. The mind seldom forgets what has been presented in a striking form to the faithful eye. Again, the increased demand for these illustrated works—these vehicles of purely intellectual gratification, evinces and sustains an improved tone of public taste. Happy the people which has a love for its national ballads—inexhaustible springs of delight, which refresh the dry path of daily drudgery, cheap and innocent as the joys of childhood. They make a stand against, and correct the encroachments of heartless, selfish, artificial manners—they elevate man above the earthy tendency of over-civilisation, of cold calculating materialism, by chanting of things rare and stately, yet in that simple style which touches every heart in every age, because the language and sentiments are in sympathy with all the common and natural affections of man.

The ballads of Spain, albeit sometimes treating on subjects which hover on the confines of fiction, present on the whole most accurate portraits of life and manners during the most interesting periods of her history. The mainspring of national energy, which had been kept in motion by a war of eight centuries against the infidel invader, ceased to vibrate, when the great end was accomplished by the subjection and final expulsion of the Moor. A reaction ensued—a moral and physical stagnation came over the listless conquerors, when the breeze died away, which by ruffling had kept the waters sweet; civil and religious despotism saw and seized the moment, so advantageous to itself; and whilst the people of Spain were giving loose to the disarmed intoxication of success, the giant was shorn of his strength, and awoke from the lascivious dream emasculated and enslaved. Castile,

like her tree-stript plains, from the lack of the nutriment of wholesome institutions, withered away. A curse was on her womb; she became incapable of giving birth to men who should do deeds worthy to be had in remembrance, as well as to poets whose works posterity would not willingly let die. This melancholy retrogression of a noble nation increases the interest of these relics of her better times, which have drifted down like the spars of a storm-wrecked battle-ship. In this contrast between former pride of place and present nothingness, our sympathy is still more awakened when the change is borne with uncomplaining dignity. Spain, like a Porus, dethroned yet conscious of innate royalty, from which nought can derogate, looks down with self-respect on the changes and chances of fickle fortune. Although now the mock of Europe, which once grew pale at her name, she is still the chosen land of romance, where the present is forgotten in the past; where, although her harp be unstrung and her sword pointless, the tale of '*auld langsyne*' still re-echoes amid her lonely sierras; where, though her laurel-wreath be sere, the many flowers which still enamel her uninhabited wastes attest that once a garden smiled.

Spain has always been to our countrymen not merely the fancied fairy ground of—

> Le donne, i cavalier, l'arme, gl' amori,
> Le cortesie, l'audaci emprese:

being the nearest point of crusade against the Saracens, it was the real land of adventures,—antres vast, battles, sieges, fortunes. Thus, Thomas of Ercildoun recounts that his true knight, Sir Tristrem, 'had Spayne thro' seen, where giantes he slew three.' Few writers of romance, from the Odyssey downward, have ventured to lay the scene of their ultra-marvellous events at home, where all would perceive the want of truth and probability. They selected distant lands, of which the reader knew nothing, and might believe any thing. Now Spain, in the possession of "unchristened heathen houndes," was the very spot for moving incident; while the heroic deeds of our Derbys, Salisburies, and Chaucerian knights who fought at "Algecir," gave to the site a general air of truth and interest which the victories of the Black Prince and Wellington have never allowed to die away. Even in these illusion-dispelling days, much of the charm of Spanish travel still consists in the ideal and abstract, in the pleasures of memory, which the stranger brings with him. This alchemy of the mind, which separates the ore from the dross—this bee-like power which extracts honey from the weed—neutralizes the discomforts that beset, on every side, the wayfaring man. This vivifying principle,

which renders Spain agreeable in proportion as the traveller is imaginative, scarcely exists in the idiosyncrasy of the native, who inspires, *vice cotis*, those feelings in others, of which he has ceased to be susceptible himself. It is only by observing the value attached by foreigners, that they have directed some attention to their long-neglected ballads,* which tell, and exactly as we should most wish it to be told, all that constitutes the soul of local interest,—that *religio loci*, not indeed honoured in its own country, but which attracts the stranger from Thule and Tanais, from the Ganges and Niagara. Those whose good fortune may lead them from the beaten track of European travel into the racy byeways of original Spain, must come provided beforehand with the talisman of knowledge, which can summon up the departed spirits: no information is to be gained on the spot. Eager enquiries are chilled by the universal indifference and ignorance; the *no se sabe* of the Gotho-Iberian.† Contemptuous when not apathetic, he stands, like the wild Arab amid the palaces of Palmyra, an almost necessary foreground to the deserted Alhambra; yet there is a picturesqueness and repose in his self-contented bearing, which better harmonizes with the desolation, than the chattering pretension of an Italian cicerone.

Bishop Percy was the first to call our own countrymen to the rich mine of their ancient popular poetry. 'The taste with which 'the materials were chosen, the extreme felicity with which they 'were illustrated, the display at once of antiquarian knowledge 'and classical reading, which the collection indicated, render it 'difficult to imitate, and impossible to excel, a work which must 'always be held among the first of its class in point of merit. Such was the opinion of Walter Scott, who, like his son-in-law, Mr Lockhart, by following Percy's example, has done good service to literature. Many Torsos, precious as the Sappho fragments of antiquity, have been dug up from the ruins of time, and restored with the feeling touch of a master hand. Poets, historians, critics, and antiquarians, have united in friendly league; and a revival of a taste for simple and genuine poetry has been

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* Don Agustin Duran, who began in 1828 to republish the Spanish ballads, states in his Preface, that he was induced to do so, because the English bought up the originals, *a peso d'oro*. He, like his compeers, seldom does more than translate the criticisms of foreigners, and of the Germans especially.

† Το πλειον δια την ολιγωριαν—και το μη προς διαγωγην, (Strabo iii. 248. Ed. Amel.), compare Navagiero "Il Viaggio in Spagna," (1563, p. 25 et ss.) the rapid deterioration of Granada under Spanish neglect and αφιλοκαλια.

created in the public mind. Percy, Ritson, and Ellis, led the way to Büshing, Von der Hagen, and other Germans, who, having exhausted their own ballads, took up those of Spain with their characteristic diligence. Bouterwek did much in his history of Spanish literature; he was succeeded by Grimm and Depping, who published collections in the original idiom, to which the latter contributed an able dissertation and critique. Mr Lockhart has avowedly adopted the structure of verse approved of by Grimm, and the classification of subjects devised by Depping. He has improved on both, by rendering the best of their selections into English verse, with such remarkable spirit, fidelity, and energy, that Mr Hallam, a critic not prodigal of praise, hesitates not to say 'that the originals themselves are known to our public, but 'generally with inconceivable advantage, by these very fine and 'animated translations.' Mr Lockhart's success rendered the subject fashionable: we have, however, no space to bestow on the minor fry who dabbled in these Castilian (and certainly not in their case Castalian) fountains. Those who remember their number, may possibly deprecate our reopening the floodgates of the happily subsided inundation. There is, however, a cycle in literature; human notions and opinions come round at stated intervals, like the tunes of a barrel organ, and the better they are, the more likely are they to do so—*multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere.* The republication of this most beautiful volume seems not inaptly to suggest a recapitulation of the best opinions on the origin, antiquity, character, and influence of the ancient ballads of Spain.

They exceed in number and in importance those of all Europe besides, united; they form the best heroic, as well as lyric, poetry of Spain; and certainly, to the stranger, one of the most interesting branches of her limited literature. They are not merely ballads, but historical and national poems: they record events and popular notions; they give details, which the learned despised or omitted, of the every-day life and habits; of a state of things of which we know little, and which has now passed away for ever; they supply that gap which at present is the most eagerly sought for. To them the imbruting Inquisition was more merciful than our ruthless Edward to the lays of the Cambrian minstrels. It encouraged compositions which, like chivalrous romances in prose, had a tendency to seduce thought into the impracticable regions of 'La magnanima Mensogna,'—the Θειος ονειρος of Homer, in which persons and things are above the ordinary level of life. It well knew that the habit of building fairy fabrics in unsubstantial air, would unfit the mind for the severer and dangerous questions of philosophical and constitutional enquiry,

which, uncongenial in themselves to southern nations, would become doubly so to those who, by rioting on the lotus banquet of Alcina, forget country and liberty itself. In these romances the fettered genius of the land found a vent; and there is ever a melancholy note, which gives an undertone to the melody,—a tear with every smile, saddening mirth and gladdening sorrow. Hence they were written and read much longer in Spain than in other countries of Europe. Their authors, partially exempt from the pains and penalties of censorship, resembled in safety, if not in gaiety, the Cicadæ, whom Demetrius, seated under a shady plane in Cicero's villa, thought so happy, taught by the muses a song, which never subjected them to accusation or calumny.*

Not only in the multiplicity of her ballads, but in their antiquity, does Spain surpass all other nations. Whatever, in their modern form, may be owing to Teutonic, Christian, and Arabian influences operating on the corrupted classics, their style of metrical composition had been derived long antecedently from the East. There the sun of every thing arose. Thence the stream of population, knowledge, and religion, flowed westwards in two great branches, the northern and the southern. However the angle of separation widened in proportion as each diverging radius was pushed forward from the starting point; the generic oriental type has been clearly traced by philologists, who, by analysing languages, have tracked the progress of thought and social institutions, of which language is the certain evidence and exponent. A common type runs northward through the Brahminical poems of the Hindoos; the sacred measures taught by Zoroaster to the Persians, (Plin. N. H. xxx. 1;) the odin saga of the Scandinavian scalds; the versified annals of the Germans, (Tacit. de Ger. 3;) the isoterical hymns of the Druids, too sacred to be committed to writing, (Cæsar, Bell. Gall. vi. 13.) And again, southwards, through the hierarchical literature of the Chaldæans, Egyptians, Hebrews, and Phœnicians, to the primitive metrical poems of the aboriginal Iberians. These, it is historically certain, existed before Greece emerged from barbarism, or Rome was founded. When Lope de Vega observed that there were Iliads in Spain without a Homer, he might also have added that they existed before "the blind old man of Scio's rocky isle" was born. The

* (Philostr. vii. 11.) The Cicadæ, according to Socrates (Plato, Phœd. x. 340,) were once mortal men, who, on the birth of the muses, became so enraptured with poesy that they forgot to eat and drink, and were metamorphosed into these chirping denizens of summer. Well did the Spanish Inquisition understand and carry out this myth.

ancients paid great attention to Spain, which, being their Peru, was a subject of interest to their avarice. Among other things, Strabo tells us that the Turdetani (the Andalusians) possessed early memorials in writing, and preserved metrical poems and laws of six thousand years old, (iii. 204.) The cautious geographer qualifies, with a saving ὡς φασι, this date, which would carry the Turdetanian Homers many centuries beyond the creation. Since Pliny, speaking of the antiquity of the similar poems of Zoroaster, uses the same date, 'sex millibus 'annorum,' these definite terms simply refer to an indefinite remoteness; just as Spaniards say 'diez mil reales' for any considerable sum of money. Probably the text is corrupt; and, although Strabo did not write in Arabic numbers, an additional cipher converts 600 into 6000. We would suggest the reading ἑξακοσιων ετων for ἑξακισχιλιων.

One thing is quite clear, that these Spanish ballads were extremely ancient. That the Andalusians of old should wish to make them out older, is quite in keeping with the pedigree pretensions of their unchanged decendants. St Isidore and the Goths referred the invention of these 'cantilenas'—these canciones—to Moses; while a Spaniard, writing in 1612, positively contends that Tubal, son of Japhet, and grandson to Noah, arrived in Spain 140 years after the Deluge, and 2163 years before the birth of Christ, and gave the natives 'a code of laws in couplets.'* From this historian's not having quoted chapter and verse, we cannot determine (perhaps the Law Magazine may) whether this Deuteronomy repealed or re-enacted all or any of the Antediluvian Andalusian statutes at large. Those mentioned by Strabo, which are the only set worthy of our present consideration, were doubtless imported by the Phœnicians, who traded with Tarshish, and founded Cadiz 350 years before Rome.† These exporters of letters were the only people with whom the Jews never quarrelled; because the granaries of Tyre were supplied from the corn-fields of Judæa. Speaking a cognate language, they must have known the metrical portions of the Old Testament, and the other works of men who, in the words of Solomon, (the partner of their king Hiram,) 'were famous of *old*, such as found out musical tunes, 'and recited verses in writing,' (Eccles. xliv. 5.)—'Pii vates et 'Phœbo digna locuti,' the natural authors of a primitive age. In nascent societies of mankind, as in the youth of individuals, the

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* Dió les leyes en coplas. Salazar de Mendoza. Origen de las dignidades de España, p. 2.

† Heeren, Hist. Researches, ii. 49.

imagination precedes the judgment. Men are born poets, and lisp in verse: they harden into prose—into the exact sciences—as they get older, when the head gains on the heart. The name of the inventor of poetry and of the plough, which is poetical, is unknown. Not so that of the culprit who devised prose, Pherecydes the Syrian, (Plin. N. H. vii. 56,) nor of the inventor of the steam-engine and spinning-jenny; excellent machines, which make every thing but verses. In the early stages of society, the feelings, those inlets of ideas, are in full play: violently excited, they fall into a sort of language, energetic as themselves; thoughts are dramatised by action; by imitation, expression, which is the essence of poetry. Again, mere verse has a charm on the ear; and, being best suited for memory, becomes the natural frame of oral records, whether of law, history, or religion. Hence the power of knowledge was first wielded by those who 'declared prophecies,' idem rex atque sacerdos, whether a Melchisedec, a Sychæus, or a David. These wise men of old added to their severer influence the charm of pleasing; they invented popular tales * which still, among the Orientals, supply the want of intellectual refinement. To them (as to those of Pilpay) many of our best-known stories may be traced, for the world gets on with a small supply of originality; and it is far easier to borrow, adapt, and exaggerate, than to invent. The most improbable romances were, are, and will be, listened to with rapture by those whose inexperience is not startled by deviations from truth and nature: thus, a painted doll affords a wilder delight to the child than the masterpeices of Michael Angelo. Men are but children of a larger growth, and, according to the old complaint of Jeremiah, like to be deceived even with false prophecies. In truth, the constitution of the human mind requires a something marvellous and savouring of a better world. This yearning, if it be not gratified by legitimate practitioners, will be drugged by empirics, who thrive on the craving for supernatural stimulant. This intellectual intoxication has been regularly supplied to the Spaniards ever since poetry, which one of the old fathers calls 'Devil's wine,' was introduced into Tarshish, as we collect from Don Salazar, by the grandson of the first planter of the real grape.

Ballads withstood the Roman occupation. The Turdetani, it is true, adopted the tongue and *toga* of their masters, (Strabo iii. 254,) as the Andalusians did the language and coats of the

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* Compare the Arreytos or ancient ballads of the aboriginal West Indians when discovered by Columbus, (W. Irving, ii. 124.)

French, 'idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur cum pars 'servitutis esset.' Although they were ashamed of their native muse, the rude Gallician continued to 'howl his national ballad 'after the manner of his fathers,' (Silius Ital. iii. 346;) while the fastidious Quinctilians of Rome 'balladed out of tune,' shunned these Iberian strains, as our Laureat did the cacophonous Russian, 'which no man can read, no man can spell;' they talked of their intonation, as Erasmus did of the English, 'latrare verius 'quàm loqui videntur.' Strabo and Pliny would not even transcribe these barbarous unmusical appellations.* Martial, nevertheless, was Spaniard enough to advise Licinius, a native Romancero, to stick to them, although thought by 'delicate readers' to be 'rustica,' (iv. 55,) the precise term used afterwards by the erudite to designate the romance dialect. Those Italians, however, who sought for the beautiful every where, were struck with the oriental grandiloquence, the 'pingue quiddam atque peregrinum,' which Seneca, (de Suas. i. 6,) quoting Cicero, thought characteristic of Ena, one of the sons of 'Facunda' Cordoba, the birthplace of Lucan and others, who sustained the declining literature of Rome itself; and from whose works, although written in Latin, a strange tongue to them, we must look for the real and still unchanged diagnostics of the Iberian muse: a fragment has indeed escaped in the native idiom of the most ancient Spanish relique in existence. Humboldt, when in the Basque provinces collecting materials for his work on the aboriginal inhabitants,† met with sixteen stanzas, which had been discovered by Ibarguen, in MSS. at Simancas. It is a mountaineer ballad of the time of Augustus, and scarcely less musical than those Burw and Bhubs, Welsh *rhymes*, according to Mr Conybeare, and most sweet to his ears, and to those of Cadwallader and his goats. It is a lament over Lelo, a Biscayan chief, murdered on his return from the wars, by his wife, who had formed a connexion with Zara. It consists, like the modern Seguidilla, of couplets of four verses; the three first are pentasyllabic, the fourth is shorter, and serves as the 'estrevillo,' the burden or binding chorus. It contains traces of both rhyme and assonant; it is still intelligible to the Basque. Humboldt found old people who remembered a song 'Leluan Lelo,' which, like the 'Hie down derry down,' the modern version of the 'Hai doun is 'derry dauno,' 'Come, let us hasten to the *oaken* grove.' The *Druidical* (δρυς) invocation is another proof how vestiges of

* Pliny, N. H. iii. 3. Strabo, iii. 234. το αηδες της γραφης, &c.
† Prüfung uber die urbewohner Hispaniens.—*Berlin*, 1821.

ancient manners are every now and then to be found lurking beneath conventional expressions the most frivolous, and apparently the most unmeaning; * but the customs of the people will outlive the Pyramids. As Mr Lockhart has not translated this ancient relique, we must refer our readers to Adelung,† just remarking that it is almost a type both of a modern Spanish ballad and of actual Basque warfare. The Romans, it appears thereby, were in possession only of the plains, while the Cantabrians held the hills: they were subdued more by stratagem and want of provisions than by the superior discipline, force, and weapons of Augustus; and even then the Basque highlanders remained unconquered, while 'Rome, like an elm bored by the 'continual woodpecker, was undermined.' The secret of Basque independence is indeed unchanged and unchangeable: those sterile hills, if defended by brave men, who have more to fear from the gold than from the iron of their opponents, cannot be conquered by a small army, while a larger one would be starved.

Thus we see that the native Iberian muse, delighted in her primeval and always popular ballads. Meanwhile, the rise of Christianity, and the subversion of the Roman empire, by the Teutonic irruption, was preparing an entire change in the manners and language; literature, generally at a low ebb, became an appanage of the Christian clergy, who, in the early struggle against paganism, naturally drew a line of demarcation between sacred and profane learning. They monopolized letters and made them ecclesiastical. In the fourth century, Juvencus, a Spaniard, translated the New Testament into hexameters: he was the first Christian poet; he was succeeded by Prudentius of Zaragoça,‡ (or Calahorra,) whose Peristephanon, written in continuous octosyllabic metre, looks and reads like the redondilla of a modern '*cancion de devocion.*' These early hymns are considered by Bouterwek to be the connecting link between the ancient song and modern ballad. Saint Jerome, the *doctor maximus*, and prose translator of his age, thought these new versions of the Spaniards to be somewhat bold: 'non pertinuit,' says he of

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* Dauney—Ancient Scottish Melodies, p. 43.

† Mithridates, iv. 354. Vater, Ed. Berlin, 1817.

‡ Juvencus, see Antonio, Bib. Vet. i. 64. Zaragoça. (Cæsar Augusta) was the Gothic Aberdeen, the 'ancient city of bon accord,' where, according to old Forbes, there 'was a perpetual harmonious heavenly concert 'of as many musicians as magistrates.' Prudentius gives eighteen fiddlers all in a row.

Tu decem santos revehes et octo
Cæsar Augusta, studiosa Christi.

Juvencus, (Amos, 5,) 'evangelii majestatem sub metri leges 'mittere.' The Spaniards, whose character has always been tinctured with the mystic and superstitious, delighted and excelled in these ἱερὰ μελη—sacred melodies which their dignified religion upheld: those of Calderon and of the tender elegant Leon (justly called the Christian Horace) deserve the attention of the gifted author of the Christian Year. So early as 1495, a devotional cancionero was published at Zaragoça, by Martin Martinez de Ampies. The incongruity of developing sacred subjects in ballads and mysteries, was never felt until after the Reformation, which attacked them with ridicule. The rabbi Don Santo de Carrion, entitled his 'Divina Comedia' 'la doctrina Christiana y *danza* general.' A ballad then, says our Watts, signified a solemn and sacred song, when Solomon's Cantilena was called the ballad of ballads. Such compositions, aided by the influence which church music possesses over sensitive temperaments,* animated religious feelings; and conveyed to the people, to whom the Bible was forbidden, some transcript of its grandeur, not altogether stripped of the allurements of this world; for the Roman Catholicity of Spain never was that pure Christianity which Johnson pronounced to be too simple for eloquence, too sacred for fiction, too majestic for ornament: dramatic, nay melodramatic, it restored the gorgeous show; the marvellous legends, the 'Speciosa miracula,' the theopathy and polytheism of the Pagans; it formed in Spain from the beginning the theme of Christian minstrels. Merobantes, Draconcio, and others, tuned their harps to psalmodies, and composed verses in base Latinity and in worse prosody; the true pronunciation and artificial rules depending on the relative position and quantity of vowels and consonants, were too fine for their ears, and hybrid idiom. A substitute was provided in alliteration, in leonine verses and rhyme, in the very ὁμοιοτελευτον which was so avoided by the ancient classics; the laws of metre afforded a matter of enquiry among the learned Goths, as those of the Greek chorus did to our Porsons. San Isidore, in the seventh century, 'he that was so wyse,' defined them with the nicety of the Eton grammar, (Origines, i. 38.) The

* Thus Andrew Hart, in the hope of uniting religious edification with musical recreation, republished in 1621, 'Ane compendious booke of godly and spiritual sangs collectit out of sundrie pairts of Scripture, with sundrie of other *ballates* changed out of profane sangs for avoyding of sinne and harlotrie, with augmentation of sundrie gude and godly ballates not contained in the first edition,' that of 1590.

Gothic public was too enlightened to be amused with those very fine things, which required so much pointing out. *Vox populi*, DEI *vox*. Accordingly, clerical learning gave way; Valerius, a bishop of Wamba's, (the Japetus of Spanish *auld langsyne*,) wrote a perfect octosyllabic poem in rhyme. The good prelate indeed called it a 'prosa,' just as Gonzalo de Berceo, in the thirteenth century, did his metrical romance.

'Quiero fer una *prosa* en *Roman* paladino.'

If in these dark ages, (as sometimes will happen even in more enlightened,) things were written in verse which would have done equally well in prose, the Gothic reviewers must have felt relieved by the candour of their authors, *reos et confitentes*.

The Saracenic invasion accelerated these prosodaical changes; the Arabs, having nothing to do with the Greek and Roman languages or scanning, had long moulded their own and its forms; Cassini has pointed out the differences and resemblances between the lyric poetry of the Moor and Castilian.* The latter recurred readily to their original Oriental stock. Cordova continued to be the Delphi of the Peninsula; while the sterner Goths retired to the rugged Asturias, the spaniel-like Andalusians preferred, under the mild toleration of the Moors, their delicious south. These Mos-Arabic Christians, (mixti Arabi,) 'while not 'one in a thousand knew their Latin,' delighted in 'Chaldean 'pomps, metres, and rhymes,' to the horror of the good Goths of the old school. The sorrows of Alvarus have been preserved by Flores,† how 'the Christian youth, carried aloft by Oriental 'eloquence,' 'Arabico eloquio sublimati,' 'neglected the streams 'of paradise which flowed from the Church.' St Eulogius had carried on a ballad correspondence, 'rythmicis versibus,' with Alvarus himself, and thought it sweeter than beans and honey, 'melle suavius, fabis jucundius.' Pure prosody and Latinity could stand no longer; from its ruins arose the 'Romance,' the foundation of the modern languages of Europe. The present limited signification is quite secondary, and originated from those peculiar writings, the great feature of modern literature, in which the Romance was first employed. The term still continues in Spanish to be synonymous with the Castilian language, nor is it inapplicable to their braggadocio paper achievements; while elsewhere, 'to romance' has become equivalent to certain deviations from matter of fact. The abuse of a term argues, how-

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* *Bib. Arabica Escurialensis*, i. 83.

† *Flores Espana Sagrada*, xi. 275. *Velasquez Origen de la Poesia Castellana*, p. 13.

ever, its former extended use. Mr Ellis has correctly defined it to be, 'all the dialects of the European provinces of the empire, of which the basis was the vulgar Latin, whatever other materials may have entered into the composition." Mr G. C. Lewis,* (who has exhausted the subject,) adopting the opinion of Schlegel, completely disproves the theory of Monsieur Raynouard, that the Provençal alone was this 'Romance,' and that it was one and the same language all over Europe: certainly it was every where in some respects the same, being founded in the Latin and Teutonic; but it varied in each country, and often in each province of each country. The common appellation referred to origin, not to identity, which diminished as each nation carried out and improved their particular dialect of it: the Spanish romance arose from the Gothic conquest, and not from the Provençals, by whom Spain was never subdued, and the language of a people is little influenced by foreign literature. Precisely in the manner by which the Latin was formed of the Hellenic, and barbarous Oscan or Italian element, so the 'Romance' was begotten by the Teutonic on the Latin, which perished in giving it birth. The mass of the people were called 'Romans' by their invaders, and the new language 'Roman,' from having a greater affinity to Latin; conquerors and conquered met half way; the former, who wielded the sword better than the pen, yielded to their intellectual superiors, as the Romans had before to the Greeks. They made the nearest approach to the Latin in their power, just as foreigners do with strange languages; they caught at words and roots, with a marvellous disregard of grammar and prosody; a compromise was soon effected, and a hybrid language generated—a *lingua Franca*, in which both parties could communicate. The progress of language, when not fixed by a written literature, is to discard the synthetic forms, inflexions by terminations, and to adopt the analytic by resolving every idea into its component parts. The niceties of cases, genders, and declensions, were too refined for the illiterate Goths: a change of structure and syntax ensued; cases were supplied by prepositions, declensions by auxiliary verbs, a new stock of Teutonic words was introduced,—the dictionary was enriched while the grammar was deteriorated, the substance improved while the form was broken up. This convenient middle idiom led to the neglect by either party of the original language of the other; the unwritten speech of the conquerors was forgotten, while the Latin was preserved in the ritual of the Church, and in the tri-

* Essay on the Origin of the Romance Language. 1835.

bunals. It ceased, however, to be the spoken language of the many, insomuch that, in the ninth century, the clergy were enjoined to be able to translate their homilies into the Romance for the benefit of the laity; hence it came to be considered the vulgar in contradistinction to the learned: the romantic is still opposed to the classical style, and a 'scholar' emphatically means one skilled in the dead languages. The clergy, the only penmen, would not condescend to preserve the lay productions of a despised dialect; hence in every country the non-existence of their earliest literature, which probably was of no great merit, although suited to the age and occasion, *et auribus istius temporis accommodata.** Poverty of spoken language is always a bar to letters; until the mother tongue be moulded sufficiently, learned men will resort to a more adequate foreign idiom. Under these disadvantages, nothing original or of a high class is likely to be produced.

The first impulse towards modern literature was given by the Provençal, which is the most appropriate term for the language of the troubadour. The southern province of Gaul, 'Provin-'cia' *par excellence*, was exempted from those wars by which Europe and Spain especially were brutalized. Peace led to affluence, leisure, and those arts which humanize and civilize. The Provençal language, from being the first formed, long became a standard; it was, however, but the flowerings of Spring, which die in announcing the fruits of Autumn. Founded on the Latin, yet owing nothing to the Augustan style, it was only for a period, not for all time; for no soil can be permanently fruitful unless enriched with the precious loam of classical lore. No Dante arose to immortalize the language. The butterfly ephemeral prattle of courts and minstrels, has relapsed into a mere *patois*. It opened, however, in a poesy dedicated to Venus, rising like its patroness from the foam of the placid blue Mediterranean, under a genial climate, gilded with a ray of sunshine from the east. Courts of love were established, wherein amorous affairs, 'tensiones,' were debated, where the Ovidian arts were revived in the gay science, 'el gay saber.' This theme, grateful to all ages, which sung of 'dames, and knights, of arms, 'and love's delights;' where princes pleaded, and beauty, dispensing golden violets, decided without appeal, appeared doubly fascinating to an age awakening from the heavy slumber of

* An apology is prefixed by the clerical transcriber to the Bodleian copy of the *Chateau d'Amour*, 'Et quamvis lingua Romana (Romance) 'coram clericos, saporem suavitatis non habeat, tamen pro laicis, qui 'minus intelligunt, opusculum illud aptum est.'

long hours of darkness. Poesy, with her twin sister Music, revived in her old occupation of ballad. To be able to accompany verse with melody, was one of the common requisites of the Athenian καλος και αγαθος and of the mediæval hidalgo. It was the relaxation of the Homeric heroes; for the really brave have always a tendency to the soft emotions which poesy supplies. Thus Achilles, crossed in love, solaced himself with his lyre, αειδε δ' αρα κλεα ανδρων (Il. i. 189,) singing the fyttes the cantos of the gests of Hercules, who was to him what Achilles was to the dark ages, the beau ideal of a *preux chevalier.*

And here we may say a word on the close connexion between modern and ancient romance, new-hatched to the woful times.* Hercules and his like, went about abating nuisances, destroying giants and monsters, exhibiting the chivalrous mixture of virtue and vice, and of both equally exaggerated. They were Orlandos dressed à la Greque. Polyphemus was the model of Rithon, who made himself a bed of kings' beards, and was killed by Arthur; and of Ferragus, the Spanish giant despatched by 'Rowlande' while taking his siesta; Calypso, Medea, Circe, and the Sirens, were the prototypes of the Urgandas and Alcinas, as Pegasus was of the Hippogryphs, and Bucephalus was of Babieca. The challenges of Sciron and Antæus, shadowed out the holdings at *outrance,* 'los pasos honrosos;' just as the sophists of Greece led the way to the scholastic wranglers, who permitted no man to pass by without a logomachy, which, being interpreted into the *rustica,* means having a few words. History is but a succession of parallels,—the Olympic games created Pindars, the tournaments created Troubadours. The latter rendered the greatest service to the despised literature, which required the countenance of men of arms in a rude warlike age, when personal prowess and courage were the attributes most in honour. Thus Achilles was then a more popular character than Hector, in whom, as civilisation advances, new beauties are felt, which had shone before like stars, bright but unobserved. 'Rowlande, Alysandre, Achilles, Bevis, and Hercules,' are classed together by our earlier poets 'as good knightes and trewe, of 'whose dedes men make Romauns.' The Gesta Alexandri, Ricardi, with the Gesta Romanorum, were the story-books of

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* Euripides makes Theseus choose the profession of knight-errant redresser of wrongs,

Εθος τοδ' εις Ελληνας εξελιξαμην
Αει κολαστης των κακων καθιστασαι.

Iket. 34.

See Letters of Chivalry, Hurd. iii. 230.

the dark ages. Richard, the patron of, and patronised by the minstrel, owed his liberty and life, and his subsequent renown, to his troubadour accomplishments; the grandson of his sister, Alphonso el Sabio, if not really wise, did much for learning: by discarding Latin from the law tribunals, and, by causing chronicles to be written in the vulgar tongue, he fixed the Spanish language. This, springing from the north-western provinces, was founded on the Latin, with the 'Bable,' (the still spoken 'rustica' of the Asturias,) and the Gallician. The pride of the Castilians rejected the softer idiom of inferior provinces, while their jealousy of Arragon excluded the more perfect Provençal; 'el Castellano' came to signify, as it still does, the language of Spain, that manly eldest son of the Latin, of which the softer Italian is the daughter. Alphonso, a versifier rather than a poet, wrote couplets to the Virgin in the dialect of Gallicia, where he was educated, and where the songs, old in the time of Hannibal, had become devotional from the pilgrim influence of the shrine of Santiago. The royal bard, moreover, converted his visions of alchemy into redondillas, to assist the memory of learners, on the principle of Latin grammars. His ballads are among the most ancient of the present form, and have been preserved more from their author's quality than from their own. They, however, encouraged a deviation from the monastic 'versos de arte major,' which were written with an affectation of learning, in the form of the ancient pentameter. Of works of this kind, the 'Poema del Cid,' an epic of the twelfth century, is considered by Schlegel, Southey, Duran, and all the best judges, to be the oldest as well as the finest poem in the language. It gave birth, according to Bouterwek, to the modern songs of Spanish chivalry, and fixed, says Schlegel, the true old Castilian character. Mr Hallam constantly underrates the antiquity and merit of this, and of other romances on the Cid, and by so doing shakes the very corner-stone of this branch of literature. He, however, as constantly and candidly admits his 'slight acquaintance' and imperfect knowledge of the original.* He is contented to transcribe Bouterwek with an occasional reference to Sanchez† and Duran, who, to the best of our judgment, after a most careful perusal, hold and make good opinions utterly at variance with those of Mr Hallam, and they must be the best judges of questions very much philolo-

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* Lit. Europe, ii. 322. Compare this with vol. i. ch. 2, ditto.

† Colleccion de Poesias Castellanas anteriores al siglo xv. Thomas Antonio Sanchez, vol. iv. 1779, with elaborate notes and glossary, in imitation of the ancient Reliques of Percy.

gical. They think, and we coincide with them, that some of the romances of the Cid preceded the Poema; nor was it likely that the best Spanish epic should have been the first. It was doubtless a *rifacciamento*, like the Iliad or the Niebelungen Lied —a getting together of earlier floating ballads now lost; just as our Geoffrey of Monmouth composed, about the same time, his metrical history, professedly 'from songs inscribed in the memory of the people.' Mr Hallam, although he infers their comparatively recent date from the evidence afforded by the text, condemns this uncertain criterion when speaking of our early English ballads.

The songs of the people, passing from mouth to mouth, have every where been interpolated and modernized. The first of the minstrel craft were rhapsodists, who recited their own compositions, like the bards of Strabo, (iv. 302,) *βαρδοι μεν υμνηται και ποιηται, makers*, as the Scald signified the *polisher*, Trobadores *trouveres*, men who found out and invented. Highly honoured, they formed part of the war and peace establishment of kings. Taillefer, 'qui moult bien chantoit,' preceded the Normans at the battle of Hastings, singing the ballad of Roland till he was killed—a rare instance of the poetical *non relictâ parmulâ*. His strains produced on Harold's troops those effects which the Jewish wind instruments did on the walls of Jericho. The Cretans, according to Polybius, (iv. 20,) scared their enemies with rhymes, on the bagpiping principle of our gallant Highlanders. In the piping times of peace, the minstrel, *omnis luxuriæ interpres*, as Pliny said of Menander, sang of mimic war and real love to the dull barons of dungeon castles, who had ears, although they could not read—who, doubly steeped in the ennui of wealth and want of occupation, listened greedily, like other great men, to their own praises. Minstrelsy supplied the lack of a more refined intellectual entertainment, and of rational conversation, as professional gentlemen do now at civic banquets; their harpings lulled the rude Sauls to sleep, which is now done by quarto epics. The person of the minstrel was sacred, his profession was a passport, he was 'high placed in 'hall, a welcome guest:' the assumption of his character became the disguise of lovers of adventure. These advantages raised pseudo-laureates, 'idle vagabonds,' according to the act of Edward I., 'who went about the country under the color of min-'strelsy;' men who cared more about the supper than the song; who for base lucre divorced the arts of writing and reciting, and stole other men's thunder. Their social degeneracy may be traced in the Dictionary; the chanter of the gests of kings, 'gesta 'ducum regumque,' dwindled into a 'gesticulator,' a jester; the

honoured joglar of Provence into the mountebank, the juggler, the 'jockie,' or doggerel ballad-monger—

> Beggars they are by one consent,
> And rogues by Act of Parliament.

They descended by the usual stages of things of mere fashion; at first the observed of all observers, and therefore then imitated; until they became common—vulgar—which is but one step, and the test at once of merit, universal acceptance, and the forerunner of disgrace; no sooner taken up by the *οἱ πολλοι* than rejected by the exclusive. This occurred very soon in Spain. The really good clergy were shocked at their abuses, while the interested grudged the money earned by rivals, who interfered with their monopoly of instructing the people in pious prose, or of amusing them with Alexandrine legends. This enmity is of all countries. Their Latin synonyme for 'scald rhymers,' *scurra mimus*, &c., will outlive their sculptured caricatures; where mendicant monks, minstrels, fools, monkeys, and beasties, are pilloried on pinnacle and gargoyle, in cloister and cathedral. The itinerant monks and mountebanks repaid all this, like Falstaff, by showing up the irregularities of regulars and seculars, 'in ballads to be sung to 'filthy tunes.' 'Flebit et insignis totâ cantabitur urbe."—They undermined their influence. Preachings and songs take part in all national changes; for doctrines precede actions. They were the popular press of the time; opposed by the privileged orders and watched by statesmen, as Burleigh afterwards employed agents to listen to street songs, the thermometer of the people's temper. In all these alterations for the worse, the primitive principle, 'to entertain,' remained unchanged. To this the original ballad was sacrificed; passing from one to another, each minstrel begged, borrowed, or stole from all quarters. The originals were corrupted and remodelled; they got their bread by pleasing; *magister artis, ingeniique largitor venter.*"—The people who paid had the best right to be gratified even with nonsense verses if they preferred them. Lope de Vega, one of the restorers of the natural style, excused his sins against critical canons on that ground.

> Porque como las paga el vulgo, es justo,
> Hablar le en necio, para darle gusto.

Now as novelty is enticing, and forms the essence of story-telling, each new edition had its additions or omissions according to the talent, bad taste, caprice, or convenience of reciter and audience. All poetry except of Homeric or Dantesque merit, which fixes its own language, suffers from the wear and tear of time, the greatest of innovators;—strains which delighted the Catos and Cethegi, were thought antiquated in the days of Ho-

race, who modernized those of Ennius; just as Dryden and Pope did those of Chaucer and Dr Donne. The Cid Romances, the corner-stones of the fabric of *ancient* Spanish ballads, from being the oldest, are exactly those which have suffered the most. They have come down, says Duran, like the ship of Colchos, which from frequent repairs retained at last nothing but the original form and intention. They, like pieces of money worn smooth in common currency, have been re-coined and re-issued so often, that though the metal is unchanged, no trace of the first die is to be discovered. This must happen every where. Bishop Percy hoped to conciliate 'his polished age,' by an assurance that he had omitted and altered much of the 'rude songs;' insomuch that the sour Ritson 'could place no confidence in his text.' Garci Ordoñez di Montalto,* in his re-edition of Amadis de Gaul, anticipated Percy in word and deed. The fact is, that antiquarian exactness is quite of a modern date; no one now dreams of meddling with the precious *ærugo* of time, nor of *scouring* bright the antique shield. This is an age of recurrence to first principles. Antiquated works, raked from the dust of archives, are now republished with such a curiosity of obsoleteness in spelling and language, that they become the playthings of black-letter bibliomaniacs and useless to the uninitiated, who consider books to be valuable in proportion as they are pleasant to be read and understood. The first publishers of Spanish ballads in print were of this latter opinion, and being neither antiquarians nor philologists, they put them forth in the language of the day, without any regard for the venerable idiom in which they were written: the language, therefore, only marks the epoch when they were first printed. The earliest Cancionero is that of 1510, by Fernando de Castillo, which does not carry a stamp of antiquity so remote as the 'Chronica General' of the thirteenth century; in which perpetual allusions are made to the then existing ballads of the joglares. It is, nevertheless, the oldest collection of popular poetry, properly so called, that is to be found in any European literature; and did we possess such a volume of the time of Henry VIII., relating to the wars of the Conqueror and Plantagenets, what illustration and annotation, exclaims Mr Lockhart, would it not have received long ago! This and the earliest Romances bear on their very titles the acknowledgment, that they were composed of modern and of *ancient* ballads of

* Zaragoça edition, 1521. Coligió de los antiquos originales, *quitando* muchas palabras superfluas, y poniendo otras de mas *polido y elegante estilo.*

which collections in manuscript previously existed. Thus in the beginning of the fifteenth century, Alphonso de Baena, by order of Juan II.* transcribed a 'Cancionero de Poetas Anti-'quos,' of which specimens are given by the Spanish translators of Bouterwek.† This extraordinary manuscript existed in the Escurial up to the French invasion, when it disappeared. Antonio and others had unfortunately, by describing where it was and its value, put the plunderer on the scent. The little illustration which art and letters have ever received in Spain, has caused irreparable losses. The Travels of Ponz, and the Artistical Dictionary of Cean Bermudez, published in 1800, furnished a catalogue to the invaders, who invariably on their arrival in towns, demanded every thing worth taking, to the amazement of the natives, who were generally alike ignorant of the treasures they possessed, or of the books which described them.

One of the early printed Cancioneros contains productions of one hundred and thirty authors. Such a mellifluous swarm never could have come simultaneously over the land. They formed the *aurea catena* of Spanish poets; unknown indeed to fame, and when honoured by print, thought worthy only of its coarsest cheapest forms;—destined for rude thumbs, these editions for the people have become excessively rare, bibliographical gems of the purest water and paid for, their weight in gold. Typographically speaking, they are worthless beyond purposes of curiosity-collecting, and are entirely superseded by the modern reprints. The editors paid no attention to chronology either of author or subject; they published them apologetically to the learned; they just printed their commonplace books, into which they had copied the ballads in the order in which they chanced to meet with them. Tares and corn, good bad and indifferent, meet together in chance medley, like a pack of shuffled cards; yet not unpleasant to read from the constant variety and uncertainty of style and subject. Few Spanish pericrania are marked with the organic bump of classification: they and their progenitors were Goths in feeling, Moors in habits, ceremonious and 'etiqueteros' in personal dealings; but satisfied, in matters and things, to take what came before them without standing on the order of the course. The Germans, methodical and

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* Juan II. was the patron of Troubadours; his was the golden age of Spanish poetry. He resembled his cotemporary, our James I. of Scotland, who 'passed his tyme yn redyn of Romans yn syngyng and pypyng, 'in harpyng and yn all other honest solaces of grete pleasaunce and de-'light.'

† Don Jose Gomez dela Cortina y Don Nicolas Hugalde y Molinedo. Madrid, 1829.

analytical, have wept over this chaos; in which they found it impossible to trace through any regular succession of strata up to the primitive formation: even the *Deutsche fleiss*, which Depping imploringly invokes, quailed before the tangled web and the multiplicity of song, for every conflict had its ballad, and every captain wrote his despatches in verse. The Spanish language, rich, sonorous, and flexible, full of sound and promise, is a sort of blank verse of itself. The commonest village alcalde pens his placards in the Cambyses vein, more naturally than Pitt dictated king's speeches extemporaneously. Foreigners, as in the east, must never take Castilian expressions or professions literally—less is meant than meets the ear. The conventional hyperbole must be discounted, and not estimated according to the value it would bear in our business-like language. We deceive ourselves; for no Spaniard trusts the fine words of his countrymen, who seldom mean or expect that he should: they hold four-fifths to be a mere song, and fit for songs; accordingly men, women, and children, write and sing seguidillas, many no doubt of slender merit; for where words come without thought, much thought is commonly dispensed with. The hardiest mariners are formed in the roughest seas. This facility, however, accounts for the number of olden authors, and the little importance attached to their works: there could be no particular merit, when, in the words of one of them, 'every hill 'was a Parnassus, and every fountain a Hypocrene.' A literary democracy existed among these writers for the people, which prevented any one from rising above his compeers. They cast their bread on the waters, and their songs to the winds; they attached no value to what flowed without effort, and often thereby deceived themselves as to their relative value; they neither thought of making a name nor money, nor any thing beyond pleasing for the moment with trifles, αυτοσχεδιαστικα, made for passing events and written on the occasion: they certainly were vastly unlike our hot-pressed poetasters, who expect the highest price and praise for the smallest contributions; the facility of a language prodigal of verse was increased to the singing and dancing propensities which the Spaniard has derived from his Iberian ancestors, who in the time of Strabo (iii. 249) spent the nights as described by Silius Italicus, (iii. 346:)—

> **Barbara nunc patriis ululantem carmina linguis;**
> **Nunc, pedis alterno percussâ verbere terrâ,**
> **Ad numerum resonas gaudentem plaudere cetras.**
> **Hoc requies ludusque viris, ea sacra voluptas.**

Their descendants are still musical without being harmonious, saltatory without being graceful—just as they are warlike without being military. The guitar, seguidilla, and fandango are un-

changed; they form the repose of sunburnt labour in *venta* and courtyard, where some black-whiskered performer, the very antithesis of Farinelli, 'screechin' out his prosaic verse,' screams forth his 'coplas de zarabanda,' either at the top of his voice, or drawls out his ballad, melancholy as the drone of a Lincolnshire bagpipe, both alike to the imminent danger of his own trachea, and of all un-Spanish ears. So would he sing, says Lope de Vega, even in a prison, 'a costa de garganta can-'tareis aunque en la prision estareis.' The audience, however, are in raptures; 'all men's ears grow to his tunes as if they had 'eaten ballads;' they take part with beatings of feet, 'taconeros;' with clapping of hands, the χροτος, 'palmeado;' with tambarines and castanets, the Bætica crusmata and crotola of the Gaditanian 'funciones,' of which the descriptions by Martial and Petronius Arbiter would serve exactly to this day. The guitar is part and parcel of the Spaniard and his ballads; he slings it across his shoulder with a riband, as was depicted on the tombs of Egypt 4000 years ago, (Wilkinson, ii. ch. 6.) It is the unchanged *kinoor* of the East, the κιθαρα, *cithera*, guitarra, githorne; the 'guiterne Moresche' of the ministrellers, (Ducange.) With the instrument may have come down some remnant of the primitive times, of which a want of the invention of musical notation has deprived us. Melody among the Egyptians, like sculpture, was never permitted to be changed, lest their fascination might interfere with the severe influence of their mistress, religion. That both were invented for the service of the altar is indicated in the *myth* of their divine origin. These tunes passed into other countries; the plaintive Maneros of the Nile became the Linus of Greece, (Herod. ii. 79.) The national tunes of the Fellah, the Moor, and the Spaniard are still slow and monotonous, often in variance with the sentiment of the words, which have varied, whilst the airs remained unchanged. They are diatonic rather than chromatic, abounding in suspended pauses, unisonous, not like our glees, yet generally provided with an 'estrevillo,' a chorus in which the audience joins. They owe little to harmony, the end being rather to affect than to please. Certain sounds seem to have a mysterious aptitude to express certain moods of the mind in connexion with some unexplained sympathy between the sentient and intellectual organs: the simplest are by far the most ancient. Ornate melody is a modern invention from Italy; and, although in lands of greater intercourse and fastidiousness, the conventional has ejected the national, fashion has not shamed nor silenced the old ballad airs of Spain,—those 'howlings of 'Tarshish.' Indeed national tunes, like the songs of birds, are not taught in orchestras, but by mothers to their infant progeny

in the cradling nest. The romances of Spain, when not sung, are recited rather than read. Thus, among the Orientals, a book is seldom understood until it is rendered vocal, by a sort of habitual emphasis, which depends more on sound than on sense. Our method of reading appears to them to be plain talking. This recitative is the 'canto fermo,' the plain chant of the primitive church, and unquestionably is of eastern origin. Hence, by the common process of human deterioration, it passed to secular purposes. Tunes derived from heavenly spheres in the lamentations of olden precentors, were sung to words devised by the sons of Belial; and, *vice versa*, psalms were set to hornpipes by the mistaken Sternholds, who hoped that popular tunes might lead the gay to sing godly ballads, 'which,' says the quaint Wood, 'they did *not*.' This inveterate habit of song modified the form of Spanish poetry. The long monkish pentameters were cut into two lines—into redondillas—which suited the voice. How easily this was done may be exemplified by the inverse proof: take the familiar example of the translation of the ballad of 'unfortunate Miss Bailey,' in the ancient mediæval form:—

'Seduxit miles virginem | receptus in hibernis,
Præcipitem quæ laqueo | se transtulit avernis.

Prodigality of verse was fostered by the musician, who only looked to a certain number of syllables, and cared not whether they were swift iambics, running trochees, cantering dactyls or anapests—dimiters or trimiters. Every possible license in metre was allowable: if the meaning could not be comprehended into a *copla* of four verses, it was carried on without the break even of a comma into five or six. A similar laxity was permitted in the rhymes, which were used or not at caprice, or mingled with assonants which consist of the mere recurrence of the same vowels without reference to that of consonants. Thus santos, llantos, are rhymes, amor and razon are assonants; even these, which poorly fill a foreign ear, were not always observed; a change in intonation, or a few more thumps or less on the guitar-board, did the work, and superseded all difficulties. These 'moræ pronunciationis,' this 'ictus metricus,' constitute a rude prosody, and lead to music just as gestures do to dancing—to ballads—'che se canta ballando;' and which, when heard, reciprocally inspire a tarantula desire to snap fingers and kick heels, as all will admit in whose ears the 'Habas Verdes' of Seville or the Cachucha of Cadiz yet ring. The words destined to set all this capering in motion were not written for cold critics; and even such as were professedly serious and not saltatory, were listened

to by those who were attuned to the hearing vein—who anticipated and re-echoed the subject—who were operated on by the contagious bias. Thus, a fascinated audience of otherwise sensible Britons tolerate the positive presence of nonsense at an opera—

> 'Where rhyme with reason does dispense,
> And sound has right to govern sense.'

The poems of an Italian improvisatore appear, like many sermons, to be excellent, until tested by print. We must, however, refer our readers to the entertaining work of Don N. Zamarcola* for these lower classes of Spanish ballads, and confine ourselves to the more serious and romantic. The mother-wit of Andalusians and the deep feeling of Castilians, have given an *aroma* to the former and an interest to the latter, which, like delicate wines, will hardly bear transportation. Simplicity, the common, and greatest charm of all ancient reliques, appears, when in a strange dress, poor, trivial, and flavourless; while some words in translation convey too much, and others too little, there are several, says Southey, which are altogether untranslatable. They are like the 'open Sesame' of the Arabian tale—the meaning may be retained; but, if the word be changed, the spell is lost. This magic has its effect only upon those to whom the language is familiar as their mother-tongue, and hardly, indeed, upon any other but those to whom it really is so. Thus many of the oldest romances (Bouterwek cites those of Fontefrida and Rosafresca as perfectly untranslatable) appear to us to have nothing in them; and yet, probably from referring to some real fact or early association, to something passing show, fire in the native Spaniard a train of a thousand pleasing ideas. This hidden fulness of meaning, which, like expression, is more beautiful than mere beauty, can only be revealed to those who have a light within: φωναντα συνετοισι. It is only to be represented by ideas, not words; we have no free-masonry, no half-note which recalls and explains every thing: what notion does the word *Lava* convey to the dull boor of a Lincolnshire fen? It is thus that poetry preserves language; from feeling that the glowing stanzas cannot be adequately translated we learn the original.

Mr Lockhart has deeply imbued his mind with the spirit of these Spanish ballads; acting upon the opinion of Johnson, he has emancipated himself from the drudgery of counting lines and interpreting single words—from that servility which has obscured the clearest, and deformed the most beautiful. He has

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* *Coleccion de Seguidillas tiranas y Polos.* Published at Madrid, 1799, under the name of Don Preciso.

caught the emphatic feature, and has in so doing combined sufficient fidelity in his copy without losing the freedom and unconstrained flow of his original, which, as far as the English reader is concerned, he has frequently improved by a judicious pruning. Mr Lockhart has adopted the arrangement of Depping, who, despairing of ascertaining priority of composition, divided these ballads into the historical, chivalrous, Moorish, and the mixed. All these, however differing in subject or style, bear a striking family likeness, and are stamped with that character of nationality which the Spanish literature possesses in so eminent a degree, and which forms one of its most honourable features. The earliest, and by these we mean such as preceded Charles V., bear the most decided lineaments of their true old Castilian parentage. They present a genuine transcript of the unadulterated ηθος, the chivalrous idealization of the feudal and crusading systems. It would form an interesting enquiry to trace the decline of Spanish character and power, as evidenced in the altered tone of the popular records. It is not less clear than the physical degeneracy of the stalwart Guzmanes and Ponce de Leons of old, as exhibited in the puny frames of their dwarfed and stunted descendants.

The historical and chivalrous ballads are fully entitled to those epithets. They are records rather than romances, heroic and national poems rather than ballads. There is scarcely any incident of importance which is not to be found among them. Like the historical dramas of Shakspeare (through which, like Lord Chatham, half England knows half its history) they kept up the national spirit—they told the tale of ancestors who never despaired, never surrendered, but fought, endured, and conquered. Heard in youth, they had all the advantage of priority, when the memory—wax to receive and marble to retain—never forgets what it the first remembered. More engaging than dry history, they expressed the feelings of the nation, and so truly, that they were listened to in spite of their almost monotonous uniformity—their rudeness, and occasional rambling diffuseness and exaggeration. In these Hotspur poems, we must not look for the elegant, delicate, or refined. Dealing with facts, they are not distinguished by any great depth of thought, nor by that probing into the secret workings of the human heart which is the province of the philosophical poetry of advanced civilization, when the pains and pleasures of the body give place to the more exquisite tortures and enjoyments of the mind. They looked to effects, and not to the abstract; and in this they are infinitely superior to modern Italian poetry, which, infinitely more perfect in form and art, never sustained a nation's liberties and character. We must not, therefore, judge

of them by the effect which they now produce on us—when the eye, not ear, is called to decide—but by the effect which was intended, and was produced, on those who heard them and on their children's children. In our days of pseudo information and intelligence, one novelty obliterates another, one stirring appeal is damped by another. To the rude soldier Spaniard, scantiness of information was made up by concentration—the moral stimulant was intense—they heard and believed like children at a play. Imagination acted upon their untutored minds, as reason does on ours, and infinitely stronger, because their hearts as well as their heads were affected, and embarked in their belief. These cheering songs, like the Sibyl oracles of Greece, the propitious omens of the Romans, animated the powerful principle in faith, of realizing the thing believed—*possunt, quia posse videntur.* These cheering songs generated the Hector-like, the best and only omen, to die if necessary for their liberties and countries.

εις οιωνος αριστος αμυνεσθαι περι πατρης.

It has been well remarked, that those who have the making of the people's ballads may dispense with the power of enacting laws. The binding power, the *esprit de corps* of these popular appeals, obtains not only with a simple isolated uncommunicating people, (and then the strongest,) but also with the most refined and philosophical. We all side with those with whom we agree. These ballads speak out for the whole nation what lies in every man's heart. They are the means of expression to those who want words, not feelings. They sway the myriads as the breeze does the bending corn. Their power, like that of communicating or disarming the electric shock, has always been for good or evil, for peace or war, for loyalty or revolution. So, among ourselves, the cause of the Stuarts was thus made and marred. The royalist ballad, 'The King shall hae his ain 'again,' long upheld the crown, which the Protestant 'Lillibul-'lero' of Wharton dashed from the head of the last, and not the worst of the line. The sea songs of Dibdin cheered on the honest, frank, gallant tars of England to victory; while the 'Ca ira' of France goaded on a once gay, good-humoured people into ferocity and revolution; and its imitation, 'Tragala,' stained the banner of Castile and San Iago with atheism and disloyalty.

The early ballads of Spain, like those who made and sung them, were engrossed by a domestic warfare, *pro aris et focis.* The actors paid no attention to foreigners or their concerns, (to which, to this day, the Spaniards are contemptuously indifferent.) Ultra-national and independent, they cared for no Arthurs. They

honoured Charlemagne and his peerage with notice, very much because their Bernardo had crushed them at Roncevalles; just as the Venetian gondolier sang Tasso, because therein was embodied his republic's hatred against the Ottoman, their worst foe. Ultra-christian, they denounced as the devil and his works, as heathen and infidel abominations, all that savoured, whether of Jupiter and Apollo, or Mahoon and Termagaunt, all allusions to the mythological machinery of the classics, or to the Oriental interventions of genii and afrits. They had their own interruptive deities, their own miracles, their own San Iago, their own heaven-descended Palladium on Zaragoça's Pillar. Poetry was as nothing in the scale of their intolerant uncompromising orthodoxy—their pure immaculate faith. This, the boast of the 'Christiano viejo 'y rancio' involved the whole principle and secret of the success of Mahomet, and it was turned by the Cross against the Crescent. A lesser stimulant never could have conduced to the recovery, by the sons of a handful of refugees, of long-lost kingdoms. It was this single-hearted principle which animated this forlorn outpost of Europe, that saved the western world from the paralysis of an eastern yoke. This religious distinction contributed also to keep the ancient ballads pure from any Arabian tinge of literature, which only begins to appear after the conquest of Granada, when the Moor had dwindled into a Morisco—a term of inferiority and contempt. No Arabian influence could predominate, while their arms were feared, their manners and language unknown, and their creed a subject of unutterable abhorrence. The Spaniard borrowed, indeed, from the Moor his warfare and his mimic sports of war; but his arts, letters, and agriculture he despised, as enervating to the soldier and heretical to the Christian. The painted windows of Gothic churches were too deeply coloured with the saints and martyrs of the Cross, to permit one ray of the Crescent to desecrate with its glare the solemn altar.

This religious feeling tended alike to remove from their Gothic literature the proportions of the classics. These rude crusaders, whose pith was wasted in 'the tented field,' cared little for the set phrases of Pericles or Augustus. What's Hecuba to them! Virgil, held to be a necromancer during the dark ages, was treated as a calumniator of fair Dido's fame, by the soldier poet Ercilla, one of the best—and soldiers have been the best—authors of Spain. Poetry took the veil of a nun rather than the mask of Euterpe. Berceo, (Loor. 40,) one of the older writers, denounces those wicked joglers who do religion an injury by neglecting the Virgin for the gods and goddesses of Paganism. Thus we find their Cids, though brave, noble, and hidalgos, were not descended from deities, but from Christian parents; and their swords were good

and sharp, though not tempered in the forges of Vulcan. They had no occasion to borrow heroes from Greece or Rome, when real ones occurred in their own eventful annals and times. Foreign invasion and civil war called forth spirits from the deep, and inspired the serious Milton-like tone which breathes throughout. The Castilian's was a battle existence; he knew not of the luxuries or rich harvests of the Moor, but to lay them waste; the constant setting his life on the cast in holy crusade inspired an indifference to this world's goods. It fed that Spanish feeling which has always peopled their cloisters from all classes, from the king to the peasant, their peculiar 'desengaño,' the finding out the cheat of life—of its flat, stale, and unprofitable vanities. Their early ballads dwell on the overthrow of the Gothic monarchy, on domestic misfortunes, the tale of unrequited love; and in the later, the Morisco laments over fallen Granada. A dwelling on the past has a thoughtful saddening influence. There are more tender elements in the sere Autumnal leaf than in the blossom promise of Spring; and a sojourn at Rome leaves a deeper impression than a season at Naples. There are more hearse-like airs than carols on David's harp, and the sorrows of Job are more vividly delineated than the felicity of Solomon. So said Bacon. The sadness at the bottom of these nightingale songs of Spain is one of the secrets of their success; for calamity, the common unchangeable lot of man, is understood by all, while humour and mirth depend, to be fully enjoyed, on a thousand accidents. This retrospective habit, which is fostered in England by our classical education, was kept alive in Spain by the never-forgotten fall of Roderick, the last of the Goths. Though the tendency to moralize became occasionally sententious, yet it never became gloomy nor austere—it was never unmanned by affected sentimentality nor morbid misanthropy; it was healthy, vigorous, and religious, such as became a Christian soldier who trusted in God and his good sword. This was evidenced in every line which recorded every deed. They relied on their own resources. Eyewitnesses of broils and battles, they sung of men whom they knew and of armies of which they formed part. Hence their versatility in transferring themselves to the feelings of the actors. Like delightful Froissart, there is a daylight in their sketches which no in-door painting ever possesses. They, like Walter Scott, whose romances are poems, owed their popularity 'to writing 'with that military artlessness, that hurried frankness, which 'pleases soldiers and young people of bold action and dispo-'sition.' There is no vain self-portraiture: their genius was simple and modest, their bravery unimpeached. They could well leave boasting and braggadocio to their degenerate successors;

occupied with realities, they told a plain unvarnished tale, one more touching than any fiction, and which, being true to nature, has pleased learned and unlearned, the gentlest and the bravest. These old masters, like Giotto or Cimabue, painted what they saw; and the Castilians fell as naturally into battle array, as the innately picturesque Italians did into sacred groups. Without looking to the rules of Grecian or foreign art, they trusted to the expression of sentiment which they deeply felt. They flourished without the encumbrance of academies, and under circumstances apparently the most unfavourable. They studied in the school of nature; and their transcripts, true as the most polished of the classics, although trodden down for a time by the heel of conventional critics, have revived again, and will revive, like the flowers of the field over which an army has passed—spring up again, when the crushing dead-weight is removed. Eloquent, but not rhetorical, there was no laboured production of the midnight lamp. They wrote, like Burns, in the field; they fought their battles o'er again, while their swords communicated energy to their pens. They looked to events, not style; there was no attempt to be fine, nor to write for effect. The rough diamond retained its salient angles; they described single situations, simply and forcibly, without effort or much delicacy, yet the rudeness lay more in the words than in the sentiments; they left their downright tale to make its own impression; they never diluted it by verbiage, nor injured the air of history by overstating; they preferred the naked energetic *chiaroscuro* of Michael Angelo to the tinselly drapery of Paul Veronese. Abrupt, they went at once into the subject; they placed the reader without preface on the scene. They dealt not with dry general facts, but brought reality forward in detail. The actors came on without introduction; they moved and lived in bold relief; the audience were supposed to know them and their story. This was handled briefly, with much dramatic skill, and the event graphically told, with remarkable precision of expression. The thing done, all was ended as abruptly as it began. Written by gentlemen, they obtained a currency, and that high tone of court and camp which still pervades the national character. Religion and chivalry were the 'pivots;' they inculcated a noble simplicity, a contempt for death, a generous support of others, a high-spirited disregard of self, a devotion to the sex, not licentious, although rather energetic than tender; a magnificence, liberality, and hospitality; a delight in adventure and life of action; a pride to man, but humility to God; a blind obedience to king and priest; a sense of individual honour and prowess, a hatred and under valuing of foreigners.

This nationality is evinced alike by what their ballads are, as by what they are not. How little they owed to foreign sources is proved by their rudeness, by the absence of those diagnostics by which, as in painting, other schools may be recognised. They have none of the Hebrew grand conceptions, of Jehovah his thunders and lightnings; none of the allusions to natural objects;—to the vine, the fig, the lilies of the field, and the water brook. They have none of the Attic images of the sea, the voluptuous yearning after and the perception of the beautiful—nothing of nature idealized, none of that regret for the shortness and loss of sweet life—that praise of the pleasures of love, wine, and the rose chaplet. They were more like Lacedemonian than Athenian, and still more like the early Roman, in love of country and its greatness; yet there is nothing of the laying down the sword for the plough, no fondness for the Georgics, no drawing of landscape; they soared higher, and painted subjects of history. Neither did the early Romanceros borrow the purple of the prelate; nor the ingots of the princely (though by them despised) merchants of modern Italy. They shunned the infidelity of her scoffers, who, living under the shadow of St Peter's, were enabled to estimate its grossness; neither had they the Ariosto careless-minded pleasantry—the persiflage which concealed secret triumph over surrounding commonplace—the irony which revealed to the initiated what was meant to be hidden from the herd. Neither did they borrow from the muse of Provence; she was too gay, too amorous for celibate warriors who had crucified their flesh; her strain was too much a song, a thing of fashion and frivolity, and too wanting in principle; and even had the Spaniard been seduced by her fascinations, the Inquisition would have struck out every taint of infidelity or indecency, which never disgraces the pages of the chaste and moral literature of Spain. Though grave, the Spaniard never fell into the supernatural, into the wood-demons of haunted forests, the skull-formed goblets of blood, the ghosts and tales of terror of the North, which chill like their long nights of winter. Night, to the Andalusian, is the hour when pleasure awakes to the cool breeze, the guitar, and rendezvous. Yet not for the boisterous joyousness of merry old England—the schoolboy love of mischief for mischief's sake—the lawless freebooting of Diana's foresters—the nomade Anglo-Saxon life in the country, opposed to the city and castle of the domineering Norman. With all the English hatred for foreign oppression, the early Spaniard had less of his ridicule for humbug, lay or clerical—he was too temperate to care much for flagons of nut-brown ale, and the venison-pasty, flavoured with the poach-

ing relish of opposition to hateful game-laws. The Spaniard, fighting on his native plains, had no songs of the sea, of ancient mariners, whose deck was their field, whose joy the battle and the breeze.

Thus far they had remained original, both positively and negatively, when an increased intercourse with Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth century introduced the Dantesque, the allegorical, mythological, and metaphysical styles, and the native raciness began to evaporate. The poet merged in the scholar, who was willing to injure the purity of his mother-tongue, in the vain hope of rendering it more classical. A subsequent decline brought on euphuism, with conceit, mannerism, bad taste, and affectation. Critics and courtiers waged war against honest nature; they played about the head, but never touched the heart; they fell into verbal subtleties, into anagrams, ingenious combinations, things of words, not mind, the tricks of a puny literature. Devoid of originality, they now 'glossed' the older ballads of sterner stuff—just as simple tunes are frittered away by unmeaning variations; they diluted instead of condensing. Poetry became the trade of pedants, who wrote to show their learning, not from an irresistible necessity of giving vent to what was bursting within. They spun out in their libraries a sham-fight of metaphors, iron sleets and arrowy showers—the mincing of metre ballad-mongers—popinjays who knew less of war and wounds, God save the mark! than of parmaceti. Stuff which would have grated in the ears of the old Cid—'we must have knocks, ha! must we not?'—Venus fared worse than Mars. Sonneteers warbled amatory nothings to phantoms of shadows. Love was made but to be told by vain babblers, who knew not that real love never stops to define nor analyse, never trumpets forth its tale, but, deeply sensitive, hides its sweet secret, dreading never to meet with full sympathy from uncongenial hearts. The Platonisms of Petrarch without his delicacy, were ill-suited to the real fierce passion which burned and burns in Southern bosoms for a real concentrating object.

Meanwhile, a sad change for the worse was silently taking place in the character of Spaniards. Their literature, its exponent, partook of the deterioration. The civil and religious tyranny of the Austrian brooded over the land; the once-free Castilians no longer fought for their faith and country, but for ambition and foreign conquest: slaves at home, and conquerors abroad, their ancient good qualities became the sources of the most cruel deeds of butchery and bigotry which have ever disgraced a nation. With the same implicit obedience to king and priest, they executed the bloody orders of despots and the Inqui-

sition. Their poesy, which had shone bright in their ancient ballads, now shared in the decline; it still glittered on the theatre, yet devoid of ancient honesty and simplicity. It now inculcated doctrines of servility, of bad morality, laxness in principle, false honour, selfishness, and skulking assassination.

The discredit into which the old system had fallen produced Don Quixote. The success of this inimitable performance contributed to hasten the general change for the worse. No man, however, had more of the true chivalrous spirit than Cervantes; nor do we think that he originally contemplated the full effect which his work produced, and which he appears to have tried to counteract in his second part; where (excepting the monomania,) the high ηθος of his hero rises very much, and in fact became the portrait of the author. Chivalry had served its turn, and had had its day; from being all in all, it had become useless, powerless, and necessarily was held cheap, by all those who kick at the fallen lion: 'du sublime au ridicule il n'y a qu' un pas.' Knowledge blew romance to the winds, as gunpowder reduced the knight errant to the ranks. The clay-footed colossus was laughed at and travestied. The germ of a Don Quixote budded first among the practical English, who soon, with their genius for caricature, depicted the absurdity and weak side in their Sir Topaz—their mock tournament of Tottenham, their Reeves Daughter, their Dragon of Wantley. More of Morehall was the type of the Knight of La Mancha—a glimmering of this had appeared in the Satirical Minho Rebulgo. The ridicule, however, which pleased the frivolous Juan II. was not in sympathy with the nation, nor with the reality of the Moorish contest. Spanish romance was destined to fall, like Cæsar, with greater dignity. There is nothing, however, new under the sun. The same causes led to similar effects many centuries before. 'The Pythian sibyl,' says Plutarch,* 'descended from her car of metre, melodies, and ballads, to distinguish in prose the true from the mythological, and stooped with 'disenchanted wings to truth.' Prose—alas! as we know to our cost—in the march of intellect follows the funeral of poesy, as naturally as physicians and undertakers do once-animated remains. When the world fancied itself getting wiser, it considered poetry to be a fiction, and, mistaking form for substance, gave credit to the same stories when made honest in prose, the presum-

* Plutarch de Pyth. Or. vii. 601. Reisk. μετρους μιλεσι και ωδαις—κατιδη μεν απο των μετρων ωσπερ οχηματων, η Ἱστορια και τω πεζω (sermone pedestri) μαλιστα του μυθωδους απεκρυβη το αληθες.

ed garb of respectable matter of fact, which it rejected in verse. The metrical romances led to those ponderous folios, those Amadis de Gauls in which Spain took the lead, the perusal of which drove Don Quixote mad; the process of conversion is old and simple, it merely consisted in removing the final rhymes, when the prose became complete. The rule holds good to this day, and the experiment may be verified on any of the best poems of last year's publication.

The Moorish conquest which preceded these later deteriorations in national character and literature, effected some change in both; more, however, in form than in substance. The Arabian influence lighted up the native flowers of Castilian romance with the gorgeous brilliancy of an eastern sun: a more figurative, ornate, oriental tinge was communicated, from which the older ballads are remarkably exempt: the two people were now brought into immediate, and at first into amicable contact. They felt, what so often happens, the softening explanatory influence of intercourse, and a better acquaintance, under which even the fallen angels appear less black. They found that the hated Moors resembled themselves in pride and martial chivalry, and were their masters in arts, luxuries, and refinement. The Moor, a subject of national interest and triumph, became in consequence a vehicle for novels and poesy; which professed, on the *captandum* principle, to be translated from Arabian originals, done into choice Castilian by eminent authors; and no doubt, in many instances, much was actually adopted from an originally cognate literature; as had occurred before in the times of Alvarus and St. Eulogius. It was thus that the most delightful of tales, 'Las Guerras de 'Granada,'* originated;—a work which, in the opinion of Schlegel, contains some of the finest ballads in the Spanish, or in any other language. It was the prototype of the 'Waverley novels.' It was a Moorish tale of 'sixty years since,' published about a hundred years after the conquest of Granada. It professed to be a translation taken from the original of Abenhanum of Granada, by Gines Perez of Murcia, and to give the history of the intrigues of the Alhambra, and the Moorish account of that period. It was a mixture of history and fiction, with just enough of the

* No lover of Spanish romance should be without this charming novel, for a fiction it undoubtedly is. A vast number of editions are enumerated by Brunet, (Nouv. Res. ii. 178,) and by Hallam, (Lit. Eur., iii. 438.) Neither, however, mention those editions now before us. Parte Prima, (the second edition,) Valencia, 1597. Parte Secunda, Cuenca, 1619. The second part is rarer than the first. The French translation by Sané, Paris, 1809, in general inaccuracy and sins of omission and commission, rivals the worthless translation of Conde's History of the Moors, by Mons. Marles: *hos tu, Romane, caveto.*

former to stamp a colour of credit on the details. Its success was prodigious; it rivalled in number of editions the Amadis of Gaul, the Orlando Furioso, and the novels of Scott. It was translated into foreign languages. It called forth a sympathy for the Moor, whose plaintive tale was told in most touching ballads, interspersed with the prose narrative. This kindly tone toward a fallen enemy gave offence to many of the stern old Spaniards, who were indignant that their Bernardos and Cids should be set aside by those Ganzuls and Abenhamers;—forgetting that to extol them was the greatest, although an indirect, compliment to those by whom they had been conquered. This book created a pseudo-Arabian style; for the fiery zeal of the bigot Ximenes prevented any real cultivation of Arabian literature. By burning every book on the absurd supposition that it was the Koran, and by deterring Talavera and others from translating Spanish works into the Arabic, the language of the Moors in less than half a century ceased to be understood in Spain; where it has ever since been less investigated and appreciated than in any other kingdom of Europe. Its real influence on Spanish literature has been very much overrated, nor do we imagine that one tithe of the so-called Moorish ballads were ever composed by Moors. But we must conclude.

We trust that those who have done us the honour to peruse these remarks, will now turn with increased zest to the captivating volume which has given rise to them; they will then reverse the hard lot of the Sybil, and reascend into the gorgeous and pleasing car of poesy, from the dry and groveling path of prose. Far more easy and more agreeable would it have been to us, to have adorned our pages with a nosegay, culled from these no longer exotic flowers of Castilian romance; they are now rendered indigenous; transplanted by the genius of Mr Lockhart, they have taken deep root and flourish in our harder climate; and in truth the soil is congenial. Their manly tone of liberty and independence, their reflective, somewhat saddened turn, their sincere religious character, their sterling loyalty, patriotism, and love of country, never will find a truer echo than in honest English hearts. Confidently do we invite our readers to the entire volume, in the assurance that they will better judge of the spirit of the whole, than by any selections of ours, which at best show rather the turn of mind of the selector than of the original. Mr Lockhart has conjured up a boundless succession of scenes and actors, who pass before our view in a Banquo glass;—Bernardo, the hero of Roncevalles, the personified principle of the immemorial inveterate resistance of Spaniards against the invading Gaul—when Christian and Moor forgot their own mutual hatred and death struggle, in the more absorbing common abhorrence of France. The Cid—'My Cid, he who was born in a good hour,' 'the honour of Spain'—

the type and epitome of her national character, whose horse, sword, beard, every part, parcel, and particular has been made the theme of a poem. Poor Blanche! in her lonely prison, sighing like Mary Stuart for her lost, her much loved France, and murdered by her wayward husband, Don Pedro—then comes his hour of retribution, the fratricidal wrestling at Montiel; the bloody civil wars, the Roses and Bosworth of Spain—anon the scene shifts to Granada, to the fairy Alhambra, to the banquet of beauty,—the fountain, jereed, and tournament. Then dark-coming calamities cast their shadows over joy and pomp; a cry of woe from Alhama, a hurrying and stirring in the city, a saddling of steeds, a buckling on of armour, a riding up and down;—the contest, the defeat, the triumph of the cross, the fall of the crescent, never to rise again. Then is heard the 'last sigh of the Moor,' as descending from the hillock of Padul, his water-standing eyes looked their last farewell at those red towers, his paradise on earth, now lost for ever. Then murmur out the plaintive ditties of fallen Granada, those Morisco wails which were forbidden to be sung, lest the tear that they called up should be brushed away by the clenched hand, which passed rapidly over the brow to grasp the sword of revenge.

Such is the treat which awaits our readers. We speak with the fond remembrance of bygone years, when we pored over these ballads on the scenes themselves; and now, 'e'en in their 'ashes, glow the wonted fires,' fanned and rekindled by these delightful translations. 'I never heard,' says the Arcadian Sydney, 'the old song of Percie and Douglas, that I found not my heart 'moved more than with a trumpet; and yet it is sung by some 'blinde crowder with no rougher voice than rude stile; which, 'beeing so eville apparelled in the dust and cobweb of that un-'civill age, what would it work, trimmed in the gorgeous elo-'quence of Pindare?' Not, think we, so much as in its own simple voice—which is that of our Shakspeare—'nature's own 'darling'—'who loved a ballad e'en too well;' and who has embalmed in his own never-dying pages many a gem of our own precious popular poetry. Just as Cervantes, the Shakspeare of Spain, influenced by a kindred feeling, interwove into his immortal Don Quixote a rich tissue of the native songs of his land. Those great searchers into the heart of man well knew how much this class of simple poesy can refresh the bright spark within us, when dimmed by the cares and earthy necessities of our mortal coil.—

> 'Now, good Cesario, but that piece of song,
> That old and antique song we had last night:
> Methought it did relieve my passion much
> More than the light airs, and recollected terms,
> Of these most brisk and giddy-paced times.'

ART. V.—*Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into the Several Duties levied on Imports into the United Kingdom; and how far those Duties are for Protection to similar Articles, the Produce or Manufacture of this Country, or of the British Possessions Abroad; or whether the Duties are for the purposes of Revenue alone.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed. Folio: 1840.

NOTHING could have taken place more seasonably, considering how extensively the Duties on Imports affect the trade, manufactures, and agriculture of the British empire, than the appointment of such a Committee as that mentioned above. So great a disturbance, indeed, has of late exhibited itself in our domestic industry, that it had become the bounden duty of the legislature to ascertain how far that disturbance could be checked, or altogether got rid of, by a wholesome change in our system of Import Duties.

No one who has paid attention to the progress of our manufactures, can be ignorant that a great revolution has commenced with regard to the demand for them in foreign markets; for in some countries we have been partially supplanted by foreign competition, and from others wholly expelled. The Evidence given before the Committee fully establishes these facts; for though it is true, that new markets have been opened in some of our colonies, and elsewhere, the present state of markets generally, imperatively demands that every thing should be done that the legislature can do, to enable our manufacturers to maintain a successful competition with foreign rivals. Besides the recent renewal and extension of the Prussian League, and some new restrictions on our manufactures imposed by Russia, Belgium, and Spain, the termination of the existing tariff of import duties in the United States in 1841, and of our commercial treaty with Brazil in 1844, are occurrences calculated to excite strong apprehensions as to the means of upholding our manufacturing superiority. The duties that the United States and Brazil will impose on our manufactures, will in all probability be so entirely prohibitory, (unless we consent to admit the productions of these countries into our ports,) that the time is arrived when the serious question must be seriously met—Whether it is fit that we should go on sacrificing our greatest national interests to the practice of giving protection to the private interests of a comparatively small portion of the community.

The Report of the Committee, and the Evidence annexed to it, cannot fail to diffuse a much more accurate knowledge of the

ancient Protective Policy, and of the true state of our situation with regard to the future. This will go far to lead the public to a correct judgment on the question to be decided; for the enormous mischief that the system has produced, would never have been submitted to, had it not been for the prevailing ignorance of its operation in depressing the revenue, raising prices, and encouraging foreign countries to establish tariffs hostile to our manufactures. The great body of consumers, when they look into the subject, and seek to know why sugar is so dear, coffee so dear, bread so dear, meat so dear, and every other article of food and nourishment so dear—while cotton goods, woollen goods, linen goods, and numerous other commodities are so cheap—will discover that this is wholly owing to the protection that has been given by our legislature to the West Indian and British landowners. Another great evil arising from the protective policy, in addition to those of raising prices and of excluding our manufactures from the European markets, is an immense loss of revenue. This is established by the evidence given before the Committee, in a way that admits of no refutation; and now that we have been reduced to the necessity of imposing new taxes, to provide for the current expenditure of the state, in the twenty-sixth year of peace, it is to be hoped that the public will prefer getting money, by allowing foreign sugar, coffee and corn to be imported; to getting it by new projects for adding to the general taxation of the country.

But before proceeding further with this inquiry, we shall lay before our readers a short account of the origin and objects of the Protective Policy. Those statesmen who first introduced protecting duties, had for their object what, no doubt, they very sincerely believed would be attained—the encouragement and advancement of domestic industry. But at the time when they first conceived this project, nothing was known as to the true sources of national industry and wealth. Opinions were wholly formed from first appearances; and as it seemed to them to be obvious, and was not disputed, that the profits of those who carried on domestic speculations in trade would be increased by excluding foreign competition, this led to the conclusion that the only means by which industry and wealth could be rapidly and extensively advanced, was by granting legislative security against all interference whatever of foreigners. 'The more simple ideas of order and equity,' says David Hume, 'are sufficient to guide a legislator in a great part of his duties; 'but principles, like those of commerce, are much more com-'plicated, and require long experience and deep reflection to be

'well understood, because real consequences are often contrary 'to the first appearances.' It was because the projectors of the system of prohibitory duties were incapable, from their ignorance, of understanding and foreseeing the real consequences of this system, that they were carried away by those first appearances, which promised an increased extension of industry by means of forced profits. Their ignorance is not very surprising; for in their time no light had been thrown on the subject of trade by such works as the 'Wealth of Nations.' It is only by the help of this and similar works, that we are now in possession of the knowledge requisite for understanding the true sources of national industry and national wealth; for determining in what way they are rendered efficient; and for calculating with accuracy the real consequences of every legislative measure which has any relation to them. From the doctrines there laid down, supported as they are by facts and experience, we now know that all legislative interference with industry is wrong; that the wants of a people are the only supports of industry and wealth; and that in proportion as they increase with the increase of civilization, industry is extended, and all those undertakings which create national wealth. Labour and capital, when no restrictions interfere, will be employed to produce those things which the peculiar circumstances of a country allow of being produced with the greatest advantage; while those which can be produced with greater advantage abroad will be imported, and paid for by exporting home-made goods; for by no possibility could they be paid for by any other means. In such a case all commodities would exist in the greatest abundance, while prices would be as low as they possibly could be; consumption and demand would thus be carried as far as they could be carried, and the greatest possible amount of industry would be kept constantly in action. The varieties of climate, situation, and soil, afford to every country in the employment of industry some advantages not possessed by others. By making use of such advantages, every country will exert itself in the way that is most beneficial in the production of wealth. Hence it is that the capital of England is much more productive of wealth if employed in coal, iron, tin, and other natural productions, and on those objects in which these articles contribute to diminish the cost of production, than in making those things which a foreign country can make cheaper in consequence of the advantages that are peculiar to it. All protection, by diverting the industry of a country from those branches of production for which it is best qualified, turns so much capital out of the course it would take of its own accord—

and out of a more into a less productive channel—and in this way diminishes the amount of national industry, instead of advancing it. Protection also, by raising prices, diminishes the worth of every man's income, reduces consumption, and leads to consequences wholly opposed to those beneficial results which are produced by leaving the wants of society to take their own course in encouraging and extending industry, and in creating and establishing the wealth of a nation.

This system was introduced into European policy by M. Colbert, in 1667. Before his time Holland supplied all Europe with manufactures, and received in payment the raw materials of its poorer neighbours. Colbert sought to force the growth of manufactures in France, merely by issuing his famous tariff of 1667, by which the importation of all manufactures was prohibited. The injurious consequences of his system are amply attested by experience. France has rigidly adhered to it, and ever since that period has been paying for the manufactures she has used, from half to twice as high prices as England or Holland; while her manufacturing establishments have always been, till within a few years, of the most wretched description. His system of forcing manufactures by excluding the competition of foreign capital, wholly overlooked the circumstance, that the competition at home of one manufacturer against another would remain free; and that the effect of forced profits would be only temporary, in consequence of the irresistible temptation they would hold out to new capital to participate in them. The natural course of things, under a system of protection, is additional investment of new capital in the protected trades;—increased supplies of goods, diminished prices, and finally, such an extended competition, that the prices of home productions do not realize the advantages expected from protection. This result is hastened by the effect of protecting duties to confine the sale of the protected manufactures to the home market; a circumstance which necessarily takes place; because the whole object of the protecting duties is to establish higher prices at home than the prices abroad. But the consequence of the sale being thus limited to the home market, and of the encouragement given by the protecting duties to invest new capital in the protected trades, is, that the supply of the market constantly exceeds the demand; and that the prices of the protected goods as constantly have a tendency to fall; and hence the system is ruinous to all manufacturers.

The history of trades and manufactures in all those countries which have adopted the protecting system, establishes beyond

question the accuracy of these statements. Before the union between England and Ireland, the legislature of Ireland had enacted a system of high protecting duties; in order to exclude English goods and encourage Irish manufactures. The legislature of England retaliated, and thus confined the market for Irish manufactures to Ireland. Notwithstanding that large capitals were invested in Ireland in manufactures of all kinds, and the best machinery, and the most skilful workmen were brought from England, every undertaking failed. Too much was produced for the demand of the Irish market; great quantities of English goods were smuggled into Ireland; prices were never steady; and, though sometimes high, profit was always low, and every branch of manufacture existed in the most unsatisfactory state. Immediately after the entire abolition of the protecting duties took place, in 1823, the manufactures of cotton and wool began to extend themselves, and in Ireland are now well established.

The following extract from a report of a committee of citizens of Boston, on the American tariff of 1827, places the question of protection in a striking point of view:—'That dear goods made 'at home are better than cheap ones from abroad;—that capital 'and labour cannot be employed in this country without pro- 'hibitory duties;—that it is patriotic to tax the many for the 'benefit of the few:—that it is just to aid by legislation manu- 'factures which do not succeed without it;—that we ought to 'sell to other nations, but never to buy from them,—these are, 'we have long since known, fundamental principles among the 'advocates of the American system. It is, however, extraordinary 'that these ancient and memorable maxims, sprung from the 'darkest ages of ignorance and barbarism, should take their last 'refuge here, and find a statesman of great experience and know- 'ledge willing to risk his reputation in their defence.'

The truth of these doctrines regarding the policy of protection, does not depend for proof upon references to general principles; for it is demonstrated by facts beyond all dispute. Among these are the fact of Saxony and Switzerland having become flourishing manufacturing countries without the aid of any kind of legislative interference. Saxony, before she became a party to the Prussian League, had no protecting customs' duty whatever; and, though by no means naturally rich, manufactures of every description arrived there at a degree of perfection unknown to any other part of the Continent of Europe.*

* Evidence—Mr M'Gregor, (2891.)

It has been exactly the same with Switzerland; though both countries are under great disadvantages of locality, particularly as to obtaining raw materials. The following information upon this subject is given in Mr M'Gregor's evidence:—'(295.) Can 'you explain why Saxony, without protection to her manufactures, 'was at the time of the union in a better state than any other?— 'The reason given to me both in Saxony and in Switzerland was 'simply this, and the same reasons were given to me in Bohemia: 'The Saxon and Swiss manufacturers stated, and not only them- 'selves but others that I met with in those countries, that they 'considered that all manufactures which were established, or had 'grown up by protection, were in an unsound state, inasmuch 'as they were supported by fictitious protection; which placed 'them out of the natural position which they would have taken 'if they had commenced as they did in Switzerland, merely by 'producing as cheaply as they could by industry, and by an econo- 'mical system of living. The Swiss and the Saxon both went upon 'the principle, that if we can manufacture without any protection, 'we can then send our commodities as we have done to other 'markets in the world; and Saxony has at times been enabled, 'in spite of the prohibitory system of Austria, to send her sur- 'plus manufactures into Bohemia; and from Bohemia they find 'their way into Hungary, to Vienna, and to the Italian States. '(380.) Are the Committee to understand the purport of your 'evidence to be this, that in Saxony and in Switzerland, in par- 'ticular, where there have never been any protective duties for 'their manufactures, that, considering all the disadvantages of 'locality with reference to obtaining the raw material in those 'countries, their manufactures have still increased beyond those 'of any other country in Europe?—Certainly.'

In consequence of the Committee having been appointed at an advanced period of the session, it was not able to prepare such a Report as was required for the full development of the various facts that were brought under its consideration. It however, drew up, and laid before the House of Commons, a short Report, with the view of bringing forward the chief points of the evidence, and of calling attention to the conclusions which it established. The witnesses who were examined, are, many of them, persons of the highest authority on the subject which was under investigation; three of them eminently so from their connexion with the Board of Trade—namely, Mr J. D. Hume, who has served thirty-eight years in the Customs' Department, and nine years as one of the Secretaries of the Board of Trade; Mr J. M'Gregor, who has been employed by Government for

some years in conducting commercial negotiations with foreign countries, and who is now one of the Secretaries of the Board of Trade; and Mr J. R. Porter, who has been for a considerable time in that office, superintending the commercial statistics and other matters belonging to the department.

We shall here endeavour to supply the want of a more extended report, by bringing under the notice of our readers the most valuable portions of the evidence, and tracing out the conclusions which ought to be come to. We conceive that we cannot perform a more useful task; for it will contribute to give some assistance to our legislators on the now vital question of revising and reforming our import duties—a question that must inevitably—not merely in consequence of the Report of the Committee, but owing to the urgency of the circumstances that relate to the state of our manufactures, and the prices of colonial productions—speedily occupy the attention of Parliament.

The great number of entries of different rates of duty, in the schedule or tariff of our customs' duties, compared with the small number of articles that yield nearly the whole of the customs' revenue, is the first thing deserving consideration. This remarkable fact was brought for the first time before the public in 1829, by Sir Henry Parnell, in his work on 'Financial Reform.' He showed, that out of the total number of articles subject to duty in 1827, seventeen produced L.17,683,445 out of a total revenue of L.19,815,206. 'This sweeping system of taxation,' he says, 'proves that the customs' duties have been 'framed by persons who were but little acquainted with the 'principles of trade and finance, and who had not the slightest 'consideration for the feelings and convenience of individuals, 'and for the increase of foreign commerce. The effect of it is, 'to render the accounts complex, and to generate smuggling. 'Prices are enhanced with little or no advantage to the revenue; 'the comforts and enjoyments of the public are uselessly abridged; 'and a great deal of delay, vexation, and loss, must attend the 'collecting of duties on so many hundred commodities.'* The fact here mentioned, that seventeen articles yield nearly the whole of the customs' revenue, and the remarks, are fully corroborated by the report of the Committee; for it appears that the schedule of the last customs' act, (3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 30,) contains 1150 articles subject to duty; and that of this number

* *Financial Reform*, p. 118, 4th Edit.

seventeen produced L.21,700,630, in 1839; out of a total customs' revenue of L.22,962,610.

The following is a list of these articles, and an account of the revenue that each of them produced:—

1	Sugar and molasses,	L.4,827,018
2	Tea,	3,658,800
3	Tobacco,	3,495,686
4	Rum, Brandy, &c.	2,615,443
5	Wine,	1,849,709
6	Timber,	1,603,194
7	Corn,	1,098,779
8	Coffee,	779,114
9	Cotton Wool,	416,257
10	Silk Manufactures,	247,362
11	Butter,	213,077
12	Currants,	189,291
13	Tallow,	182,000
14	Seeds,	145,323
15	Sheep's Wool,	139,770
16	Raisins,	134,589
17	Cheese,	105,218
17	Articles, producing	L.21,700,630

The Committee very correctly say, 'the schedule presents 'neither congruity nor unity of purpose; no general principles 'seem to have been applied.' The fact is, that our customs' duties, as they now exist, are imperfect, like every other branch of our finances, in consequence of their having had their origin nearly two hundred years ago, when there existed no scientific knowledge whatever of trade and taxation. The original duties have been increased, without any new classification or modification, as circumstances occasioned the necessity of having recourse to expedients for obtaining additional revenue for carrying on wars; without any other consideration on the part of our finance ministers, or of Parliament, than that of getting money in the easiest way it could be got—leaving out of the question all examination of the results of increasing the duties, in their effect on the interests of trade, or even on the revenue itself; for in numerous instances it has actually happened that the adding to the duties has produced a diminution of revenue.

The witnesses examined concerning the schedule, recommend the placing of the customs' duties on a more equitable basis. Mr M'Gregor says, 'That, finding that a few articles pay nearly 'the whole revenue, I consider the duties on all others as

'amounting to nothing but burdens, restrictions, and delays on 'the industry and prosperity of the country,' (1055.) He states that he has made out a new table of tariff duties, reducing the whole tariff to twenty different kinds out of 1150, (1056;) and that this change would lead to great simplification in carrying on the business of the customs' department, and to a considerable diminution in the charge for collection. He illustrates the practicability of having only a small number of duties in a national tariff, by referring to that of the German League, which contains no more than sixty-three duties.

The next particular feature of our schedule, is the small number of duties which have been imposed for the purposes of revenue alone. The natural, and what ought to have been the whole, object of duties on foreign productions, has been perverted in order to give protection to private interests at the expense of the revenue, and of the interests of the community at large. Of the seventeen duties just mentioned, which produce £21,700,630, six only are duties that have been imposed for the purposes of revenue alone, viz. tea, tobacco, wine, cotton wool, currants, and raisins: almost the whole of the other duties have been fixed with the intention of preventing foreign competition with our domestic and colonial industry. There are, first, eighty-four duties on foreign colonial productions; * secondly, duties on foreign manufactures of cotton, silk, wool, flax, hemp, glass, paper, soap, earthenware, metals, jewellery, blacking, ink, and every other kind of manufacture, however trivial and unimportant; and, thirdly, duties on corn, flour, hops, malt, butter, cheese, bacon, pork, tongues, beef, fish, tallow, horses and asses, spirits, beer, cider, perry, fruits, vegetables, hay, seeds, iron, copper, tin, lead, and the ores of these metals. The importation of cattle, sheep, and swine, is altogether prohibited. This last list shows with what zeal those who are invested by the constitution with the power of making laws, have used that power to promote, by every practical means, the interests of the owners of landed property. The object of each of these duties is to keep up the rent of land, by preventing the prices of agricultural produce from being lowered by the importation of foreign produce. In whatever degree the duties effect this, they injure those who live by industry; because the higher price that is thus maintained, is paid either out of the wages of labour or the profit of capital; and they benefit only the proprietors of land and

* Evidence, J. R. Porter, (2646.)

tithes. Nothing, therefore, can be more inconsistent with justice than this scheme of legislation—a scheme for the advantage of comparatively a few, at the expense of nearly the whole community; and, with respect to the prosperity of the country in industry and wealth, nothing can be more inconsistent with all sound principles. Some reform is clearly wanted. The public interest imperatively requires, that every nation should have liberty to send us every kind of food at the lowest possible price.

After deducting from the 1150 duties in the schedule, the duties for giving protection, there remain but a comparatively small number that have been laid on for the purposes of revenue alone; and the greater number of these remaining duties consist of duties on raw materials—such as organzine silk, cotton, wool, ashes, dyewood, drugs, furs, gums, bark, hides, skins, oils, lamp-black, &c. The authors of the schedule, in selecting raw materials for duties, at the same time that they were laying on protecting duties to exclude foreign productions, were guilty of the most extraordinary inconsistency; for as the effect of these duties on raw materials was to add to the cost of the production of our manufactures, a direct advantage was given by them to all foreign manufacturers in foreign markets; and the avowed objects of the protecting duties were, in this way, obviously counteracted.

As to the silk manufacture, which has always been the most favoured by protection, this is greatly injured by the duty of 3s. 6d. a lb. on organzine silk. The price of silk goods is enhanced by it, and consequently the consumption of them diminished; and also the extent and prosperity of their manufacture. The leather and glove trades suffer in like manner, by the duties on hides and skins. The duty on olive oil has a most injurious effect, inasmuch as it is an ingredient in many dyes, by the cheap use and brilliancy of which France has advantages over us;* and soap made by our manufacturers with olive oil, subject to the existing duty, cannot compete with soap made at Marseilles; whence it is that the foreign markets are chiefly supplied by France with soap. The duty on foreign iron has no other effect but that of injuring our own manufacturers. Mr J. Walker, an iron manufacturer, in his evidence, says, that it has a most injurious effect upon the iron trade, with reference to competition with other countries: there is a certain portion of the iron manufactures that requires foreign iron; therefore we import the foreign iron, and pay an extra price for it, because of the protective duty; and yet the manufacturer has to send his goods to a

* Evidence, A. Johnston, (1642, 1708.)

neutral market, and to sell them at the same price as the foreigner, who has no protective duty to pay! Mr M'Gregor, in his new table of customs' duties, proposes to lay a duty of 2½ per cent *ad valorem* upon raw materials of all kinds, with the exception of dye-woods; upon which he recommends a duty to be kept of 5 per cent, (1058.) But these rates of duty are objectionable as being too high. Mr M'Gregor intends the 2½ per cent to be only a duty to ascertain the quantity on the registered importation, or as a *droit de balance;* but 5s. per cent would be sufficient for that purpose.

With reference to the duties for revenue alone, it may be observed, that they are nearly all of them much too high; and consequently have the effect of making the amount of revenue derived from them less than it otherwise would be. For instance, the duty on tobacco of 3s a lb., leads to an enormous extent of smuggling; and, in the opinion of persons of the best information on these matters, a duty of 1s. a lb. would produce more revenue. Again, if the duty on French wines were lowered, so that the light sorts could be bought for 1s. 6d. or 2s. a bottle, it is highly probable that much more revenue would be received than at present. Though the duties on currants and raisins were reduced a few years ago, the revenue from them has not much increased, because they were not reduced sufficiently: they ought to be still further reduced; and also the duties on pepper, and many other articles of a similar kind. Of all these articles, the consumption has not increased in any thing like the degree it ought to have increased, in consequence of the progress of population; and this can be accounted for only by the high prices occasioned by the duties limiting the use of them.

The explanations we shall give of the effects of departing from sound principles, in selecting and fixing the rates of customs' duties for the purpose of protection, will show the great extent to which the best interests of the nation have been sacrificed to this object. Had a wiser course been taken, moderate duties on luxuries alone, would have produced more revenue than is now obtained by our present multifarious and ruinous customs' schedule.

As the fate of the manufacturing and commercial prosperity of the British empire may be said to depend on the course the legislature shall take in regard to the policy of excluding foreign productions, we shall now endeavour, by reference to the evidence given before the Committee, to trace the various practical consequences of that policy.

As every customs' duty adds to the price of the article on which it is levied, and, as the consumption of every such article

depends on the price for which it can be bought, it is obvious that the effect of every protecting duty, that is so high as to be an efficient protection, is to diminish consumption, and consequently to diminish the revenue. Take, for example, the duty on sugar. The duty on sugar produced in our colonies is 24s. per cwt.; but the protecting duty on foreign sugar is 63s. per cwt. This protecting duty has been an efficient one; for it has completely excluded the importation of foreign sugar for home consumption, except a very small quantity imported this year, and given a monopoly of the supply of the United Kingdom to our sugar colonies. The practical effect of this monopoly, in consequence of the supply being insufficient for the demand, is so high a price, that the consumption of sugar in the United Kingdom is much less than it would be, if no such monopoly existed. 'The loaf sugar,' says Mr Lechford in his evidence, 'that I used to buy at 72s., I am now paying 114s. for; the 'moist sugar for which I used to pay 52s. I am now paying 84s. 'and 86s. for, and we are informed the price will be still higher, '(2804.) In 1820, the quantity of sugar admitted for home con-'sumption into Great Britain was 4,046,686 cwt., and in 1839, 'no more than 3,954,385 cwt., although the population of 1820, 'of 14,390,000, had increased in 1839 to 18,524,036.* The con-'sumption of sugar in the United Kingdom is now three quarters 'of an ounce per head per day; but at Vienna and Paris the 'consumption is one ounce and a half per head per day.† This 'small consumption of sugar in the United Kingdom, is alto-'gether the consequence of the high price occasioned by the 'monopoly, and the consequence of this small consumption is a 'very great loss of revenue.'

Mr M'Gregor, than whom no one is more competent to form a correct opinion on the effect of the protecting duties on the revenue from sugar, states, that the facts regarding its consumption in those countries where it is cheap, prove, that if foreign sugar was admitted into the United Kingdom under a reduced protecting duty, the consumption would be so much increased, that an additional revenue of L.3,000,000 would be obtained.‡ In the quarter ending 5th Nov. 1840, the revenue on this article sustained a deficiency of L.193,000. Mr Warner says, 'I should think, to make sugar an article of very 'general consumption, the price should be from 50s. to 60s. per 'cwt., that would be from 5d. to 6d. a lb. I think the con-

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* Evidence of Mr Porter, (2688.)

† Evidence of Mr M'Gregor, (631.) ‡ Evidence, (630, 674.)

'sumption would go on to almost any extent with those prices.' * When the protecting duty was first established, there was abundance of fertile land in the sugar colonies; the planters could obtain as much labour as they wanted by importing slaves; and the population of the United Kingdom did not amount to more than one-third of what it amounts to now. Under these circumstances, the protecting duty did not interfere with the supply of a sufficient quantity of sugar. But now, that a great extent of the fertile lands are exhausted, that the slave-trade and slavery have been abolished, and that the population is increased to twenty-five millions, the colonies can no longer supply a sufficient quantity; and therefore, with this change of circumstances, it has become the duty of the legislature to change its policy, and to allow foreign sugar to be imported.

The protecting duty on coffee has a similar effect to that on sugar, in diminishing the revenue. The duty on coffee of the British Colonies is 6d. a lb.; on that of foreign possessions, 1s. 3d.; but if imported from within the limits of the East India Company's charter, the duty is 9d. a lb. The effect of the high duty on foreign coffee, is to limit the consumption of coffee very much within the bounds to which it otherwise would go; and to raise the price in the United Kingdom eighty per cent higher than it is in any of the other states of Europe.† The general result of this is a large loss of revenue. Mr Porter states, that the consumption of coffee in the United Kingdom is 25,000,000 lbs.; that it has been nearly stationary for several years past; because the consumption of the country has overtaken the supply from our own colonies, of coffee which is admissible at the low rate of duty; and that there is no reason to doubt that, if a larger supply were procurable at the low rate of duty, the progress of consumption would go on. He further says, that he has no doubt the revenue derived from coffee might be increased by a different arrangement of the duties on it.‡ Mr M'Gregor says, that if the duty on foreign coffee was lowered to 10d., and that on the produce of our colonies to 5d., there would be so great an increase of consumption, that the revenue from coffee would amount to L.250,000 a-year more than it amounts to now.§ But the duties proposed by Mr M'Gregor are too high: the duty on coffee from our own colonies ought not to be more than 4d. a lb., and the duty on foreign coffee ought not to be more than 6d.; and with these duties there can

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* Evidence, (1935.)
† Evidence of Mr M'Gregor, (916.)
‡ Evidence, (2691.)
§ Evidence, (896.)

be no doubt—taking into consideration the universal disposition to use coffee which has lately sprung into existence—that the revenue would be increased fully half a million a-year. A practice has of late been introduced of sending coffee from foreign ports to the Cape of Good Hope, in order that, by being imported from a possession within the limits of the East India Company's Charter, it might be liable only to a duty of 9d. a lb. Between the 26th April 1838, and 24th March 1840, 21,000,000 lbs. have been imported in this way at 9d. a lb. What has been said regarding the colonies not being able to supply the United Kingdom with sugar, is equally applicable to the case of coffee; and a similar remedy ought to be applied—namely, the admission of foreign coffee.

The duties on timber form another instance of sacrificing revenue to the protective policy. These duties are 5s. a load on hard wood, 10s. a load on pine and fir coming from our colonies, and L.2, 15s. a load on foreign timber. Mr J. D. Hume says, 'I conceive that you might with the greatest ease, by varying 'the duties, keep the price of timber at what it now is, and get 'a good million a-year more in the way of revenue,' (1440.) Mr M'Gregor proposes to raise the duty on all timber from our colonies, except oak, elm, cedar, juniper, and woods required for shipbuilding, to 15s. a load; and to reduce the duty on foreign timber to L.1, 10s. a load; and he is of opinion that, with these duties, the revenue now derived from timber would be increased from L.1,603,194, to L.2,500,000 a-year, (924—925.) With regard to the colonies, it is now well understood that this protecting duty is of no advantage to them: the only persons who derive any benefit from it are a certain class of shipowners, who employ old rotten ships in carrying timber, which must otherwise be broken up.*

The protecting duties on corn are so arranged that an opportunity is thrown away, if protection must be given, of obtaining a considerable amount of revenue; for if, instead of the present graduated scale of duties, (which are prohibiting duties till the prices become very high,) a moderate fixed duty was imposed, a revenue, one year with another of at least a million, would be received.

The protecting duties on silk manufactures, by being so high, lead to a great extent of smuggling; and therefore it is clear that a great amount of revenue is lost by them; for if they were reduced so as not to exceed the premium of insurance

* Evidence of Mr Porter, (2716.)

against loss by smuggling, depriving thereby the smuggler of the means of making any profit by his trade, all the silk goods that now get into consumption by smuggling would pay duty. It is the same with all the other high protecting duties. In every case revenue is lost; and therefore the aggregate loss occasioned by the system of protection, is obviously immense. According to an estimate which Mr M'Gregor has made of this loss, he is of opinion, that if the schedule of customs' duties was altered in the way he has proposed, in place of L.22,962,610, which they last year yielded, they would at least yield L.28,550,000, or an increase of L.5,587,390, (1061.) Mr J. D. Hume's evidence affords a corroboration of this opinion. He says, 'I have 'no doubt that, if there was no protecting duties, the revenue 'would flow in to a very great increase.'—'If,' says he, 'the 'people were relieved from the additional price which they pay 'on the goods, on account of their being protected, they would 'be able, and in effect would, in the expenditure of their incomes, 'pay a larger proportion to the revenue,' (1214-1217.) The estimate by Mr M'Gregor would have shown a much larger increase, if it had been made on the principle of abolishing all protecting duties; but it was not so made; on the contrary, he distinctly proposes to continue high protecting duties on sugar, coffee, and timber; and a protecting duty of twenty per cent on the manufactures of glass, silk, paper, leather, linen, and hemp, (1062.)

A complete illustration of the fact, that protecting duties diminish revenue, is afforded by the case of the customs' revenue of France. There, the policy of protection has been enforced since 1667, with the utmost strictness. The result of this system, as to the customs' revenue, is shown in the Report of Lord Clarendon and Dr Bowring on the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and France; for it appears that France, with a population of thirty-five millions, had, when this Report was made in 1832, a customs' revenue of only three and a half millions sterling. *

Another striking effect of protection on revenue, is its operation in diminishing the means of the public to pay taxes, by the increase of the prices of all those articles which are subject to the protecting duties. This increase of prices operates as a heavy load of indirect taxation, and takes out of the pockets of the public many millions a-year, which would otherwise be spent in commodities subject to the legitimate taxes. Mr J. D. Hume

* Evidence of Dr Bowring, (702.)

says, 'I have always considered that the increase of price in 'consequence of protection amounts to a tax. If I am made 'to pay 1s. 6d. for an article, which, in the absence of the law, 'I could buy for 1s., I consider the 6d. a tax; and I pay it with 'regret, because it does not go to the revenue of the country.' 'Every protection of a commodity operates as a tax on the com-'munity at large.'—'I conceive the actual money paid for the 'protecting system, and the evil effect produced, would be more 'than the whole revenue of the country,' (1130-1231.) Dr Bowring says, 'If, by a protecting duty on a foreign article, you 'raise the price of the home-produced article, you thus levy on 'the consumers the whole amount of the difference, in the shape 'of indirect taxation, which does not go to the Treasury,' (872.) Mr M'Gregor says, 'I consider that the taxation imposed upon 'the country by the duties on corn, provisions, and her protec-'tions, is far greater than the amount of taxation paid to the 'Treasury,' (1014.)

Such a state of things having been suffered to grow up to its present oppressive extent, is to be attributed, as before observed, to the ignorance of the community with respect to all subjects connected with the business of supplying their wants, and with respect to the circumstances that affect prices. There is not probably one man in ten thousand who is sufficiently informed to know that a protecting duty raises price; and that this additional price is a tax, as much as that on houses is one. Had it been otherwise, the progress of the legislature in imposing protecting duties would have been arrested, and the country at large many millions a-year richer than it now is. The fact is, that those parties who are interested in maintaining the system of protecting duties—namely, landowners, West India planters, silk and a few other manufacturers, and some of the shipowners—have succeeded in making all the rest of the community believe, that in paying some forty or fifty millions a-year for the commodities they have consumed, more than they need have paid, they have been all the while contributing to their own good, and to the wealth, power, and prosperity of the nation!

We shall now produce proofs of the accuracy of the preceding remarks; and we trust that the information which will thus be conveyed to the public, will have due effect in rousing it from its ignorance and awakening its exertions.

'Sugar.—*Mr M'Gregor*—The consumer pays, at the pre-'sent moment, 50 per cent more than he would pay, if it was not 'for the monopoly of the sugar market, (636.) *Dr Bowring*—'The consumption of the United Kingdom, according to official 'returns, is about 17 lbs. per annum per individual: upon that

'if the additional price paid be 2d. a pound, which is a very low 'estimate, that is a taxation of L.3,500,000; growing out of the 'protection which colonial sugar has in preference to the sugar of 'other countries, (692.) *Mr Porter*—The difference between 'the price of foreign sugar and our colonial sugar, without duty, 'is about 40s. or 41s. per cent; 41s. would be a difference of 4d. 'a lb., (2651.) But 4d. a pound is double what Dr Bowring has 'taken it at in his estimate; and therefore, according to Mr Por-'ter's statement, the taxation growing out of the protection of 'colonial sugar ought to be set down at L.7,000,000 a-year. 'COFFEE.—*Mr M'Gregor*—The difference in the price of coffee, 'in the states of Europe as compared with England, is 80 per 'cent higher in England, (914.) *Mr Lechford*—The price of 'coffee has of late increased 35 per cent. Since I first com-'menced business, for the coffees that I bought for 48s. in bond 'per cwt., I now pay from 110s. to 120s., (2794.) The con-'sumption of coffee in the United Kingdom is 25,000,000 lbs., 'and taking the increased price, in consequence of the protecting 'duty, at 6d. a pound, this would make the additional price paid 'in the way of taxation, growing out of protection, L.625,000. 'CORN.—*Dr Bowring*—According to the admitted fact, that the 'consumption of corn in this country, of all descriptions, is 45 'million quarters, the lowest rate of additional price that can be 'taken, in consequence of the duties on foreign corn, is 5s. a 'quarter; therefore, it is quite clear that the corn-laws impose 'an indirect tax of L.11,000,000 on the community, (697.) 'MEAT.—*Dr Bowring*—I have made an estimate of the probable 'amount of taxes levied on the people of this country by the in-'hibition of the import of butchers' meat. I have grounded it 'on the only country where I have got any thing approximating 'as to consumption. Prussia consumes 485,000,000 lbs. of 'butchers' meat, with a population of about 14,000,000. I esti-'mate that the consumption of butchers' meat in this country, 'cannot be less than 50 lbs. per head per annum; it has been 'frequently estimated at double. Now this, on 25,000,000 'of consumers makes a consumption of 1,250,000,000 lbs. per 'annum. If the prohibition of foreign cattle and foreign butchers' 'meat only raised the price here one penny a pound, it will be 'found that there is an indirect taxation of more than L.5,000,000 'sterling levied upon the community. If the added value is 2d. 'a pound, which I am disposed to think is nearer the truth, it 'will be then seen, that L.10,000,000 are taken from the com-'munity in consequence of the prohibition of foreign meat; and 'if that should appear correct which many statisticians have 'considered as the average of consumption in this country,

'viz. 100 lbs. per annum, that is about a third of a pound per day 'per individual;—if the consumption be as great as that, then a 'sum of L.20,000,000 sterling is levied annually, upon the con- 'sumer, upon that article alone. In Prussia, on the average, the 'price of butchers' meat is from 3½d. to 4½d. a pound, (692,693.) 'TIMBER.—If the statement already given of Mr J. D. Hume 'is correct, that an additional revenue of one million a-year might 'be obtained by a proper settlement of the duties on timber, it 'follows, that the public are paying at least one million a-year 'more for timber than they ought to pay.'

By tracing the effect of each protecting duty in the same way, it would be found that, in every instance, a greater or less degree of indirect taxation is generated, of no avail to the Treasury; and of very little utility to those parties who believe that they derive some benefit from these duties. Not less than a fourth part of every man's expenditure, on those articles that are protected, is paid to uphold this system; while the revenue of the country, as has been shown, suffers a loss of nearly L.6,000,000 a-year. If the protecting duties were remodelled—though on the principle of not exposing any vested interest to too sudden a change or to any ultimate loss—and if the whole of the other customs' duties were revised, the public would be relieved from forty or fifty millions of indirect taxation; and the revenue would be increased to such an amount, that all the most obnoxious and mischievous of the Excise duties might either be repealed or greatly modified.

It is extremely satisfactory to find that the evidence given before the Committee very clearly points out the practicability of new-modelling each branch of the protecting duties, in such a way as will prevent any injury, either immediate or ultimate, to any private interests; and we shall now refer to those parts of it which contain recommendations for new rates of duties.

With regard to the protecting duties on colonial productions, we have shown what the effects of these are on the revenue and on prices; viz. that the loss of revenue in consequence of the duties on foreign sugar, coffee, and timber, is four millions and a-half a-year; and that the indirect taxation which is the consequence of these duties, takes from the pockets of the public some eight or ten millions sterling. As there are eighty-four protecting duties on as many colonial articles, and as each duty leads to a loss of revenue and indirect taxation, the aggregate sum of evil arising from the system must be enormous.

As to the protecting duty on sugar, it is important to remark, that it has come practically into operation in favour of the sugar colonies only within a few years; for until of late, the supply

of colonial sugar was large enough to admit of a regular export of it to the Continent, where it was sold in fair competition with foreign sugar. This circumstance, therefore, makes it evident that the high duty on foreign sugar did not formerly much contribute to add to the price of sugar in the United Kingdom; the price here being regulated by the price which the exported sugar brought in the foreign market. If, therefore, the duty on foreign sugar was now reduced, so as to allow foreign sugar to come into competition in our own market on equal terms with our colonies, the owners of sugar estates would have no reason to complain. But the recommendation in Mr M'Gregor's evidence is, not to equalize the duties, but to continue a protecting duty of 8s. per cwt.; and therefore, if any opposition is raised against such a charge, it ought not to be listened to. Mr J. D. Hume says, that when the time comes that our colonies cannot supply this country in a fair degree, according to the fair expectations of the country, with articles of so much importance, (as sugar and coffee,) then, the government and the public must make up their minds as to the distinction hereafter to be settled between the duties on our colonial, and on foreign sugar and coffee, (1414.) This time has arrived, and the legislature ought to take up the subject in earnest, in order to do justice to the public.

Mr M'Gregor has proposed to reduce the duty on foreign sugar from 63s. to 32s., and to keep the duty on our colonial sugar at 24s.; thus giving our colonies a protecting duty of 8s. per cwt. But this would make the duties too high; because, taking the price of foreign sugar at 42s. per cwt., and adding 32s. for duty, the price in our market would be 74s., which will make the price of a pound of brown sugar 7¾d.,—a price too high for the poorer classes; and consequently a price that will prevent the consumptionof sugar from being very much increased. A better arrangement, both in regard to revenue and price, would be to reduce the duty on our colonial sugar from 24s. to 20s., and to make the duty on foreign sugar 24s. per cwt.; thus giving a protection of 4s. per cwt., or nearly one halfpenny a pound, to our colonies. With these duties, taking the price of foreign sugar at from 40s. to 42s., and adding the duty of 24s., the price in our market would be from 64s. to 66s., which would make the price of a pound of brown sugar from 6d. to 7d. instead of 9d., which it now is. Such a reduction in price would, as Mr Warner says, 'produce a consumption that would go to 'any extent at this moment,' (1935.)

The new taste which has of late grown up among the middle and lower orders for drinking coffee instead of beer and spirits,

renders it extremely desirable to make good the immense deficiency in the proper supply of coffee by our colonies. The examination of five keepers of the modern coffee-houses or shops, by the Committee, gives a very curious and interesting view of the progress of the habit of coffee-drinking. It appears that there were not above ten or twelve of these coffee-shops in London, twenty-five years ago; but that now there are 1800; that they increase at the rate of 100 a-year; that the price per cup of coffee is from 1d. to 3d.; and that one of the keepers, who charges 1½d. a cup, has from 1500 to 1800 persons daily at his house. The consumption of coffee by the labouring classes is shown in the following extract from the evidence of Mr Lechford:—'Does a man 'come and obtain his breakfast?—Yes; he comes in the morn-'ing at four o'clock, and has a cup of coffee, a thin slice of bread, 'and butter, and for that he pays 1½d.; and then again at eight, 'for his breakfast, he has a cup of coffee, a penny loaf, and a 'pennyworth of butter, which is 3d.; and at dinner-time, instead 'of going to a public-house, at one o'clock he comes in again, 'and has his coffee and his bread, and brings his own meat. I 'do not cook for any one, (2783.) Would a reduction in the du-'ties on coffee and sugar be a great and important advantage to 'the classes of society that resort to your house?—Most mate-'rial, (2801.) And that too in a moral point of view, as well as 'with regard to their pecuniary means?—Most decidedly, (2802.) 'Then those societies which formerly met in public-houses, are 'now gradually resorting to coffee-houses?—They are, particu-'larly at the east end of the town. I believe that not one-third 'of my customers ever go into a public-house at all. We have 'an immense trade in the middle of the day. I should wish to 'state, that latterly the coffee-houses have been compelled to sell 'meat—ready-cooked meat; people were so desirous of having 'their meals in houses of that description, that they have come 'and had their dinner there, as well as their tea and breakfast. 'We often have a hundred people dining in the middle of the 'day, off cold ham, and meat, and coffee,' (2818.) These witnesses complain bitterly of the pressure of the present high prices of coffee and sugar on their trade; and say that, if they continue, they will be compelled to raise the price of coffee; and thus take a step which will have a very bad effect in checking the habit of drinking coffee in preference to beer and spirits. They say, on the contrary, that if the duties were lowered, the consumption of coffee would soon be five times greater than it now is; and that this is not an extravagant anticipation is shown by the fact, that in Ireland coffee is now sold, in place of whisky, in the public-houses in the districts under Father

Mathew's influence. The duty on our colonial coffee is 6d. a pound; but this is much too high, being at least 100 per cent on the value of coffee. It ought to be reduced to 4d.; and as 2d a lb. would be an ample protection to our colonies, the duty on foreign coffee ought to be lowered from 15d. to 6d. With a reduction of duty to this extent, instead of a consumption of twenty-five millions of pounds a-year, it would soon reach seventy-five or one hundred millions, and the revenue would be very much increased.

The legislature should the less hesitate in admitting foreign sugar and coffee into consumption, because it has it in its power to make such alterations in the laws that regulate the affairs of the colonies, as would confer on them a full compensation for any inconvenience which they might suffer, from competition with foreign sugar and coffee. These laws form a part of the system of the original colonial monopoly. The mother country, in consequence of binding herself to give a preference to the productions of her colonies, secured by these laws the market of the colonies for her own, by excluding the importation of foreign productions. These laws have in some degree been modified; but, as they now exist, the colonies are prevented from employing foreign shipping; from sending their productions direct to foreign markets; and all foreign productions are subject to customs' duties so high as to be nearly prohibitory. These duties are called imperial duties, and are collected, not by the colonial governments, but by custom-house officers appointed by the crown. Their salaries amount to L.68,000 a-year, while the revenue received amounts to only L.75,000; which shows a cost of collection of nearly 100 per cent.* The duty on flour is 5s. a barrel; on beef and pork, 8s. a barrel; on shingles, 14s. per 1000; on staves, 15s. per 1000; on hoops, 5s. 3d. per 1000: fish is prohibited.

These restrictions on articles of food, foreign wood, foreign manufactures, and foreign shipping, have always been considered by the colonies as interfering, to a very serious extent, with their prosperity. They have been described as defeating all the advantages derived from the monopoly of supplying the United Kingdom with sugar and coffee; and some of the best informed persons, connected with the colonies, have even proposed in Parliament to give up the monopoly, provided the trade between the colonies and foreign countries was opened.† Mr M'Gregor says,

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* *Financial Reform*, p. 245.

† See Speech of Mr Bright, May 25, 1829.—Hansard's Debates.

respecting these restrictions—'I am confident that not only 'would they (the colonies) be in favour of their being with-'drawn, but they would consider it as one of the greatest boons 'we could extend to them. As far back as 1834, the people of 'the Canadas expressed the opinion to me distinctly—"Re-'move these restrictions and prohibitions, and you may legis-'late as you think wise and fit in regard to the timber duties,"' (991.)

The effect of these restrictions is to raise the price of the food and timber, which the planters are under the necessity of importing for cultivating their estates, and making sugar and rum; and this advance in prices, by adding very considerably to the cost of production, increases the prices of sugar and coffee to the British consumer. In order, therefore, to do all that can be done to lower the price of sugar and coffee—and to place the sugar colonies in a condition to be able to carry on a successful competition with foreign sugar, under the change of duties which has been proposed—all these restrictions should be removed, and the colonies placed on the footing of a perfectly free trade; and further, in order to give the greatest possible relief to the colonies, both of North America and the West Indies, all their productions of every kind, except sugar, coffee, rum, and timber, should be admitted, duty-free, into the United Kingdom; and all productions of the United Kingdom should be admitted, duty-free, into those colonies, so as to place them, as to trade, as nearly as possible on the same footing with Ireland.

The restrictions on the trade of the colonies are of no use to the parties they were originally intended to benefit. With a free trade, our manufactures would be preferred by the colonies, because they are the cheapest. The Scotch fisheries, and the Irish provisions, have abundance of markets without looking to that of the colonies. No English flour, shingles, staves, nor hoops, are sent to the colonies; and the shipping interest would have more freights with a free colonial trade than it now has. On this subject Mr M'Gregor says—'With respect to the West Indies, 'the protection should be very small, provided you allowed them 'to get their supplies without imposing any duties on those sup-'plies; and if you allowed them to get labour where they could 'get it cheapest,' (655.)—'I would remove all British custom-'houses from the colonies,' (930.) Mr Hume says, 'I am 'strongly of opinion that all our colonies would be able to com-'pete with the world, and to become exceedingly prosperous, if 'they had free trade offered them; and having granted that boon 'to them, I think it would be wholly unnecessary to support them 'by any protection,' (1411.)

There is another description of protection that is given to the sugar colonies that remains to be noticed, and that is—the protection afforded by the discriminating duties on the productions of the East Indies. This is a most mischievous and most unjustifiable policy with reference to any thing like sound principles of legislation. Some steps have, of late years, been taken towards modifying it, by reducing the duties on sugar and coffee produced in the possessions of the East India Company; but nothing will do, short of equalizing the duties on the productions of the countries in the East Indies that are subject to British control. This topic is so fully treated in our article, in this Number, on the Commerce of India, that it is only necessary to refer to it.

Having now gone through the protecting duties on colonial productions, we shall next consider those on manufactures. There are two striking facts connected with them, in the highest degree deserving of attention; the first, that the most flourishing manufacture we have—namely, the cotton manufacture—was never protected by any legislative measure, but persecuted in its origin, by levying taxes on cotton goods, to favour the woollen trade; the second, that our least flourishing manufacture—namely, that of silk—was, till 1825, protected by an absolute prohibition to import foreign silk goods. The history of the silk manufacture exhibits a perfect illustration of the great practical legislative error of attempting to establish manufactures by protection; for up to the year 1825, while it was protected by every possible means, it was for ever subject to misfortunes. What has since taken place should operate as a strong encouragement to Government, not to listen to the clamours and forebodings of manufacturers, after having once determined to remove or modify a protecting duty. The silk manufacture, which had at all times, up to that year, been in the most miserable condition as to wages, profits, machinery, and the quality of the goods, began to wear an entirely different appearance immediately after the duties were altered; and has since become a flourishing branch of industry. Mr Dillon, who has been for several years in the silk trade, says, the extension of the trade is to be attributed to the reduction of the protecting duties, (2852.) It has restored the trade to a more sound and healthy state than it existed in before, and has perhaps prevented its extinction, (2841.) Mr Hilton, a silk manufacturer, says, the trade has increased very considerably since 1825; the effect of the reduction of the duties has been very beneficial, both to the public and to the manufacture itself, (2393.) There would be no decrease in the exportation of plain silk, if the protecting duty

was taken off, (2405.) Dr Bowring says, since the admission of foreign silks we have been very large exporters of silk goods, (2393.) The great extension of the manufacture since 1825, is proved by the importation of materials, as exhibited in the parliamentary returns. These show that the importation of raw thrown silk and waste, retained for home consumption, in the years from 1833 to 1837, was 4,056,836 lbs. per annum; while the importation of the same articles, from 1820 to 1825, was 2,984,889 lbs. per annum.*

The next circumstance to be noticed, shows that we have carried our zeal for protection to a most absurd extent. We have kept the statute book crowded with high duties, by way of protection, on branches that cannot by any possibility derive protection from them!—the reason being, that these manufactures are made cheaper in the United Kingdom than they can be made abroad, and are consequently exported in great quantities. The manufactures of wool, flax, hemp, metals, and a great number of others, are of this kind.

With regard to the manufacturers themselves, it would appear that they have no wish to maintain protecting duties; for, although schemes of various extensive modifications, and even the total repeal of these duties, have of late years been before the public, the Secretary of the Board of Trade says, that 'frequent 'statements are made by those engaged in manufactures, that they 'require no protection,' (11.;) that the only parties who of late have required protection, are 'deputations from the silk manufacturers, 'from the paper stainers, and a *few others*,' (72.) He adds, 'the 'glass manufacturers are among *the few* who ask for protecting 'duties,' (82.)

Mr M'Gregor, in framing his new table of customs' duties, has proposed to make the duty on all foreign manufactures ten per cent *ad valorem*—excepting only the manufactures of glass, silk, paper, leather, linen, and hemp; and on these he would lay a duty of twenty per cent *ad valorem*, (1062.) Now, with respect to the duty of ten per cent, considering the opportunities Mr M'Gregor has had of making himself thoroughly acquainted with the state of our manufactures, and his official situation in the department which is responsible to the public for the superintendence and extension of our trade and manufactures, the recommendation of reducing all protecting duties to this rate of ten per cent, except on those just enumerated, is one that ought to have very great weight with the legislature. We feel quite confident that there does not exist the slightest grounds for

* Evidence of Mr Dillon, (2846.)

objecting to what Mr M'Gregor has proposed; although no doubt, if his plan were adopted by government, scarcely any manufacture would be touched without giving rise to representations similar to those regarding the silk manufacture in 1825. But with respect to the duty of twenty per cent on the glass, silk, paper, leather, linen, and hemp manufactures, we cannot so readily assent to Mr M'Gregor's proposal; for he has advanced no reason to show why a higher duty than ten per cent should be laid on these articles.

As to the glass manufacture, the following extract from his evidence most convincingly shows that no protection is necessary:—'78. Do you know any reason why the duty on the import should be more than the duty that is levied by the excise on the manufactures of this country?—The only reason that I can give is, that it was a heavy duty imposed for protection, and the glass manufacturers are among those who protest against any reduction of the duty on glass; still the fact with regard to plate-glass or large looking-glasses is this, that notwithstanding the high excise duty, large plated looking-glasses are sold quite as low, and even lower in England than in Paris. The duty is specially heavy upon all common glass: the difference is more than 100 per cent between the prices in France and Germany, and in England. 79. Then if those looking-glasses are sold now as cheap in England as in France, what occasion is there for any protecting duty beyond that which may be equal to our excise duty here?—None whatever, unless the sum which may be levied is a mere fiscal duty upon inferior articles; such as glass bottles, common window glass, and the glass that is used for hot-houses for horticultural purposes; the difference of price is from 100 to 200 per cent, owing to the excise duty. 80. Is a considerable quantity of that glass imported into this country?—No; the duty is a prohibition. Glass, being an article of great bulk and precarious carriage, is totally shut out from contraband trade. 81. Is it within your knowledge that the materials for manufacturing glass are cheaper abroad than they are in England?—No, I think not. 82. The glass manufacturers protest strongly for the continuance of the duties?—The glass manufacturers are among the very few who ask for the protecting duties. 83. Do you know why they seek that protection; is it owing to the excise regulation, or owing to their opinion that glass would be produced cheaper abroad?—Most of them, as far as it appears to me, ask for protection from ignorance of the matter. 84. The materials, you say, are cheaper here?—I think, if any thing, they are cheaper here.'

How far the silk manufacture is in a state to require protec-

tion, may be judged of by the following references to the evidence:—Mr Porter says, 'The French have no natural advantage 'over us, (2570;) we have the materials as cheap, some of them 'cheaper—namely, the China and Bengal raw silk; the manufac- 'turers have no ground for alarm on account of a reduction of 'the duty; the only advantage the French have is, "in the 'amount of taste they display in their patterns;" and our pro- 'tection of the manufacture is the cause of this; because protec- 'tion always has the effect of setting people to sleep.' He further says, that this want of activity on the part of our manufacturers in forwarding improvements and inventions, adds greatly to the price of silk goods made in England; and thus deprives our manufacturers of advantages over the French which they ought to have, (2563.) Mr Gibson, a manufacturer, says, 'I think the 'opportunities we have had of seeing the various manufactures of 'France, (by being allowed to import them,) has enabled us to 'make improvements. We have done a great deal more of their 'fancy figured silks, than we ever did before; at the same time 'competition has very much excited to exertion,' (2230.) He goes on to say, that since the alteration of the duty in 1825, very considerable improvement has taken place in our spinning machinery; that it is superior to the machinery of any other country, and that we have this advantage over foreigners, (2335.) Mr Hilton, a manufacturer, says, 'if there were no protecting 'duties on plain silk goods, I think more would be imported, but 'we should be able to compete with them. We have an advan- 'tage in producing plain silks over other countries—the duty as 'intended as a protecting duty is nugatory; the machinery for 'preparing silk for the weaver, has been of late very considerably 'improved, (2389.)

The following evidence shows there ought not to be any protecting duty for the paper manufacture:—Mr M'Gregor— 'The paper manufacturers complain that they have more diffi- 'culty of getting rags than the people of France; but, so long as 'France imports rags from the countries we get rags from, the 'fact cannot be true,' (162.) 'One of the principal paper manu- 'facturers, Alderman Venables, stated to me that, with reference 'to writing paper and paper for printing, this country did not 'fear any competition whatever.'—'The paper stainers say, they 'require a protection of 100 or more per cent, for all sorts of 'paper hangings; which is strangely at variance with the admis- 'sion of the paper manufacturers, who supply the paper-hanging 'manufacturers, that they are not afraid of competition with other 'countries. All fine writing paper, nearly all over the continent, 'is imported from England,' (162-166-167.)

As to the leather manufacture, the only branch of it that is exposed to foreign competition is, the kid glove trade. Mr M'Gregor's evidence, however, shows that since the duty on gloves was considerably reduced in 1825, this trade has made very great progress; and that in point of fact, the French, who are our chief competitors, have no natural advantages over us. The present high duty, he says, does more injury to our manufactures than the freest competition could do; in consequence of the great extent to which the smuggling of gloves is carried on. As all the kid skins which our manufacturers use are foreign, and, as there is a duty upon them, the proper course to take regarding this trade is, not to attempt to assist it by a protecting duty, but to take off the duty on the raw material.

With regard to Mr M'Gregor's proposal, to have a duty of twenty per cent on the linen and hemp manufactures, it is to be remarked, that he must have overlooked the circumstance of the linen and hemp manufacturers having repeatedly presented Memorials to the Board of Trade, in which they have declared that they did not require the protecting duties to be continued. Mr Porter says—'with regard to linen, the protecting duties are 'perfectly inoperative,' (2620.) This has arisen from the great superiority we possess in the mill-spinning of yarn.

The proper conclusion, therefore, with reference to the peculiar circumstances belonging to the manufactures of glass, silk, paper, leather, linen, and hemp, is, that there are no grounds whatever for not reducing the duties on these manufactures to the same rate—namely, ten per cent—which Mr M'Gregor has proposed to lay on all other manufactures. If the legislature were to decide in this way, and to declare its opinion with firmness, very little effective opposition could be made to having the duties on all foreign manufactures fixed at ten per cent. No doubt, in attempting it, loud remonstrances would be made; but the time is gone by when manufacturers were easily able to impose upon statesmen, in consequence of their ignorance not only of the principles, but the practices of trade. Every manufacturer who may be affected by the protecting duty on his trade being removed, should bear in mind, that he will be very much benefited by the general abrogation of all protecting duties; that the prices of all the articles now protected which he has to purchase will be reduced; and therefore, even if he should suffer some inconvenience from the change, he will receive sufficient compensation. So also, if, as it has been proposed, all the duties on raw materials are repealed at the same time that the protecting duties are reduced, every manufacturer will be greatly benefited, and receive a further compensation for having his affairs exposed to some derangement.

There remains but one other topic to refer to regarding the protecting duties, namely, the great change which has, of late years, taken place regarding them, in the opinions of merchants and manufacturers. In 1820, the merchants of London presented a petition to the House of Commons, containing the following statement:—'That unfortunately a practice, the very reverse of 'freedom from restraint, has been, and is more or less adopted 'and acted upon by the governments of this and almost every 'other country; each trying to exclude the productions of other 'countries, with the specious and well-meant design of encouraging its own productions:—thus inflicting on the bulk of its 'subjects who are consumers, the necessity of submitting to privations in the quantity and quality of commodities; and thus 'rendering what ought to be the source of mutual benefit and 'harmony amongst states, a constantly-recurring source of 'jealousy and hostility. That the prevailing prejudices in favour 'of the protective or restrictive system may be traced to the 'erroneous supposition, that every importation of foreign commodities occasions a diminution or discouragement of our own 'productions to the same extent; whereas it may be clearly 'shown, that although the particular description of production 'which could not stand against unrestrained foreign competition 'would be discouraged, yet as no importation could be continued 'for any length of time, without a corresponding exportation, 'direct or indirect, there would be an encouragement, for the 'purpose of that exportation, of some other production to which 'our situation might be better suited; thus affording at least an 'equal, or probably a greater, and certainly a more beneficial 'employment to our own capital and labour.' Similar petitions were presented at the same time from Glasgow, and all the great trading and manufacturing towns. The Chamber of Commerce of Manchester passed resolutions, approving of Mr Huskisson's measure, in 1825; and in 1839 it declared its opinion in the following terms:—'That this meeting re-'gards the present as the proper occasion for reiterating its 'adherence to the opinion so often declared by this Chamber, 'that the prosperity, peace, and happiness of the people of this 'and other nations can be alone promoted by the adoption of 'those just principles of trade, which shall secure to all the right 'of a free interchange of their respective productions; and this 'meeting, on behalf of the great community whose interests it 'represents, feels especially called upon to declare its disapprobation of all those restrictive laws which, whether intended for 'the protection of the manufacturing or agricultural classes, 'must, in so far as they are operative, be injurious to the rest of

'the nation, unjust to the world at large, and in direct hostility 'to the beneficent designs of Providence.' The deputies of the manufacturers of Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, Derby, Nottingham, Wolverhampton, Birmingham, and Glasgow, at their meeting on 5th July 1839, declared, 'that this 'meeting, whilst it demands of the Legislature, as an act of 'justice, the total and immediate repeal of all laws imposing 'duties upon, or restricting the importation of corn and other 'articles of subsistence, is prepared to resign all claims to pro-'tection on home manufactures; and to carry out to their fullest 'extent, both as affects agriculture and manufacture, the true 'and peaceful principles of free trade, by removing all existing 'obstacles to the unrestricted interchange of industry and capital 'among all nations.'

These, and numerous other public proofs which could be referred to, show that the opinions of all intelligent and disinterested persons in trade, are most decidedly in favour of that change of system which we have, in this article, advocated.

In making the change from a system of duties for protection, to one of duties for revenue alone, the proceedings should by all means be gradual; and the duties should be reduced, in the first instance, on those manufactures which are the least exposed to foreign competition. Mr J. D. Hume, on this principle, has divided the several manufactures into the three following classes. He says—'I have thought it well to divide them into three 'classes, not perhaps with the strictest regularity, but because 'the degree of importance, in the different cases, differs very con-'siderably. I have put in the *first class* those to which I con-'ceive the greatest importance must be attached as regards pro-'tection, and also taking into view the revenue which the articles, 'many of them, produce. Keeping in mind the same purpose, 'I have arranged the *second class* and the *third* upon the same 'principle.' *

CLASS I.

Corn.	Cottons.	Hardware
Malt (prohibited.)	Copper.	Glass.
Silks.	Tin.	China.
Linens.	Fish and Fish Oil.	Earthenware.
Woollens.	Whalebone.	Cordage.
Hats, Felt, &c.	Beef and Pork, salted.	Brandy.
Watches.	Butcher Meat (prohib.)	Geneva.
Paper.	Cattle	Sugar.
Plate.	Sheep (prohibited.)	Coffee.
Carriages.	Swine	Rum.

* Evidence of J. D. Hume, (1343.)

CLASS 2.

Lace.	Wire.	Tallow.
Shawls.	Leather.	Soap.
Gauze and Thread.	Parchment.	Candles.
Gloves.	Mill Boards.	Vinegar.
Straw Hats & Bonnets.	Casks.	Hops.
—— Platting.	Twine.	Beer.
Shoes and Boots.	Whipcord.	Cider
Embroidery and Needle-work.	Casks, made.	Meal.
	Hides and Skins.	Mustard.
Buttons.	Oak Bark.	Essential Oils.
Jewellery.	Oak Timber.	Oil of Turpentine.
Turnery.	Seeds.	Rosin.
Musical Instruments.	Butter.	Turpentine.
Picture Frames.	Cheese.	Tar.
Telescopes.	Starch.	Pitch.

CLASS 3.

Lead.	Tiles.	Pearl Barley.
Spelter.	Clinkers.	Arrow Root.
Manganese Ore.	Hones.	Nuts.
Stone.	Whetstones.	Truffles.
Gypsum.	Hams.	Flower Roots.
Alum.	Tongues.	Basket Rods.
Alkali.	Bacon.	Bullrushes.
Barilla.	Lard.	Quills.
Black Lead.	Eggs.	Pens.
Copperas.	Sausages.	Feathers.
Smalts.	Bladders.	Camomile Flowers.
Brass powder.	Pickles.	Lavender Flowers.
Camphor, refined.	Wax.	Macaroni.
Tinfoil.	Honey.	Rice.
Chalk.	Onions.	Chip Hats.
Crayons.	Potatoes.	Baskets.
Ashes.	Hay.	Mats and Matting.
Tobacco Pipes.	Grease.	Vellum.
Bricks.	Glue.	

Supposing a Bill to be brought in next Session for reducing the protecting duties to 10 per cent, it ought to be enacted that the duties should be reduced, on the *third* class, on the 1st January 1842—on the *second*, on the 1st July 1842—and on the *first*, on the 1st January 1843. In this way, ample time would be afforded to all parties to prepare for the new state of circumstances.

In determining what course should be taken with regard to a revision of the protecting duties, the old practice of making this a matter of negotiation with foreign governments, ought to be abandoned. The only proper ground for reducing any duty

being the benefit which we ourselves will derive, in obtaining a cheap foreign commodity, and the creation of a demand for products of our industry to be exported to pay for it, we are not called upon to seek a reciprocal reduction of duty, on the importation into foreign countries, of the article on which we propose to make a reduction. It is clear, that if the revision of our system was made to depend upon foreign countries agreeing to reciprocal reductions, we should make but little progress; and would never arrive at so large a scale of reduction as to have no higher duty on manufactures than ten per cent.

With regard to protecting duties on the productions of the soil, the evidence contains a great deal of valuable information, explanatory of the evils which they occasion. We shall not at present enter into any general discussion of the Corn-Law question; but shall confine ourselves to a few remarks on its present state, and what prospect there is of any change taking place. The same ignorance which has produced the quiet submission of the public to paying twice as high for their sugar and coffee as the people of other countries pay, has been the cause of the Corn-Laws having been so long in existence. Every one who has thoroughly understood the subject, has always foreseen that nothing but some national disaster would teach the public to take a clear and steady view of the pernicious effects of these laws. Such a disaster has occurred, in the sudden exportation of Bullion to an immense amount. This took place in 1839, for the purpose of obtaining a supply of foreign corn, to make good the deficiency of the harvest of 1838. From this exportation arose the derangement of the money market; the stagnation of credit; the diminution of the revenue; all the distress which has existed in trade and manufactures within the last eighteen months; and the narrow escape of the Bank of England from stoppage and bankruptcy. But, so long as the corn-laws exist in their present shape, the same event will recur, every bad harvest that takes place; because the graduated scale of duty will prevent that early importation of corn which enterprising merchants would have recourse to, the moment any prospect of a deficient harvest showed itself. Such is the condition in which all the great interests of the country—commerce, manufactures, revenue, profits of capital, employment of labour—is placed by these laws; and as the true state of the case is now fully understood, it cannot be a matter of doubt that a proper remedy will be applied to the evil.

On a question of this kind, adverse divisions in Parliament are of very little consequence with regard to ultimate success; for when a case is so unjust, and has no solid basis to rest upon, any

defection amongst its supporters will lead to complete defeat. Symptoms of such a defection have appeared. In conversation, nothing is now so common as to hear landlords who are intelligent and impartial, and above seeking to add a few hundreds a-year to their rent-rolls by a too high price of bread, admitting that the present plan of the corn-laws is wrong, and that a fixed duty ought to be established in place of it. The opinions of a considerable body of them was expressed by those who admitted, in the debate of last Session, that a change was necessary. It may safely be anticipated, that the prevalence of this disposition will soon lead several of the principal landed members, in both Houses of Parliament, to declare in favour of a fixed duty; and when this happens, the defeat and surrender of the exclusionists of foreign corn will be instantaneous, and a new law will pass. In point of fact, the state of the question has come to be, not so much whether the laws shall be altered, as what shall be the fixed duty. The exclusionists will, no doubt, do what they can to have it made so high as to be prohibitory; but the liberal landlords, after they have carried the repeal of the graduated scale, will not act with such unfairness. They will inform themselves accurately about the prices of corn in foreign countries, and the charges for transporting it to the Kingdom; and when they find that the average price abroad is full 40s. a quarter, and that the charges for transport amount to 10s. a quarter, they will be convinced that a moderate duty, added to the 10s. a quarter for charges, will afford the British landlord an ample protection. They will be the more disposed to come to this conclusion when they reflect, that for the six years ending with 1837, the average price in England was no more than 50s.; and that with this price, cultivation was never more extended, or carried on with more spirit and greater success.*

Landlords would discover another reason for being satisfied with a moderate fixed duty, if they would examine narrowly into the causes of high rents, and large rent-rolls. By making this enquiry, they would find that high rents do not altogether depend on high prices. This is proved by the comparison of rent-rolls now, with rent-rolls thirty years ago; for the additions to them have been much greater than can be accounted for by the increase in the price of corn. 'As far,' says Mr J. D. Hume, 'as the information I have got on the matter 'goes, I believe an exhibition of the rent-rolls of different 'parts of the country, would lay before the public eye one 'of the most astounding accounts that ever was witnessed,

* Tooke on Prices in 1838, 1839, p. 42.

(1384.) This increase is owing to a multiplicity of causes—to the augmentation of the population; to the increased wealth of the country; to the well-adapted application of capital to land, so as to render it more fertile; to the progress of agricultural science, and the improved education of farmers; to the use of new manures; to improvements in agricultural machinery and implements; and to the greatly increased economy which is practised by farmers in all agricultural operations. These causes of increased rents are all still in action, and will continue to be so, even with additional efficiency; so that if the corn-laws were wholly repealed, landlords would have no just grounds for any apprehension that their rents would be lowered: on the contrary, the continued progress of population, wealth, and agricultural science, would be followed by a continued progress in the advancement of rents.

With respect to the protecting duties on the other productions of the soil, these should all be repealed; for there can be no truth more clear than that to promote national industry and wealth, in the most effectual manner, food of all kinds ought to be as cheap as possible.

There is yet another very different, and perhaps more powerful argument for abandoning the protective system, than any we have used; namely, the necessity of averting those commercial hostilities which threaten the destruction of our prosperity as a manufacturing nation. If we continue our duties on corn, timber, sugar, coffee, and foreign manufactures, we have ample experience as to what the effect will be on our manufactures, trade, and revenue; and consequently on our power as a nation. The evidence on this point is of the most important kind, and peculiarly deserving of full confidence; because it is not that of interested witnesses, but of individuals who, from their situations under government, would be the last to speak as they have done, if they did not sincerely feel the danger to which the country is exposed.

According to a statement by Mr Porter, it appears that the shipments of manufactures, in the production of which much labour is employed, to the north of Europe, are very considerably decreased. In 1827, the proportions of manufactures requiring much, to those requiring little labour, shipped to this quarter, was—much labour, 61.78—little labour, 38.22. In 1838, the proportion was—much labour, 39.16—little labour, 60.84;—showing that in the north of Europe, the establishing of all descriptions of manufactures requiring much labour, had made great progress, and had deprived us, to a great extent, of the market of that part of the world, (2736.) Mr M'Gregor says, 'The consumption of British woollens and British cottons on 'the Continent has very greatly diminished—I think to the ex-'tent of one-half in all the Rhenish states. In the very coarse

'woollens we have lost the market,' (30.) 'The Prussian 'manufacturers produce goods now so cheaply, that they are 'meeting us in all the markets of the world,' (312.) 'Their 'stockings, silks, and woollens, find great demand now in 'America, and meet ours in that market,' (325.) '*Question by 'the Committee*—(1046.) Should you say that there was any ten- 'dency of late years for capital and industry to quit this country 'and settle in other countries?—Very great; insomuch that 'all the cotton factories in the neighbourhood of Vienna, in con- 'sequence of the cheapness of provisions, are in a very fair and 'prosperous condition; but then, all the directors of those manufac- 'tories are Englishmen or Scotsmen, from the cotton manufac- 'tories of Glasgow and Manchester. We find the same thing in 'France, that the principal people at Rouen in the cotton 'factories are from Lancashire; you find it in Belgium and in 'Holland; you find British capital going into Germany to a very 'great amount; and this very capital employed there producing 'manufactures which meet us in the markets of the Mediterranean, 'the United States, Cuba, Porto Rico, South America, and the 'East Indies.' '(1047.) Have you any personal knowledge of 'British capital, or British workmen being engaged in manufac- 'tures in the United States of America?—Yes, in the New 'England manufactories.'

When we come to examine into the cause of that successful competition which foreigners are able to carry on against us, we easily discover it in foreign hostile tariffs. Mr M'Gregor says, 'The argument they made use of to me upon every occasion at 'Berlin, in Saxony, and in the Rhenish States, and particularly 'at the two Congresses held at Munich and Dresden, was this— 'you compelled us to become manufacturers: we have not mines 'of gold and silver, and you would not take what we had to give 'you; but, if you had taken what we had to give, we should 'have continued to produce it; but, as you would not take it, 'our people were intelligent enough to turn their attention exten- 'sively to manufactures,' (312.) *Dr Bowring* says, 'I may 'mention a fact which has come immediately under my cog- 'nizance, and which I have reported to the British government. 'At Berlin, at the late Congress, offers were made to negotiate 'mutual modifications in the tariff of Germany and the tariff of 'England; and these offers were accompanied by statements, 'that, unless there were a mutual modification of tariffs, those 'governments would be forced to raise the duties on British 'manufactures. I have received within the last week papers 'containing the discussions which have taken place in the Cham- 'ber of Baden, where they have made an augmentation of L.100 'per cent upon the duties on cotton-twist, which is one of the

'largest British exports. I know also that the Chamber of 'Commerce of Saxony has taken up the subject; so that these 'very states which, a few months ago, were really willing to 'meet us on terms of friendly reciprocity, are beginning to 'take more and more of a hostile attitude, and are demanding 'heavier duties upon British commodities. I ought to state, 'that the difficulties of the past are daily increasing; that the 'manufacturing interest is daily strengthening itself in these 'countries. But I should also add, with regard to Sweden, that 'she is willing to consent to a modification of her tariff if our 'timber-duties could be modified here,' (747.) *Mr J. D. Hume* says, 'The only thing that has kept us up is the possession of 'capital and skill; but I do not think we can rely upon them 'for ever. I think we are going on a plan of undermin-'ing, which I cannot help often looking upon with consider-'able alarm. I think the country cannot stand such a system 'as this for a long period. The progress in manufactures 'which is observable abroad is such, that unless we do take some 'strong measures in this country for the purpose of putting our 'population upon a natural footing, and therefore upon nearly 'the same footing with their competitors, I do look forward with 'considerable apprehension to the trade of this country suffering 'very extremely: that is a reason in my mind for taking off all 'protections,' (1393.) Here, then, we see to how great an extent we have lost the markets of the north of Europe for our manufactures, in consequence of our refusing to admit the importation of their corn and timber. Had we allowed these productions to be imported under moderate duties, the capital and labour of the north of Europe would have been engaged in providing them for our use; while our capital and labour would have been employed in sending back our manufactures in payment; which would not only have added to their extension and prosperity, but, by spreading them over the north of Europe at lower prices than they could be produced there, would have prevented the establishing of manufactures of the same kind.

In order to add what must, to all unprejudiced thinkers, appear an irresistible argument in support of the foregoing views, we have only to refer to the present state of our commercial relations with Brazil and the United States. By our commercial treaty with Brazil, which expires in 1844, it is stipulated that all British produce and manufactures shall be admitted for consumption in Brazil at a duty of 15 per cent. But the Brazilian government, in consequence of our refusing to admit the sugar and coffee of Brazil to be imported into the United Kingdom, has, as Mr M'Gregor informed the Committee, given notice to our government, that after 1844 they will exclude the

importation of British produce and manufactures, (645.) Mr M'Gregor says, that the Brazilian market is the best for all our manufactures, and that the value of them sent there annually is nearly five millions, (647.) He further says, 'The 'general opinion expressed by the mercantile parties trading with 'the Brazils is this, that our trade during the last five years would 'have been more than doubled, both in navigation and in goods, 'if we had taken in return the produce that Brazil had to give us,' (908.) The existing tariff of duties on imports into the United States will expire in 1841. *Mr Porter* says, 'It has always been 'understood that the tariff of the United States (a very hostile one) 'at present in existence, was principally caused by our Corn-'Laws; and that if we had not had restrictions upon the impor-'tation of what are called "bread stroffs," from America, the in-'fluence of the wheat-growing states would have been employed, 'and successfully employed, in resisting the passing of the tariff,' (2735.) *Mr J. B. Smith* says, 'I have seen communications 'lately received from the United States from eminent merchants, 'which state that the discussions on the tariff will come on after 'the election of the President in November; and an opinion is 'given, that since that question was last discussed, the states of 'Illinois and Michigan, and other states, being almost altogether 'agricultural, who have recently joined the Union, it will depend 'upon our taking their flour and corn, whether the tariff will be re-'newed, or whether it will be of a more stringent character,' (2045.) The following is an extract from a letter from a well-informed American:—'The corn-growing states, who can have a surplus 'of twenty to forty millions of dollars per annum if they had a 'market for it, will also combine in favour of a prohibitory tariff, 'while the New England and middle states will go for it, to pro-'tect their own manufactures. These parties will embrace 'about three-fourths of our population, and seventh-eighths of 'the wealth of the nation; and *you may expect an excluding duty 'on your manufactures.* In cottons, by favour of your policy, 'we are on a level with you in coarse ones; and had our cur-'rency not been inflated, and thus raised the cost of manufac-'tures 25 to 33⅓ per cent, we should have exported ten to 'twelve millions of dollars per annum to Asia, South America, '&c., for the past five or six years; as it is, we now export 'about five millions. In woollens we have not done so well, 'though we now supply about four-fifths of our consumption. In 'iron, our national capacity for some kinds is greater than yours; 'and some of the skilful masters are now selling pig 25 to 33⅓ 'per cent below the cost of the foreign; and bar iron at about 'the cost of the imported.'

When the Manchester manufacturers, in 1839, complained in

the House of Commons, that they had lost the markets of the north of Europe, in consequence of the corn-laws, Sir Robert Peel met them by referring to an increase of exports to the United States and Brazil. But what will be left for him to say, if the complaint is renewed when these markets shall be shut against us, and exports of the value of five millions a-year to the latter, and seven millions to the former, annihilated? With such a prospect before us, it is not surprising that a person like Mr J. D. Hume, who has had so much opportunity of acquiring a complete knowledge of the foundations on which our manufacturing prosperity rests, should say, that he cannot regard the prospect without alarm, nor look forward without great apprehension to the future condition of this country. Every one who has paid attention to the circumstances under which the millions of workmen engaged in our manufactures labour and live, must feel deep anxiety in contemplating such a contingency as that of being deprived of the sale of goods, of the value of £12,000,000 annually, by losing two such markets. The misery which would follow from the want of employment would be without remedy. A prodigiously heavy charge would, in consequence, fall on the poor-rates, or, in other words, on landed property. And, from the experience we have had of the conduct of Luddites, Trades' Unions, and Chartists, and of the Operatives generally in times of great distress, every kind of disturbance of the public peace might, in such a state of things, be expected.

It may be observed, further, that independently of what Brazil and the United States may do, various foreign countries will become our rivals in establishing manufactures. The superiority we have hitherto obtained, has always been attributed to our skill and capital; but skill and capital will be acquired by other countries according as they advance in wealth and civilization. This is strikingly and convincingly proved by the progress which has taken place in Germany, France, Saxony, and Switzerland, as well as the United States. Yet, though other nations should, and assuredly will establish manufactures, there is no reason why we may not maintain our own in a state of great prosperity; for all we have to do is to secure a free trade with other nations; because our imports can be paid for only by exports of our productions; and these would necessarily be manufactures, the productions of our soil being dearer than similar ones abroad. The result of such a state of things would be, that each nation would confine its manufactures to those branches in which it possessed some natural advantages; and that all manufactures would be produced and sold at the lowest possible price, and the consumption of them carried, to the benefit of all parties, to the greatest possible extent.

Taking all these circumstances and views into consideration, it may be very safely affirmed that there never was a great change in a long-established course of policy, the necessity of which can be more demonstratively shown by reference to facts and experience, than the proposed reformation of the policy of protection. Whatever may be the opinions of some in favour of the wisdom of our ancestors, and however natural for mankind to be swayed by habit and prejudice, facts and experience place the inference to be drawn from the circumstances referred to beyond all question; —namely, that unless such a change shall take place, our manufacturing interest will be placed in the most imminent jeopardy. What can be advanced to justify the not admitting of the timber of the north of Europe, the flour of the United States, the sugar and coffee of Brazil?—Nothing but what private interests suggest. There are the owners of rotten ships, who might lose some freights —there are the owners of estates in the sugar colonies, who would prefer a protecting duty of 4d. a lb. on sugar, to the proposed reduced protecting duty of 1d. a lb.—and there are the owners of landed estates in the United Kingdom, who imagine very erroneously that rents would fall considerably if a moderate fixed duty on corn was substituted for the present graduated scale of duty. Such are the interests set up against the interests of the public at large. But now that the state of the case is fairly made known, it cannot surely be thought that our manufactures will be allowed to remain exposed to destruction; that the community will be kept subject to indirect taxation to the amount of thirty or forty millions a-year; and that the revenue shall be less by six millions a-year than it ought to be, merely for the purpose of adding to the profits and emoluments of shipowners, sugar-planters, and landed proprietors.

In the course of the above remarks, we have not said a word that has reference to party. The Committee was not appointed by Government. The selection and examination of the witnesses, and the Report of the Committee, have no party character about them. Let Mr M'Gregor's plan of a Tariff be referred to a Select Committee of the House of Commons; and let Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, Lord Sandon, and Mr Herries, be appointed members of the Committee. The reform of the Poor-Laws was a more difficult task than the proposed reform of the Customs' Duties; but the main difficulties were overcome by submitting it to the investigation and judgment of the leading men of both parties; and so, in all probability, would be the case with regard to the so strongly called for reform of our economical legislation.

ART. VI.—1. *Correspondence relative to the Niger Expedition.* Printed by order of the House of Commons. February 1840.

2. *Appeal to the People and Government of Great Britain against the Niger Expedition; a Letter addressed to the Right Honourable Lord John Russell.* By ROBERT JAMIESON, Esq. London: 1840.

3. *Letters to the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, on the Plans of the Society for the Civilization of Africa.* By SIR GEORGE STEPHEN. London: 1840.

4. *Address of Joseph R. Ingersoll at the Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society.* 1838.

5. *Address on African Colonization.* By R. R. GURLEY. 1839.

6. *Seventh Annual Report of the Colonization Society of the City of New York.*

SIR T. BUXTON'S estimate of the extent of the African Slave Trade, the probable efficacy of the measures which he proposes for the extinction of it, and the general character of his work, were discussed in our last Number. To this part of the subject we do not here propose to return. For the present, we shall confine ourselves to the consideration of the preliminary measure in furtherance of Sir Thomas Buxton's views, which the Government has consented to adopt—a measure which has been much praised and much censured; but of which the true scope and grounds have not, as it appears to us, been duly considered. That three iron steam-vessels have been built by Government, and are on the point of proceeding, under the command of three captains of the Royal Navy, up the Niger—that the object of the expedition is to prepare the way for the extinction of the Slave Trade, by means of the civilization of Africa—and that it is to cost L.61,000, are facts sufficiently well known, and upon which much debate has arisen. One party see in the enterprise only the final overthrow of the hated slave trade; another regards it as nothing better than the opening of a new unhappy chapter in the history of African colonization—another costly and miserable failure, fraught with great waste of British life and treasure, and bringing no good to Africa. The great meeting in Exeter-Hall is still fresh in remembrance, at which the most eminent persons of all parties laid their differences aside to sanction and promote the Niger expedition, and claim a share in the glory and responsibility of the work; whilst Mr Jamieson's appeal in behalf of the

mercantile community against the intermeddling of Government in matters which would prosper better without its aid, and the wilder denunciations of the *Times* Newspaper, have drawn attention, though rather late in the day, to the doubts and difficulties by which the project is certainly not unattended. But what the Expedition is *to do*—what are the immediate purposes, and what the probable issues of it—upon what grounds of knowledge and reasonable expectation the attempt is justified—what will be the extent of evil, if it fail, and of good if it succeed—these are points which seem to be lost sight of in the controversy. The indignation of the *Times* flies much too high to touch them, and the statements on which Mr Jamieson rests his appeal, might, as it seems to us, be quoted with more propriety on the other side. The Expedition, as we understand it, has one object—namely, to explore and survey the ground, with a view to ascertain the practicability of further measures, and the most effectual way of conducting them: and there is one question to be previously determined —namely, whether the reasons for expecting some considerable benefit to issue from such a survey, are strong enough to justify the risk and outlay which must attend it. Our present object is, simply and briefly to set forth our grounds for deciding this question in the affirmative. To us it appears, that within the last few years a new hope has been opened for Africa,—a new opportunity, distinct in some essential features from any that has hitherto presented itself, of bringing into cultivation some portions, at least, of this vast, neglected estate, to the great benefit of the world; that it lies with England to improve this opportunity; and that the first and indispensable condition of any successful movement in that direction, is to send out an expedition duly equipped and appointed to examine and explore the path; the information which we now possess being sufficient, as we think, to prove that *much* may be done; but neither full enough, nor certain enough, to teach us either how much, or what, or in what way. If it be reasonable to believe, that we can carry into Africa the seeds of a civilization which shall take root and spread, then we hold the expedition to be justified; if otherwise, not.

The position, the extent, the inexhaustible fertility, and the many natural advantages of the central region of this continent, as well as the worse than neglected state in which its vast capabilities are still left, and the scanty measure in which man has done his duty by them, are matters on which, as notorious and undisputed, we need not dwell. But inasmuch as there lies a *primâ facie* presumption against the intrinsic capacity for improvement of what has so long resisted the efforts of man and the improv-

ing influences of time, it is necessary, in the first place, to look somewhat more narrowly into the nature of the experiments which have been already made, and the opportunities which have presented themselves. Now the great civilizer of mankind is intercourse between nation and nation; and from this the middle regions of Africa have been almost entirely shut out. There have been but four channels through which the arts, manners, and experiences of people farther advanced in civilization have had any chance of making their way thither; first, the transatlantic slave trade; secondly, the European settlements planted along the western coast; thirdly, the Palm-oil trade; and fourthly, the trade with the northern parts of the continent carried on by Arab and Moorish merchants across the Great Desert.

Of the first of these it is scarcely necessary to say that it has done much more to obstruct than to advance civilization. Some specimens of European manufacture—guns, powder, and ball, rum, Manchester cottons, Portuguese cloths, pots and pans, buttons, &c.—it may have brought the natives on the coast acquainted with; but it has not had the effect of carrying even these far inwards. In the mean time, the manners and habits which have been imported along with them, are of the worst kind—more fitted to corrupt than to improve. And while the advantages this trade brings are thus trifling in themselves, and confined in their operation, it is not so with the evils. Of the European productions derived through this channel, all traces are quickly lost; but the European demand for slaves carries its message into the heart of the continent, and offers such a premium upon internal rapine and disorder, that industry and ingenuity have neither peace nor leisure to try their fortune there. So long as the export trade of Africa consists chiefly of slaves, it is vain to hope that any systematic and effectual attention will be paid to the cultivation of cotton, coffee, or ginger.

The effects of the English and American settlements on the western coast have given rise to disputes, into the merits of which we cannot at present stay to enter. But the truth seems to be, that although if we measure them either by the expense of life and treasure which they have involved, or by the aims and hopes of their founders, or by the ends which remain to be accomplished, they may be pronounced failures; yet their operation has been, with reference to those parts of Africa, decidedly, and in no trifling degree, beneficial.* The countries in the immediate neigh-

* In the Reports of the *American Colonization Society*, and the addresses of Mr Gurley and Mr Ingersoll, the titles of which appear at the

bourhood of these settlements are in a better condition than they were; property is more secure; the culture of the soil is more attended to; the advantages of commerce are beginning to be felt; Christianity has made some small advances; the people have shown some anxiety to have their children educated; and the slave trade has entirely, (or almost entirely,) forsaken those shores. But why have they done no more? for if this is to be all, it becomes a serious question whether it be worth the sacrifice;—whether the same lives, energies, and sums of money might not be better employed elsewhere. A glance at the map answers the question. These settlements are all on the outside, as it were, of the continent, and in a place where they have no means of getting in. Indeed, considering the broad belt of *malaria* which nature has drawn along the tropical coasts of Africa, and the savage manners and habits with which the slave trade has lined them, we may almost say that the largest of the navigable rivers in those parts does not penetrate beyond the husk and rind of the continent, and cannot therefore bring us into contact with the sensible and vital parts. The utmost efforts to civilize Africa through Gambia, Sierra Leone, Cape Coast Castle, or Liberia, can be but as a flesh-brush applied to an elephant; they can never affect the *circulation*. Or—to take a less remote analogy—suppose England were still as Cæsar found her; suppose a settlement were planted at the mouth of some brook on the Welsh coast, and an attempt made from that as from a centre, to diffuse laws, arts, and manners through the country; and suppose, at the same time, that slave-trading merchants in great numbers frequented the mouth of the Thames,—what wonder if the slavers carried the day, and the influence of the civilizers were felt only through a county or two on the coast, while theirs circulated all through the land?

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head of this article, much information will be found concerning the proceedings and views of that society. To these interesting, and in this country little known Tracts, we must be content to refer our readers. The number of coloured persons who may be disposed to emigrate to Africa, rises into a question of unusual importance, now that an opening is made for colonization on a larger scale, which can hardly be effected without a lamentable destruction of life by Europeans; and the encouragement of this spirit is one of the great objects of the society. The official reports of the progress of *Liberia*, (the name of the American colony,) though conveyed in a style so glowing and rhetorical as to suggest some doubt whether they can be relied on as the results of dispassionate enquiry—strike us as most encouraging, and as indicating a regular advance in the right direction, not inconsiderable even now, and which may be expected to proceed every year with increasing rapidity.

The Palm-oil trade is young, and labours under some heavy disadvantages. For though the locality commands a wide range, it is a locality already occupied by the Slave trade, against the immediate competition of which the new comer is involved in an unequal struggle; and besides, the command of the inner country is in some degree thrown away upon a trade which is essentially a *coast* trade, inasmuch as the produce in which it deals does not grow far inland. Moreover, the climate and the difficulty of navigation throws the Liverpool trader too much into the power of the chiefs inhabiting the delta of the Niger, whose interest it is to keep the trade as much as possible to themselves, and to prevent communication with the interior. We cannot, therefore, expect from this trade such an extensive circulation of commercial intercourse as may reach the heart of Africa, and materially affect its condition: neither the Liverpool traders themselves, nor the agents in their employment, and in direct communication with them, have been induced to traverse the interior, nor even, until lately, to pass up the river. Yet in this case also the results are encouraging so far as they go. The trade has done considerable good within the limited range of its operation; and might probably, in no long time, grow strong enough, if not to expel the slave trade from the river, at least to compete successfully with it in the immediate neighbourhood.

The Desert trade with Northern Africa has penetrated further than any of these, and produced more effect; and would by this time have laid secure foundations for a better order of things; but that it also labours under some heavy and peculiar disadvantages. The greatest is, that the Arab merchants come chiefly for *slaves:* and hence the trade they drive does nearly as much to obstruct the civilization of Africa by stimulating wars and slave-hunts, as to advance it by the introduction of knowledge, and the intercourse it opens between the Africans and a superior race. Next, the Arabs are not good civilizers; ignorant, unsettled, lawless, rapacious, cruel, and deceitful, they are bad instructors to impart knowledge and to teach the value of security, mutual confidence, settled habits and the like. Moreover, the religion which they bring, though superior to the Paganism which they find, is not a *civilizing* religion: it is very good for conquering, but very bad for improving the conquered. Further, the length, difficulty, danger, and cost of the passage across the Desert, drags so heavily upon this trade that it cannot thrive properly; and interposes such a gulf between the merchants who venture, and the countries from which they come, that it cannot be subjecte to proper authority and regulations. Their own government, if

it had the will, has not the hands to reach them at such a distance. Nevertheless, when we follow Captain Clapperton along the route of the caravans from Bornou to Soccatoo, and read the accounts which are given of Timbuctoo and Jenne, and observe the superiority in respect of government, organization, industry, and manners, of the kingdoms lying between these points along the borders of the Desert, we cannot doubt, that in spite of all its drawbacks, this trade has actually effected something considerable towards the improvement of the country.

Now, with regard to this traffic, let us suppose four things changed. Suppose, first, that in the parts of Africa whence these traders come, *there were no market for slaves;* suppose, secondly, that there was a market of unlimited extent for raw cotton, or some other natural production of Central Africa, not requiring much skill or capital to raise it; suppose, thirdly, that between the two there were no Desert, but a canal, a navigable river, a railroad, or any other easy and safe approach for merchants with heavy goods; suppose, lastly, that these merchants were not Arabs, professing the religion of Mahomet, and subject to Morocco, Tunis, or Tripoli, but of a nation eminent for order, honesty, and humanity—professing a religion which teaches the equality of all men in the eye of God, inculcates at once self-respect and humility, and insists in an especial manner upon the duty of justice and mercy from every man to every other man—subject to a government vigilant enough to superintend, strong enough to control, scrupulously respectful of the rights of others, and inexorable in enforcing fair dealing wherever its authority extends—suppose all this—who can doubt that the whole face of Africa would speedily be changed?

Upon this consideration it is that we rest our hopes of much better and larger results from the enterprise now in contemplation, and refuse to admit the failure of previous experiments, or the non-improvement of previous opportunities, in evidence against it. Now, for the first time these four things meet. Between the richest regions of Central Africa and the most insatiable market in the world for the produce of those regions, a communication safe, expeditious, and available for the cheap carriage of heavy goods, is now for the first time opened. The traders who supply this market are Englishmen and Christians; and while they will buy as much raw cotton as the industry of man will ever raise in Africa, they will *not* buy a single man, woman, or child. If there were in Africa any authority capable of understanding the full benefit of opening this communication, and with power to enforce the necessary conditions and regulations, there can be no doubt, we think, that a

flourishing trade would immediately commence, and that the spirit of civilization would begin to spread. How fast and how far it would spread would depend mainly upon the judgment and energy of missionary, and commercial, and agricultural societies, and all the rest, for whose labours a fair field would be opened. But in the mean time the doubtful question is, whether in the present circumstances of Africa—looking at the disorganized condition of society, the universal prevalence of the slave trade, and the fatal qualities of the climate, which may perhaps make it impossible for English merchants to transact their own business there—it be practicable to set the trade well on foot; to make such a commencement that the benefits shall be felt at once, and felt widely enough to secure for it the necessary protection from those who have influence enough to afford it.

For the climate, it must be admitted that appearances are against it; yet it *may* turn out that, in the interior at least, it is not more fatal to European constitutions than other tropical climates. Of the many travellers who have died there, we cannot hear of one who has been in a condition to take proper care of himself. A gentleman is attacked with fever or with dysentery; takes a sharp dose of calomel; is obliged, though hardly able to sit on his horse, to spend all the day in travelling; gets wet above the middle in crossing a river; lets his clothes dry on his back; and when at length he stretches himself on his mat for a night's rest, is stung to distraction by mosquitoes and black ants. That any body has survived such attacks, is a greater wonder than that so many have died under them; and can only be ascribed to that excitement of novelty and exertion which bears the frame up under hardships, half of which would kill most who are living at ease in England. It must also be remembered, that medical science has yet to be brought to bear upon this question. It is not impossible that a few precautions, and a better method of treatment, may make the climate innoxious. Should it, however, prove invincible, it will still be practicable to employ negroes or men of colour to transact business in the interior; of whom we do not doubt that there will be found many equal to that work.

As for the Slave trade, though it will retard the growth of a legitimate commerce, it will not, we think, universal as it is, have power to strangle it. There is room for a commencement; and when once both are fairly in the field together, the more profitable will carry the day.

The disorganized condition of the country does indeed present some serious difficulties. It limits the power of the chiefs, causes kingdoms to change hands rapidly, raises hostile neighbours and unruly subjects, compels authority to be violent and

arbitrary, unsettles the minds and habits of the people, and induces that carelessness of human life which naturally follows where its tenure is so precarious. Here you find a Chief eager to embrace your offers, enforce your regulations, and protect your people; but his neighbour prefers wars and slave hunts; or his more distant subjects are hard to manage, and he cannot afford any effectual protection beyond his own immediate territory. This year you find an honest man and a friend; next year a knave and an enemy has taken his place. Your traders, who are courted and protected this month, may perhaps be robbed and murdered the next. Nay, the same man may be your friend to-day and your enemy to-morrow; the same childish delight in novelties which made him embrace you at first, making him suspect you soon after.

These are serious difficulties, which in such a case as this it would be worse than weak to overlook or neglect. The question is whether, looking them fairly in the face, they appear insurmountable. Are the elements of society so disordered and uncertain that no lasting impression can be made upon them, and that every attempt to organize them must simply fail? Shifting and chaotic as they are, is there not, after all, among these African nations coherence, order, and intelligence enough to retain something at least, however little, of whatever civilizing influences we may pour in; so that, while much is wasted and rejected, *some* may go to convert and alter the system?

It appears to us that there is reason to think so; and in order to prove it, we would point out the various *centres* of trade already existing in the country, and the circumference of the trade which centres there; from which it will be seen that, in spite of all the drawbacks and disadvantages under which commerce labours, there does actually exist both the spirit of traffic to a very great extent, and security to a considerable extent; and that in all the articles for which there is any demand, an active trade is continually going on from one end of the country to the other. The facts we have to state are familiar to all readers of African travels; but their bearing upon this question may probably have escaped those who have not put them together for the purpose. The most convenient way of approaching the subject will be to follow the course of the expedition.

Passing as quickly as possible through the delta of the Niger, where the malaria is most fatal, and the inhabitants most wretched and demoralized, we come to *Eboe*, a town with a population of 50,000 or 60,000, 'the most enterprising and industrious traders

(says Mr Laird) on the Niger,' governed by King Obie, who boasts himself to be the greatest of the palm-oil kings, has the command of the river, and insists that all traders shall buy and sell with him before they go further up. From his dominions, (passing, however, through the hands of the chiefs on the coasts, who no doubt deduct their full share of the profits,) the Liverpool traders at the mouth of the river Nun—who have for many years past been carrying on, though at a miserable expense of life and health, a regular and rapidly increasing trade in palm-oil—receive their largest supplies of that article. In exchange for their palm-oil, the people of Eboe receive various articles of English manufacture—guns, powder and ball, showy Manchester cottons, looking-glasses, knives, rum, &c.—the exchange being commonly effected through the medium of shells or cowries, which are their money, and pass current far into the interior of Africa.

Above this town the trade is carried on still more busily. The banks of the river are thickly studded with towns and villages, between which there is a great deal of intercourse; the population of a superior character; life and property more secure; men, women, and children all engaged in their several ways in traffic; of which (according to Dr Briggs, who accompanied Mr Laird) there appeared to be twice as much as on the upper part of the Rhine. The great centre of all this traffic lies more than a hundred miles above Eboe, and is well known through all that part of the country under the name of *Bocqua* or *Iccory*. It is situated not very far below the confluence of the Shadda with the Niger; and is celebrated for a market, or rather fair, which lasts for three days at a time, and is held every ten days; when it is attended by traders from all the towns on the Niger, both above and below, within a range of more than a hundred miles, and by great numbers from the interior. Some notion of the importance of this place may be drawn from the fact stated by Mr Laird, that, while his vessel lay aground in the neighbourhood for some months, he used to observe as many as twenty-five canoes, each containing from forty to sixty people, passing every ten days on their way to attend the market; and such is the throng which it brings together, the bustle, the animation, the variety, not only in the wares brought for sale, but in the dress, features, and complexion of the sellers, that even Mr Oldfield, with all his coldness and flatness, rises into liveliness as he describes it. To this market the Eboe traders bring for sale the European goods they have received from the coast—red cloth, velvet, mock coral beads, knives, snuff-boxes, looking-glasses, &c.—while the

traders from the upper and inner countries bring (besides slaves, which here as elsewhere are the chief article of commerce) cloths of native manufacture, ivory, horses, saddles and bridles, tobes, straw hats, country-made mats, and various kinds of food; the traffic being carried on as at Eboe, not by barter, but by money in the form of cowries.

The range and attraction of this market extends, as we have intimated, to a considerable distance both upwards and inwards. About three days' journey to the east lies Fundah, once a kind of entrepôt where the Arabs and Fellatahs from the north exchanged European goods for slaves, and a place of considerable trade. The trade is now interrupted by the disorders of the country beyond; but the fact that it did flourish, does not the less indicate an aptitude by natural position for commerce, which will revive when the disorders subside. Here native cotton is raised, 'of a very fine staple,' out of which they manufacture 'durable and heavy cloths;' there are also considerable dye-works; and plenty of iron and copper, which is wrought into various articles. About thirty miles further to the east, and within fifty of the navigable Shadda, lies Toto, a town not yet visited by any of our travellers, but said to be the largest in that part of the country; having a King who is anxious to trade, and a population at once warlike and industrious, and skilful in the working of copper and iron. Goods purchased at Bocqua are occasionally carried thither for sale; and ivory, Arabian horses, bullocks, sheep, camels, &c., may be had there in exchange.

Further than this, in this direction, we know nothing. The Shadda was ascended for more than a hundred miles; but the natives being then in continual dread of incursions by the copper-coloured Fellatahs, (a complexion which there passes for white,) would enter into no communications with the white strangers. Returning, therefore, to Bocqua, and turning northwards up the Niger for forty or fifty miles, we come to Kattam Karafi; another well-known market place for the usual inland produce, both raw and manufactured, which is brought down the river in canoes. A few miles further on we pass Kakunda, the capital of an independent kingdom lying to the west; the people peaceable and industrious, and, though apparently not very adventurous, in the habit of trading down the river as far as Bocqua. Advancing still farther in the same direction, we reach a more important place, Egga; a populous town and much frequented—having a large market filled with sharp bargainers, whose custom it is, 'as in every other part of *Africa*,' (so says Mr Oldfield,) 'to get the most for every article;' and with the usual variety of wares, which make the shops of the large traders look like Eng-

lish toyshops. Here, too, they raise indigo of a superior quality, and a little very fine cotton; dyeing yards are also to be seen of considerable extent; spinning walks and weaving machines resembling our shuttle; and cocoa-nuts (imported from some neighbouring country) are sold in the streets in great quantities. It was here that Lander, in his first descent of the river, first met with Benin and Portuguese clothes in common wear. 'The people' (he says) 'are very speculative and enterprising, and numbers of them employ all their time solely in trading up and down the Niger. They live entirely in canoes, over which they have a shed that answers every purpose; so that in their constant peregrinations they have no need of any other dwelling or shelter than what their canoes afford them.' It seems also that the desire of wealth in the abstract, independently of any tempting objects to be purchased with it, is not unknown here. Mr Oldfield found here an old Mallam who had two or three houses, (African of course,) filled with cowries; he purchased goods to a considerable amount; and would be glad (he said) to purchase ten or twelve ship-loads if they would stay.

At this point we come among a new people; and it is satisfactory to find that, as we advance farther into the heart of the country, the population improves. The reputation of the people of Nyffé for skill and industry, reached Captain Clapperton in 1824 at Kano and Soccatoo; it met Lander in descending the Niger from Boussa; and Mr Oldfield found it in full force as he ascended from Bocqua. They are more especially celebrated for the manufacture of cloths, plain or dyed, which are the best in Africa. Along the borders of this kingdom the river continues to be navigable by an iron steamer, and brings us (some hundred miles further up) to the capital of it, Rabbah; where at length the trade—which we have accompanied in its course from the mouth of the Nun upwards—meets and mixes, not indeed with the main tide, but with a kind of overflow or eddy of that main tide of commerce, which, being drawn across the Desert from the shores of the Mediterranean, flows along the northern borders of Central Africa and passes out by the Desert again. The country round about, though disturbed by predatory and civil war, is populous, and abounds with the usual agricultural produce; besides which, they have for the export trade, ivory, indigo, ostriches, camels, leopards' skins, bees' wax, (of which latter it is supposed that any quantity might be obtained, if there was a regular demand for it,) not to mention mats and sandals; in the manufacture of which they are said to be unrivalled. Rabbah has a large market, well regulated, and distributed into separate de-

partments for separate articles—to which the Arabs (for whom, and for all strangers, an enclosure of dwellings in the suburbs of the town is set apart) bring for sale horses, asses, raw silk, red caps from Tripoli, armlets, anklets, and trona or natron, which comes from Bornou, and is used by the natives as a substitute for salt, and given as a medicine to cattle. When Mr Oldfield was at Rabbah, there were several caravans of merchants staying there from the Haussa country, from Soccatoo, from Kano, and from Tripoli. Some were taking their departure eastward to Bornou, others northward to Timbuctoo. Nor is this all. In the middle of the river, and within sight of Rabbah, lies the flourishing island of Zagozhie; mentioned by Lander as 'one of the most extensive and thickly inhabited towns, as well 'as one of the most extensive trading places, in the whole king-'dom of Nyffé;' and described by Mr Oldfield, with unusual force, as the 'Manchester' of Africa. 'The cloths which they manu-'facture, (says Lander,) and the tobes and trousers which they 'make, are most excellent, and would not disgrace an European 'manufactory; they are worn and valued by kings, chiefs, and 'great men, and are the admiration of the neighbouring coun-'tries, which vainly attempt to imitate them. We have also seen 'a variety of caps, which are worn solely by females, and made 'of cotton interwoven with silk, of the most exquisite workman-'ship. The people here are uncommonly industrious, both males 'and females, who are always busy either in culinary or in other 'domestic occupations. In our walks we see groups of people 'employed in spinning cotton and silk; others in making wooden 'bowls and dishes, mats of various patterns, shoes, sandals, 'cotton dresses, and caps and the like; others busily employed 'in fashioning brass and iron stirrups, bits for bridles, hoes, 'chains, fetters, &c., and others again in making saddles and 'various horse accoutrements. These various articles, which 'are intended for the Rabbah market, evince considerable taste 'and ingenuity.' Personally, the inhabitants of this island are represented as superior to other Africans. 'They have liberty 'stamped upon their features: and lightness and activity, so 'rarely to be seen in this country of sluggards, are observable in 'all their actions. The generality of the people are well be-'haved; they are hospitable and obliging to strangers, they dwell 'in amity with their neighbours, they live in unity, peace, and 'social intercourse with themselves. They are made bold by 'freedom, affluent by industry and frugality, healthy by exercise 'and labour, and happy by a combination of all these blessings.' Such were the impressions—heightened a little, it may be, by the desire to exhibit an agreeable picture, but faithful no doubt in

the main—which ten days' residence in the island produced upon the two Landers. We have the rather given them at length, because the secret of all this prosperity is peculiarly worth enquiring for, with reference to our present subject. Whence so many points of difference between these islanders and their neighbours? They are of the same race—negroes, as black as coal; the island is not large, only fifteen miles long, and three broad; the land, though rich, is so low and moist as to form one continued bog, the greater part overflowed in the rainy season; the houses standing in the water, and many of them carried away when the river rises very high; no missionary has been among them; no European trader, not even an Arab chief or merchant, has taken up his abode there; with persons of superior race or education they have had still less communication than their neighbours. What then have they, which their neighbours want, that they should so far surpass them? The answer is given in a word—they have *security*. The chief of Zagozhie, 'king of the dark water,' has a fleet of six hundred canoes, and fears no invasion; his people are bred to the water, they live secure in person and property within their wooden walls, they are the only ferrymen, and all the trade by the river is in their hands.

But to pass on:—cross the river, and within two or three days' journey, besides the two rising Fellatah towns of Raka and Alorie, concerning which we have no detailed information, we find Katunga; a city with seven daily markets, the residence of the King of Yarribah, whose power *de jure* extends westward as far as the coast of Guinea, and must *de facto* be considerable, if we may judge from the security, both of person and property, with which all strangers coming to visit him are conveyed from place to place. The country round contains many other considerable towns, with well supplied and much frequented markets; and is traversed in more than one direction by parties of merchants—branches of the great stream which we have spoken of—who carry the produce of central Negroland (elephants' teeth, natron, rock salt, and Nyffé cloths) as far as Ashantee and the country round Cape Coast Castle.

Thus far, then, we have found a regular chain of commercial intercourse and exchange—rude, indeed, and scanty, but uninterrupted—by which each impulse given to commerce at the mouth of the Nun, makes itself felt, however feebly, for several hundred miles up the Niger, and over considerable spaces on either side. We have seen that European goods, purchased with palm-oil or with slaves, are carried from Eboe to Bocqua; and thence dispersed through the adjoining countries, or carried up to Egga and Rabbah, when they are exchanged for the ivory

and the manufactures of the Upper Niger, which are thus carried down to Eboe; and again, that the goods which thus make their way to Rabbah, are carried (or would be, if duly selected to hit the wants or fancies of the people) on one side into the heart of Negroland, and the regular caravan route from Bornou to Timbuctoo; and on the other side through Yarribah to the Atlantic;—that the channel therefore is formed, and the stream does already flow in some quantity; and that, be it as meagre and as much obstructed as it may, there can be no doubt that, if more were drawn into it, more would flow. It would not be lost as in a swamp, nor absorbed as in a desert, but would enter into the veins and enrich the natural circulation.

Here then, if necessary, we might be content to stop. Open at Rabbah an extensive market for European goods, and an extensive demand for the productions of the interior, and it could not be long before some considerable portion of the main stream would be drawn thither; the tendency of which must plainly be to raise the value of labour, and to diminish the exchangeable value of man himself; and so give birth to a rival trade, which, if it prosper, must ultimately swallow up the slave trade. How fast the transmutation may proceed, it is hardly possible to form any well grounded conjecture. It must depend upon many facts of which we are not informed, and many accidents which we can neither foresee nor control. But that a slip thus planted would take root and grow—that there would be life in it—we do not see on what principle any one can doubt.

But we have stopped short of our full case. Some damage done to the machinery of Mr Oldfield's vessel, made it unsafe to put on power enough to ascend the current further; and how far above Rabbah the river continues navigable for a vessel of that size we cannot tell. It appears, however, that Lander, who had the best means of judging, was not without hope of advancing some hundred miles further, as far as the ferry at Comie. They would then have been no longer on the borders and outskirts, but at once in the very highway of that portion of the inland traffic which branches off from the main route of the caravans;—the way by which all the merchants who trade to the countries west of the Niger pass out of the central region. From this ferry, along this much frequented road, it is but three days' journey to one of the great centres of the inland traffic, the town of Coolfu; in which all the larger streams meet, and from which all the smaller radiate. Of the nature of the traffic at this place, we have a full account from Captain Clapperton, who, on his second journey, was detained there a good while; and his account is well worth the attention of all who wish to

know, not only the natural capabilities of Africa for sustaining a large commerce with England, but the extent and depth of the channels which are already there, waiting to receive and diffuse it. Presuming then that an iron steamer, laden with goods from Manchester and Liverpool, may be brought without loss, damage, or danger, (the danger from the climate excepted,) within easy reach of Coolfu; and remembering that the countries round have never (we believe) enjoyed a settled peace, but have always been exposed to disturbance by conquests, insurrections, or petty predatory warfare;—that at the very time when the account was written, a civil war had been 'desolating the country for the last 'seven years,' during which the inhabitants had been twice burned out of the town;—that there does not appear to exist at Coolfu, more than in any other part of the country, any settled constitution or form of government; therefore, that all the *accidents* by which commerce is promoted or depressed were at that time against, not for, it;—bearing these things in mind, let us see what is the actual state of it—what progress, with opportunities so limited and against such heavy disadvantages, commerce has actually made.

At Coolfu, then, besides the daily market attended by the inhabitants, there are two markets held weekly which are resorted to by strangers. The extent of their attraction may be thus explained. From Bornou, far to the east; from Cubbi, Yaoori, Zamfra, and the borders of the desert, on the north; from Yarribah and the Gold Coast, westward; and from Benin, Jaboo, and the furthest part of Nyffé, to the south; there resort to this market parties of regular merchants, bringing the produce of their several countries for sale: as, for instance, salt from the north; red wood, peppers, and European cloths from the south; kolla and goora nuts, gold, woollen cloths and printed cottons, brass and pewter dishes, earthenware, and muskets, from the western coast; horses, natron, unwrought silk, undyed tobes, from Bornou; besides a variety of articles which find their way across the desert—Venetian beads, Maltese swords, Italian looking-glasses, gums and scented woods of the east; silks, turbans, and tunics of checked silk and linen from Egypt, and many more; all of which are to be had at Coolfu, and meet with a ready sale. Some of these merchants erect tents for themselves outside the walls, where they sell their wares; others send them by their slaves to the market, and round to the different houses; others entrust them to brokers, of whom there are many in the town, both male and female; others live in the houses of their friends. And besides these regular merchants, there is a great number of petty traders, chiefly women, who come from

the towns lying to the west of the Niger in Yarribah and Borgoo, many days' journey distant; carrying their goods on their heads, and trading at the several markets as they pass. These lodge in the town, and, while they attend the markets daily, support themselves by spinning cotton during their spare time. As soon as they have sold what they have, and bought what they want, they return to their homes again. The inhabitants likewise, (not excepting the artizans and manufacturers, of whom there are many,) are mostly engaged in buying and selling.*

From these facts some notion may be drawn of the dispositions and habits of people in this part of Africa with regard to trading. The demand must be considerable which draws together such a variety of goods from such distant places; the enterprise must be considerable which carries people such long journeys to buy or sell them; the security considerable which makes it practicable to accomplish these journeys with safety. At present, no doubt, their wants are simple and few, and it may be asked whether there is any reason to expect that they will expand; the supply, it may be thought, has hitherto followed the demand, such as it is; but the demand being now satisfied, and the vessel full, any further supply would only be wasted. And certainly, knowing so little as we do of the history and growth of their wants; not knowing whether they have preceded, or kept pace with, or lagged behind their opportunities; hardly knowing for certain whether they are at this moment increasing or declining—we must admit this question to be a fair matter of doubt and speculation. It appears, however, to us, that the manners and customs of these people indicate any thing rather than an indifference to superfluous luxuries, or a disposition to rest contented with a bare supply of the more importunate wants of nature. 'Allow not nature more than needs, man's life is 'cheap as beasts'; this is by no means the case in Negroland. Their life is full of toys and superfluities, and social vanities; and their appetite for these appears to be as insatiable as a child's. The following sketch of the daily life of the inhabitants of Coolfu is worth attention, as showing how far they have advanced in artificial habits—a better measure of the nature and strength of their wants, than that eagerness for new ornaments and playthings, of which accounts reach us in every page; because the existence of such habits proves not only their taste for superfluities, but the systematic and diligent cultivation of it:—

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* Clapperton, p. 135, et seq.

'At daylight the whole household arise; the women begin to clean the house, the men to wash from head to foot; the women and children are then washed in water, in which the leaf of a bush has been boiled, called Bambarnia; when this is done breakfast of cocoa is served out, every one having their separate dish, the women and children eating together. After breakfast the women and children rub themselves over with the pounded red wood and a little grease, which lightens the darkness of the black skin. A score or patch of the red powder is put on some place where it will show to the best advantage. The eyes are blacked with khol. The mistress and better-looking females stain their teeth and the inside of their lips of a yellow colour with gora, the flower of the tobacco plant, and the bark of a root; the outer part of the lips, hair, and eyebrows, are stained with shani or prepared indigo. Then the women who attend the market, prepare their wares, and when ready, go. The elderly women prepare, clean, and spin cotton at home, and cook the victuals; the younger females are generally sent round the town selling the small rice balls, fried beans, &c. The master of the house generally takes a walk to the market, or sits in the shade at the door of his house, hearing the news or speaking of the price of natron or other goods. The weavers are daily employed at their trade; some are sent to cut wood and bring it to the market; others to bring grass for the horses that may belong to the house, or to take to the market to sell; numbers, at the beginning of the rainy season, are employed in clearing the ground for sowing the maize or millet; some are sent on distant journeys to buy or sell for their master and mistress, and very rarely betray their trust. About noon they return home, when all have a mess of the pudding called waki, or boiled beans; and about two or three in the afternoon they return to their different employments, in which they remain till near sunset, when they count their gains to their master or mistress, who receives it and puts it away carefully in the strong room. They then have a meal of pudding or a little fat stew. The mistress of the house, when she goes to rest, has her feet put into a cold poultice of the pounded henna leaves. The young then go to dance and play if it is moonlight, and the old to lounge and converse in the open square of the house, or in the outer coozie, where they remain till the cool of the night.' *

Whether a population which has reached this stage shall stand still or go on, will depend in a great measure upon accidental facilities, opportunities, and temptations. The demands of the body being satisfied, and objects of ambition being presented to the mind, simple indeed, but sufficient to exercise the faculties and engage them in pursuit, they may remain content with what they have, so long as nothing is presented to them which they like better. The King of Eyeo or Kiama glories in gilt brass buttons; and will not cease to glory in them, until he finds that

* Clapperton, p. 146.

they tarnish, while golden buttons retain their brightness. But as soon as he knows this, his desire changes; he despises brass, and sends a score of his more elderly wives, laden with the work of their hands, to bring him gold buttons from the furthest parts of Ashantee. The spinning women at Kano and Soccatoo are all equipped with pocket mirrors, which they carry in their cotton baskets; appealing to them every five minutes to reflect the pleasure of the vanity. Though these mirrors are no flatterers, and can embrace only a feature or two at a time, their owners are nevertheless well pleased, and will continue to smile upon them until some brighter rival shall appear—larger, and showing a fairer image; from which moment every spinning woman in Kano and Soccatoo will be more or less unhappy until her basket shall be equipped with a better looking-glass. All will turn on the opportunity and encouragement which shall be afforded. Throw in their path better things than they now have, and if they can be made to understand the superiority, no doubt they will wish to have them; ask in exchange for these, such articles as they can best afford to supply, and they will soon learn to apply themselves to the production of those articles. Hitherto they have never been asked for raw cotton, hardly for ivory—only spread before them the glittering treasures of Birmingham and Manchester, asking for these in return, and they will soon begin to raise cotton for export, and to circumvent the elephants which infest their forests.

Following the caravan route eastward, (for be it remembered that we are still within three days' journey of our own vessel,) and passing several populous towns with considerable markets, we arrive in about thirty days at Kano, the next great centre of trade; lying halfway between the capitals of the two most powerful nations of central Africa, the Bornouese and the Fellatahs. Here, again, we find a population by no means unprepared to profit by new opportunities and examples of civilization; a people ingenious and industrious, and full of the spirit of traffic; some curious manufactures; a well-frequented and well-supplied market; an organized and regulated trade, and all the operations of buying and selling in full activity. Here is Captain Clapperton's account of the regulations of the market, taken from the narrative of his first journey in 1824:—

'The soug or market is well supplied with every necessary and luxury in request among the people of the interior. * * There is no market in Africa so well regulated. The sheikh of the soug lets the stalls at so much a month, and the rent forms a part of the revenues of the Governor. The sheikh of the soug also fixes the prices of all wares, for which he is entitled to a small commission, at the rate of fifty whydah or cowries

on every sale amounting to four dollars, or 8000 cowries, according to the standard exchange between silver money and this shell currency. There is another custom, regulated with equal certainty, and in universal practice; the seller returns to the buyer a stated part of the price, by way of blessing as they term it, or of luck-penny according to our less devout phraseology. This is a discount of 2 per cent on the purchase money; but if the bargain is made in a hired house, it is the landlord who receives the luck-penny. I may here notice the great convenience of the cowrie, which no forgery can imitate; and which, by the dexterity of the natives in reckoning the largest sums, forms a ready medium of exchange in all transactions, from the lowest to the highest. Particular quarters are assigned to distinct articles; the smaller wares being set in booths in the middle, and cattle and bulky commodities being exposed to sale in the outskirts of the market-place; wood, dyed grass, bean straw for provender, beans, Guinea corn, Indian corn, wheat, &c., are in one quarter: goats, sheep, asses, bullocks, horses, and camels, in another: earthenware and indigo in a third: vegetables and fruit of all descriptions, such as yams, sweet potatoes, water and musk melons, pappan fruit, limes, casheu nuts, plums, mangoes, shaddocks, dates, &c., in a fourth, and so on. * * * * * * The interior of the market is filled with stalls of bamboo, laid out in regular streets; where the most costly wares are sold, and articles of dress, and other little matters of use or ornament made and repaired. Bands of musicians parade up and down, to attract purchasers to particular booths. Here are displayed, coarse writing-paper of French manufacture, brought from Barbary; scissors and knives of native workmanship; crude antimony and tin, both the produce of the country; unwrought silk of a red colour, which they make into belts or slings, or weave into the finest cotton tobes; armlets or bracelets of brass; beads of glass, coral, and amber; finger-rings of pewter, and a few silver trinkets, but none of gold; tobes, turkadees, and turban shawls; coarse woollen cloths of all colours; coarse calico; Moorish dresses; the cast-off gaudy garbs of the Mamelukes of Barbary; pieces of Egyptian linen checked or striped with gold; sword-blades from Malta, &c. &c. The market is crowded from sunrise to sunset every day, not excepting their Sabbath, which is kept on Friday. The merchants understand the benefits of monopoly as well as any people in the world; they take good care never to overstock the market, and, if any thing falls in price, it is immediately withdrawn for a few days. The market is regulated with the greatest fairness, and the regulations are strictly and impartially enforced. If a tobe or turkadee, purchased here, is carried to Bornou, or any distant place, without being opened, and is there discovered to be of inferior quality, it is immediately sent back as a matter of course; the name of the *dylala* or broker being written inside every parcel. In this case the *dylala* must find out the seller, who, by the laws of Kano, is forthwith obliged to refund the purchase money.' *

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* Vol. iv. p. 31.

It was here that Captain Clapperton was surprised to find *English green cotton umbrellas*, not uncommon. They were brought from the shores of the Mediterranean, by the way of Ghadames; how much less convenient a road than the Niger!

Since the people of Nyffé (among whom, it will be remembered, our steamer must remain) will be the chief receivers and transmitters of our goods, it is satisfactory to know that they bore as high a reputation at Kano in 1824, as we have seen that they now do all along the Niger. 'Of all the various people who 'frequent Kano, the Nyffèans are most celebrated for their in-'dustry; as soon as they arise, they go to market and buy cot-'ton for their women to spin, who, if not employed in this way, 'make *billam* for sale, which is a kind of flummery made of 'flour and tamarinds. The very slaves of this people are in 'great request, being invariably excellent tradesmen; and, when 'once obtained, are never sold again out of the country.' †

Captain Clapperton then proceeds to describe with some minuteness the several processes of spinning, weaving, preparing indigo, dyeing, tanning, and manufacturing leathern jars; in all of which the people of Kano show considerable skill.

Eastward of Kano, some thirty days' journey, lies Kouka, the capital of Bornou; where, according to Major Denham, writing in 1824, the Sheikh El Kanemy—by whose vigour and wisdom the kingdom had within a very few years been delivered from subjection to the Fellatahs, and subjected to law and government of its own—was extremely anxious to promote commerce; where all the merchants who have ventured thither are encouraged and treated with liberality—and some are known to have returned, after a residence of less than nine years, with fortunes of 15,000 or 20,000 dollars; where Englishmen especially are sure of a kind reception; and where 'the roads are probably 'as safe as in England.' Beyond this lies the Desert on one side, and on the other barbarous nations of which we know nothing.

Westward of Kano, some twenty days' journey, we come to Soccatoo, the capital of the Fellatah empire—the most populous town which Captain Clapperton had seen in Africa—where we again find the usual appearances of order and social life, with its established customs, and formal vanities, and round of daily occupation. It seems to be less of a trading place than Kano, though it lies in the route of the caravans; but we find the usual species of traffic going on, and the ordinary works both in

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* Vol. iv. p. 38. † Vol. iii. p. 196.

agriculture and manufactures; grain in abundance; indigo and cotton plantations; dyeing-houses, weaving machines, tan-yards, &c.; and Captain Clapperton is said to have declared that in this town he could have negotiated a bill on the Treasury of London.

Of the countries lying between this city and the famous Timbuctoo, towards which the caravan route now takes its way, our information is less detailed, and not so much to be relied upon; though if it be true, that between Mushgrelia and Haussa there are more boats employed on the river than between Rosetta and Cairo, and that the fields are enclosed and irrigated by canals and water-wheels,* it seems to indicate a state of advancement and a capacity for improvement not inferior to that which we have been describing.

But we have already proceeded far enough to make out a *primâ facie* case for trying the experiment of a trade up the Niger. To this conclusion we wish for the present to limit ourselves. The establishment of factories, the acquisition of territory, and the organization of companies, involve questions of great moment and difficulty, upon which we cannot now enter. The course and final destinies of the work it would be idle to speculate upon: but it is important, in this more than in almost any other enterprise, that we should proceed with eyes open and feelings uninflamed—as there is none in which a false step, or a fall across the threshold, is likely to involve more important consequences. We are not among those who regard no public undertaking as justifiable which is likely to cost good lives and limbs in the prosecution of it. No great thing is accomplished without great sacrifices on the part of those who lead the way. Not in wars only, but in religion, in politics, in civilization, in commerce, even in science and literature—each in its several kind—the world has always marched on to take possession of its conquests over the dead bodies of the forlorn hope:—a melancholy thing to reflect upon, did not reflection likewise teach us, that between the few who die to win the conquest, and the many who live to enjoy it, the real difference amounts after all but to this—the first die, having done something, to-day; the others die, having done nothing, to-morrow. And certainly, when we consider the infinite nature of the benefit which will be secured if this vast continent should ever be reclaimed to Christianity and the use of man, we cannot but think that human life may be worse wasted than in taking whatever measures may be in the first instance necessary for setting the work on foot.

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* Buxton, p. 475.

The opportunity is now before us; it lies with England to take the first step. If England does nothing, nothing will be done. If the Government does nothing, nothing will be done as it should be. Private adventurers, pursuing their own ends in their own ways, cannot act largely or systematically enough;—cannot make the sacrifices which will occasionally be required by consistent dealing on a great scale. They will sometimes be reduced to straits which will tempt them to acts of violence or of subterfuge, ruinous to the moral effect of example, and destructive of the confidence upon which all prosperous intercourse must be built. What then is the step which the Government is called on to take? We recur to our original position: it is the business of Government to lead and feel the way; neither keeping aloof, as Mr Jamieson recommends, and leaving the work wholly to private adventure; nor plunging, as others would have it, headlong and irrevocably, into the middle; but sending out proper persons to explore the ground;—to open communications with the several Chiefs; to make them understand the advantages of a commercial intercourse with England; to persuade them to agree to certain conditions of protection and immunity; to establish a regular system of duties and customs; to devise, if possible, some unobnoxious method of enforcing the observance of such conditions and regulations by either party; to provide our traders (which will probably prove the most difficult, as it is one of the most important, points to accomplish) with some better way of obtaining redress, when they are cheated, than those to which the Liverpool expedition was reduced—namely, the pointing of great guns, the firing of villages, and the seizure of innocent persons for hostages; to make, or to report upon the practicability of making, treaties for the suppression of the slave trade; to examine the probable advantages or disadvantages of erecting a fort on the Niger, to be commanded by an officer who may act as arbiter in disputes—protector of British subjects, and representative of the British Government; and, above all, to supply more accurate and more complete information than we now possess concerning the condition of the country, the systems of law and government, (if such they can be called,) and the proper way of infusing into them a better life, and of establishing permanent and prosperous relations. If these things can be done, the trade which has already commenced will immediately be placed upon a much better footing, and we shall be able to proceed to the adoption of further measures with some knowledge of what we are about. Such we take to be the objects of the forthgoing expedition, and on such grounds we hold it to be praiseworthy.

ART. VII.—*Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Privy Council to enquire into the state of Public Roads in England and Wales.* Presented to Parliament in 1840.

THE condition of Turnpike Trusts in England is a subject which has lately attracted considerable attention. The public has entertained just apprehensions that a faulty system, together with certain unfavourable adventitious circumstances, and the embarrassed state of their funds, are likely to lead to the deterioration of our great roads. In both Houses of Parliament enquiry has been made concerning the extent of the difficulties of turnpike roads, and the means of removing them; much evidence has been collected, and some schemes of amendment proposed; but no important general enactment has yet been founded upon them.

Turnpike roads in England are at present managed by a limited number of trustees, having a certain property qualification, and sworn duly to administer the affairs of the trust. Their powers are conferred by a local turnpike act, which must be periodically renewed. They fill up vacancies in their own body, which consists usually of gentlemen, shopkeepers, and farmers; they appoint subordinate officers, surveyors, clerks, and treasurers; and meet at intervals to transact the necessary business. Under certain restrictions they regulate the income and expenditure of the trust; the income is derived principally from tolls collected at turnpike gates; these tolls must be annually offered to be let by public auction, but the trustees are not compelled to let if the biddings are considered insufficient, and may themselves provide for the collection of the tolls. The renters of land adjoining turnpike roads are liable to clean the road-ditch, and trim the road-hedge. In addition to the income derived from tolls, with the consent of magistrates in quarter-sessions assembled, the trustees may cause a rate, not exceeding tenpence in the pound, to be levied on parishes adjoining the turnpike roads: the act empowering them to do so expires in 1841. The whole expenditure is directed by the trustees, who have the power of borrowing money on security of the tolls, without individual responsibility. Creditors have the first lien on the tolls; and on the non-payment of interest, or after due notice of the principal advanced, may take possession of the toll-houses, and levy tolls for their remuneration. The proceeds, however, so levied, must be rateably divided among all the creditors of the trust.

Such is a general outline of the system at present in force.

The Report of the Commissioners informs us, that there are 1116 turnpike trusts in England and Wales, which average about 19½ miles in extent; comprehending altogether 22,000 miles of road. It also states, that the number of local turnpike acts is about 3800, and that, on an average of the last five years, the maintenance and improvement of roads have cost L.45 per mile; and the salaries of 3555 officers appointed by the trustees, and legal expenses, a further sum of L.6 a mile; making a total of L.51 for their maintenance. The average income for 1838, and the four preceding years, derived from tolls and incidental profits, was L.1,490,517 per annum. There is also a statement of the amount of debt, showing it to have reached, by rapidly increasing strides, the enormous amount of L.8,345,267!

The following table shows the net amount of debt due from turnpike trusts at three different, but recent periods.

		Increase in the nine years.
Debt in 1829,	£7,304,803	
— 1834,	8,028,145	
— 1838,	8,345,267	1,040,464

In eighty-two Trusts in England and Wales, no interest has been paid for several years. In 1829, the amount of unpaid interest was L.821,586; in 1838, it amounted to L.1,123,623; being in the nine years an increase of L.33,559. On referring to former returns, we find that, while the debt has increased, the income of the trusts has diminished; and it will be easily shown, that while several causes have operated, and are now operating, materially to diminish their revenue, there are none which are likely to diminish the expenditure in any thing like a similar proportion.

The embarrassment of turnpike trusts has been increased by the following causes:—The expensive system of management; the large amount necessarily expended for legal and parliamentary purposes; the abolition of statute labour; the inequality of taxation on different modes of conveyance; the increase of travelling by railroads and steam-boats; and the unrestricted privilege given to the post-office of exempting coach passengers from toll. Two out of these causes, (one of which has been the subject of complaint for many years, and the other only for a few years,) have lately been met by temporary remedies. We allude to an act renewing such local turnpike acts as may expire, for a limited number of years; and the abolition of statute duty. We have already stated the number of local acts

to be about 3800; the time for which these have been granted to continue in force has been 21 years; so that the average number annually renewed has been nearly 181. We are not aware that any Parliamentary return has been made of the general cost of obtaining these acts; but if we assume an average of L.400, (which is surely below the mark,) the annual expense of trusts on this head has been L.72,400. Alterations, doubtless, are requisite from time to time in the powers under which the trustees act; but the expense by which they have been obtained has hitherto been most grievous;—and the grievance is acknowledged:—it absorbed one-twentieth of the gross income, and Parliament has for two years passed annual acts for the temporary continuance of such local turnpike acts as should expire.

Another temporary remedy has likewise followed the somewhat hasty abolition of statute labour. The power under which a surveyor of turnpike roads might require every landholder to provide a certain number of horses and men, to be used for a given number of days for the service of the turnpike roads, was repealed in 1835. This service was usually exacted; and the loss of it was very generally felt. At first no substitute whatever was provided; but it becoming evident that in some of the less frequented counties, especially in Wales, turnpike roads could no longer be repaired unless a new source of income was appointed, the temporary act of 2 and 3 Victoria, c. 81, was passed; empowering trustees under certain circumstances, and with consent of the magistrates, given at the quarterly sessions, to levy a rate for the maintenance of turnpike roads.

This substitution of a rate for statute labour, in some degree shifts the burden of maintaining the turnpike roads upon different shoulders: formerly no money could be demanded; but the farmer, who alone was liable as the owner of a team, was required occasionally to use that team for the service of the roads; now the householder, the shopkeeper, and the cottager, and the tithe-owner in right of his tithes, are likewise liable to contribute; and whether from this cause or from other reasons, we are unable to say, there has been an unwillingness to take advantage of the provisions of the act, which has not been as frequently used as might have been expected.

The annual value received through rates, has been very small in proportion to the value which was formerly afforded by statute labour; and by the whole difference, there is a diminution in the funds applied to the maintenance of roads.

But a further and greater diminution, of which it is impossible accurately to foresee the extent, is in progress through the construction of railways. Travelling by railway is somewhat cheaper than other methods of travelling: it is nearly three

times as expeditious; and, from the greater space that can be appropriated to each passenger, certainly less fatiguing. In cheapness, in speed, and in comfort, it is preferable, at least, to any other *public* conveyance. On the other hand, there is at present, partly in consequence of the novelty of the art, a somewhat greater risk of accidents. The increased risk, however, deters very few passengers. Where there is a railroad, other conveyances are comparatively deserted; so much so, that we often hear of the 'monopoly' of the railroads. This 'monopoly' (as it has been called) is given by nothing but superiority: railroads have no legal privilege; there is no proscription of turnpike roads; no penalty for travelling by coach or with post-horses. There still are roads, coaches, horses and harness, and capital to set them in motion; but the voluntary choice of the public has led to the adoption of the new rather than the old methods of conveyance.

Before the completion of many railroads, it was generally anticipated by persons connected with the carrying trade, that turnpike-roads would be in a great measure disused where parallel lines of railway were not far distant. The owners of stage-coaches and post-horses agreed early in this opinion, and experience has proved it to be correct. Mr Levy, a large renter of tolls, stated before the Committee on Turnpike Trusts in 1839, that the opening of the Birmingham railroad had lowered the stage-coach tolls alone, on one road leading from Barnet to St Alban's, from L.74 to L.25 a-week; and, as travellers use railroads more willingly for long than for short journeys, it is probable that the reduction was comparatively greater in proportion as the trust was further removed from London. He also stated the amount of coach tolls on the Colnbrook road to have fallen from L.18 to L.4 weekly, in consequence of the opening of the Great Western Railway. In the same evidence we find it asserted by Mr Sherman, a coach proprietor, that on the Birmingham and Coventry road to London, the railroad must have diminished the coach tolls by the amount of L.20,000 a-year. Respecting the decrease of posting, Mr Levy gives no calculation in figures; but says that he found on enquiry at Woburn, in Bedfordshire, formerly a great thoroughfare, that for two days in April 1839, not one carriage with post-horses had passed through the town; while Mr Gray, the chairman of the Society of Postmasters, informed the same Committee, that on the Birmingham road the postmasters had lost three-fourths of their business, and that in London one-half of it was lost.

Some difference of opinion was expressed as to the possibility of the proprietors of stage-coaches and post-horses being able to compete successfully with railways, on parallel lines about twe

or twenty-five miles distant, if the taxes on road conveyances were repealed. The duties paid by postmasters are annually, 7s. 6d. for a license, and L.5, 5s. for every hack chaise; also threepence a mile for each mile their horses travel. The principal duty on stage-coaches is a mileage duty rising by scale, according to the number of passengers for which the license is obtained: L.5 is paid for each coach used, and an assessed tax for every coachman and guard. If these were repealed, the relief might be estimated at something more than 3d. a mile; so that a coach travelling 100 miles, could then be forwarded at a cost of L.1, 9s., or thereabouts, less than must be now paid for its journey; and 3s. or 3s. 6d. might be deducted from the present rate of fare paid by each passenger travelling that distance. It is evident that a large number of persons would be influenced by such a reduction; but it must also be remembered, that coaches running to railway stations could also be conducted at a lower scale of fares; and that present fares on railways have not been calculated with reference to such reductions. Besides, it is probable that, rather than admit rivals in the carrying trade, the several companies would establish one or more trains a-day at lower fares even than these supposed cheap coaches; even though their present profits were diminished by their doing so. Some obstruction might likewise be offered by the indirect power of railway companies to the re-establishment of road coaches. Persons establishing road coaches might be prevented from trading to stations which are private property, and refused admittance: or the railway police might be desired to give no assistance to passengers arriving and departing by such coaches; or other acts of favouritism and annoyance practised. We are told that an attempt of this kind was made by the Great Western Railway Company, in the following manner: An Oxford coachmaster, trading to the station at Steventon, having advertised a coach direct from Oxford to London, received notice that, if it started, his coach would no longer be admitted at the Steventon station. But we cannot think that such petty tyranny would be frequent, both because it can rarely be successful, and because of the odium which it must create. It was unsuccessful in the instance mentioned.

Though the income of trusts, then, would certainly be augmented by a reduction of the taxes on road travelling, we do not apprehend that on lines of road parallel to railways, and at no great distance from them, any great increase would result. On the contrary, we are inclined to think railroad conveyance so superior to that on roads, that whatever traffic might be gained on roads by a reduction of government duties, would be at least counterbalanced by the gain likely to be experienced by railways, through connexion and long establishment.

Much evidence was given before the Committee on Roads, appointed by the House of Commons in 1839, on the possibility of establishing steam-carriages on common roads; and there were many persons who thought they saw in the carriages constructed by Colonel Maceroni and Mr Kollman, rivals to engines upon railways, and a force which would restore travelling to its ancient thoroughfares. It cannot be asserted, in a scientific point of view, that it is absolutely impracticable to construct an efficient road steam-coach; but though many have been made, no one has yet succeeded—no one has been long or beneficially used; and there appears at present so little likelihood that one will be made, that we will altogether omit any speculation on the effect that the appearance of one might have upon the maintenance of turnpike roads.

While a diminution of traffic, which is likely to be permanent, has taken place on the Great Roads, there has doubtless been a considerable increase upon many Branch Roads leading to railway stations. Experience goes to prove, that short branch railways are not remunerating speculations; therefore the increased traffic on these lines is likely to continue. And it is probable that it has been under-estimated by witnesses examined before the Committees, and that it is unknown to trustees of turnpike roads; for in some instances the roads used are parish roads, and in others new turnpike houses have not yet been erected and accommodated to the altered communications. But it will be readily admitted, that the increase of traffic on the roads of which we now speak, cannot be equivalent to the general diminution. Persons travelling to London from the majority of our large towns seldom pay one, and never more than one toll.

There is a railroad now open from Liverpool to London, and there will soon be one from Bristol to London; then, nine-tenths of the direct travellers between Ireland and London will be carried without the payment of any toll at all. The whole land communication between Scotland and London is now carried by railway either from Lancaster or York; and it is probable that these railways will soon be extended further northwards: indeed, Wales excepted, there is scarcely any direction in which a traveller going more than 100 miles, will not soon use a railway for a considerable portion of his journey. The augmentation of traffic on branch roads cannot nearly counterbalance so considerable a reduction.

On some roads great diminution of traffic has likewise been consequent on the multiplication of steam-boats; we say on some roads, for it is probable that land traffic generally has increased with the increase of steam navigation. However, near the coasts and estuaries, turnpike trusts have been considerably embarr

ed through the competition of steam-boats; and though the evil may be local, it must not be passed over in silence. No person going from London to the Netherlands would now think of going to Harwich to embark; few persons travelling to France, now encounter the trouble and expense of going to Dover; between London and Edinburgh, between Liverpool and Glasgow, and numbers of other towns, a large number of passengers now pass by water, where a few years ago there was scarce any passage but by land.

The inequality of taxation, unfavourable to the maintenance of turnpike roads, has given great advantage to the most novel methods of conveyance. The Committee of the House of Commons reported, in 1839, that 'as far as an approximation can be 'made, by comparing the scale of duty on the average number of 'passengers conveyed by railroads or by the public carriages, 'and posting on common roads, it appears the duty is as fol-'lows:—For every passenger by the railway, one-eighth of a 'penny per mile; for every passenger by a stage-coach, one-'fourth of a penny per mile; for every person travelling by post, 'three-fourths of a penny per mile; while the conveyance of pas-'sengers by water is entirely free from duty.' But this statement appears to us to be inaccurate. A duty of one penny a mile is paid for every eight passengers carried on a railroad; and a duty of one penny a mile is paid for every coach licensed to carry four passengers. This is true, and apparently justifies the assertion of the Committee; but in one case the tax is levied on passengers actually conveyed, in the other it is levied on the permission to carry: it is paid only when the railroad company carry eight passengers, it is paid by the coachmaster when his coach is empty. It is true that, when a coach is licensed to carry more than four passengers, the duty is somewhat less than a farthing a mile a head, for example—fifteen passengers may be carried for a duty of threepence a mile. It is true also that considerable fraud is practised on the revenue by the carriage of more passengers than the license permits; still we are convinced that the tax paid for coach passengers exceeds the amount per head, as it is stated by the Committee. No coach licensed to carry fifteen passengers, on an average carries twelve—an average of seven or eight is nearer the truth; and, as we have before stated, the mileage duty is not the only tax payable on stage-coaches. We doubt, therefore, whether a halfpenny a mile for each passenger is not much nearer the fact, than the sum that has been mentioned by the Committee. Then, assuming this amount to be correct, the tax on coaches is four times heavier than on railroads, while on steam-boats there is no tax at all. It is worthy of consideration whether the difficulty of collecting an equitable duty on steam-boat travellers has not been

exaggerated. The common argument for their exemption from duty, as it has been urged by their proprietors—'If you tax our 'passengers, you must tax those in ships and sailing packets'—is little more to be heeded than if the coachmaster said—'As 'you tax the coach so you must tax the stage-waggon also.' We know that the public income of the country will not bear great reductions; but in common justice, an equalization or some approach to it, should be made, and the burden on coach and post-masters lightened;—especially as the burden on them presses likewise upon the funds of turnpike trusts, the satisfaction of creditors, and the maintenance of roads, which are sufficiently encumbered with more immediate difficulties.

The management of mail-coaches, and the privilege allowed them, is an additional cause of diminution of turnpike tolls. All mails, whether carrying passengers or not, are exempt from tolls. Mails running into London formerly carried seven, and country mails (not running into London) eight passengers. There were not many country mails: letters were conveyed in carts and on horses, excepting on considerable roads, and between important towns. At present, letters are carried principally on railways into London, and the number of London mails has been diminished; but, in the country, the number of mails has been greatly increased. In several places, an additional delivery of letters has been established; and now, day, as well as night mails, run to various towns and stations. The number of passengers sent toll-free along particular roads by the post-office, is double, and in some cases treble, what it formerly was; for, in order to facilitate contracts, and to obtain them at a lower rate, the post-office, instead of eight, permits twelve passengers to be carried by mails. And, instead of confining mail-coaches to principal roads as formerly, a mail-coach is now, in most cases when an application is made, substituted for a cart or horse post. The contract for the coach is lower than that for the cart, on account of the privilege conferred by the post-office of carrying passengers.

It is now the object of every coachmaster to convert his coaches into mails. He persuades the gentlemen residing near the road his coach travels, that a mail would be convenient—a petition is signed—the county member applied to—and at once the post-office grants a 'new mail;' which certainly benefits the coachmaster and the post-office, but is as certainly at the expense of the turnpike tolls, which are in consequence diminished in value, perhaps, by L.100 a-year; while, for the 'new 'mail,' the road must be kept in better condition. It is scarcely necessary to say, that toll-paying coaches cannot compete with these privileged adversaries. If a mail is established on a ror

where there are coaches already, the number of coaches will probably be diminished; if, where there have been as yet no coaches, there is the greater certainty that no stage-coach will be started.

To remedy the defects of the present system, and to provide against the increasing difficulties to which circumstances have given rise, several plans have been proposed. In all of them, economy of management, through the *Consolidation of Trusts*, forms an important and principal feature. When the House of Commons' Committee of 1839, asked Mr Levy—whose acuteness and experience give great value to his evidence on the subject of roads—if he could suggest any remedy for the evils of the present turnpike trust system, he answered—'There is a remedy which would, in a great measure, pay 'the creditors, and lessen the tolls, and be very grateful to 'the public—*to consolidate trusts:* not to have trusts for par-'ticular places. 'I know,' he continued, 'at Brighton and 'Dover, and other places, there are four or five trust branches; 'with four or five solicitors; and four or five treasurers; all em-'ployed at a salary, when one salary would do, and one would 'do it just as well as all.' Consolidation of turnpike trusts is likewise the chief remedy set forward in the Report named at the head of this article. But it is right that we should state the whole of their recommendations; the remedies they propose; and the manner of carrying them into effect. They propose, that the taxes on travelling should be equalized; that carriages carrying letters in England, should be liable to toll, as similar carriages are at present in Scotland and Ireland; that a reduction should be made in the cost of obtaining the powers now given by local turnpike acts, and that a consolidation of trusts should be effected. With these suggestions we entirely concur, and would only add a slight extension, that carriages employed by the post-office should be exempt from toll, if carrying letters only, and not also passengers and parcels.

To return, however, to the more important remedy of Consolidation. The extent of trusts, as now constituted, has been already stated to be, on an average, nineteen and a half miles; the average number of officers, rather more than three to every trust, certainly exceeds the number necessary; and it is in the charge of their salaries—which, with the comparatively small item of law expenses, now amount to L.6 a mile on every mile of turnpike road in England—that they have to look for a considerable diminution of expenditure. There is likewise a great probability that turnpike trusts, when consolidated, would be conducted by more efficient officers than the present—capable of economizing

the resources, by avoiding all unnecessary outlay, and a general exercise of experience. The commissioners quote three instances in which the principle of consolidation has operated favourably: that of the trust in the Isle of Wight, the Scotch system, especially in the County of Edinburgh, and the Metropolitan trust. The roads in the Isle of Wight, both turnpike and parochial, about 400 miles in extent, are under one body of commissioners; and by their course of management the roads have been improved, and the expense diminished. In Scotland, 'money applicable to the use of turnpike roads is borrowed on 'the personal security of the trustees, to whom the tolls are 'wholly, or in part, assigned for their indemnification; but those 'tolls are, by the common law of Scotland, applicable, in the 'first instance, to the repair of the roads, and instances have 'occurred of the civil court directing tolls to be entirely re-'moved from a road, in consequence of its not being kept in a 'sufficient state of repair.

'In the county of Edinburgh, where a desirable system seems 'to prevail, a general meeting of commissioners, composed of all 'persons possessed of a certain amount of property within the 'county, takes place periodically, (six times a-year, or oftener,) 'and has the control over all the turnpike roads in the county.

'The turnpike roads are divided into districts, the trustees 'of which are all the proprietors residing on or near the line of 'road. Every district has a convener or chairman, upon whom 'the principal part of the duty devolves. The office is usually 'held as long as the individual desires to retain it. The affairs 'of each district are administered by the trustees meeting perio-'dically for that purpose.'*

The Metropolitan trust comprehends all the principal roads near London, lying north of the Thames, which had previously been divided into several different trusts. In 1827, the time of its foundation, the roads in the district were in moderate repair; a large and expensive establishment of officers existed; and there was a heavy debt. The establishment has been since reduced by one-third; the debt by one-half; the roads are in better repair; and the public has likewise been benefited by the removal of several gates further from London—including those at Tyburn and Hyde-Park Corner.

We are sanguine in thinking that the remedies, to which allusion has been thus briefly made, if carried into operation, would greatly diminish the embarrassments of turnpike trusts, give security to creditors, and leave sufficient funds for the maintenance of good

* Report, p. 10.

roads. There is some difference of opinion both respecting the machinery by which the improvements of turnpike trusts should be effected, and that to which the conduct of them should in future be intrusted. The scheme of the Commissioners seems to us somewhat complicated. It will be seen that they would place the management of parish roads in the same hands as the direction of turnpike roads. The Commissioners consider that a sum should be advanced by Government, on the authority of Parliament, for paying off the present debt at its fair value.

They state on calculation, that the existing amount of tolls would form sufficient security for the money so advanced. They recommend that the Government should secure interest to persons from whom this money may be borrowed, and provide a sinking fund. They are likewise of opinion, 'that the 'best method of ascertaining the fair value of each separate bond 'or mortgage, will be by the appointment of a Parliamentary 'commission empowered to decide on each case; reserving to 'each creditor the right to refer the value of his claim to a jury, 'or to arbitration; and that certificates, bearing interest, should 'be given for the respective amounts; or that the total amount 'required for liquidating the debt should be borrowed by the 'Government, upon the security of the tolls.'*

They next propose, that a union of parishes should be formed for the management of parish roads, (highways;) that this duty should be performed by 'Parliamentary commissioners, who 'should form districts and subdivisions throughout England and 'Wales, by the consolidation of trusts and parishes; and after 'having divided the counties into districts and subdivisions, should 'proceed to investigate the affairs of the different trusts in each 'district: and having ascertained the value of their respective 'debts, then to enter into the proposed arrangement with the bond-'holders, or liquidate the same with the money to be borrowed 'for that purpose. That they should then apportion to the dif-'ferent districts and subdivisions respectively, the amount of 'interest to be paid from each, together with the annual amount 'of the sinking fund, *which should be the first lien upon the tolls 'collected therein.* That each district should have a General 'Board of Management, and each subdivision a Board of Way-'wardens. That the Subdivisional Boards shall consist of 'Parochial Waywardens, the amount of whose qualification 'should be determined by Parliament, and of County Magistrates, 'acting for and residing in the subdivisions, and should have a 'chairman and vice-chairman. That the District Board should

* Report, p. 11.

'consist of the chairman and vice-chairman of each Subdivisional 'Board, together with all the County Magistrates acting for and 'residing in the district.'

The assertion of the Commissioners, that the security of the tolls is sufficient to warrant Government to take upon itself the large amount of debt, gives great assistance in the enquiry as to a remedy for present evils. We will take it for granted that, as the Commissioners had ample means of discovering its truth, the assertion is correct. In that case, we have no hesitation in agreeing with the recommendation. Of the union of parish with turnpike roads, as far as placing their management in the hands of the same persons, we shall say nothing; because our remarks have been confined entirely to Turnpike Trusts, and the roads under their direction. Neither shall we make much further observation on the machinery recommended in the Report. Parliamentary commissioners cannot be dispensed with for the consolidation of trusts, and reconstruction of districts. We see no reason why such districts should be affected by the boundaries of counties. The Commission might be temporarily appointed, and in all probability its work might soon be accomplished. Two boards, elected in the manner we have stated, we think unnecessary; they might be attended in towns, but in rural districts farmers have other matters to think of. Markets and fairs are their principal objects; they are unwilling to leave their business; and the board of waywardens, or 'highway-'men,' as it would be called, would be very little attended to. Probably one board in each district would be found sufficient. But in comparison to the remedies for existing evils, the means of carrying them into effect are very insignificant. There is no doubt that they will be found; and should the machinery at first applied prove inadequate or inappropriate, it would be gradually and effectually amended.

We call the attention of our readers to these facts—that the funds for maintaining turnpike roads are in many instances dependent upon a temporary and not unobjectionable act, and that they may soon be found deficient—that much property invested on the security of turnpike tolls is in a very precarious condition; and in proof that legislative interference is immediately required, we refer to the Report of the Commissioners, in which it will be seen that the debts incurred are already immense, that they are rapidly and largely increasing, and that instances in which trusts are unable to pay the interest of their debt, have become more and more frequent.

ART. VIII.—*The Dramatic Works of* WYCHERLEY, CONGREVE, VANBRUGH, *and* FARQUHAR. *With Biographical and Critical Notices.* By LEIGH HUNT. 8vo. London: 1840.

WE have a kindness for Mr Leigh Hunt. We form our judgment of him, indeed, only from events of universal notoriety—from his own works, and from the works of other writers, who have generally abused him in the most rancorous manner. But, unless we are greatly mistaken, he is a very clever, a very honest, and a very good-natured man. We can clearly discern, together with many merits, many serious faults both in his writings and in his conduct. But we really think that there is hardly a man living whose merits have been so grudgingly allowed, and whose faults have been so cruelly expiated.

In some respects, Mr Leigh Hunt is excellently qualified for the task which he has now undertaken. His style, in spite of its mannerism—nay, partly by reason of its mannerism—is well suited for light, garrulous, desultory *ana*, half critical half biographical. We do not always agree with his literary judgments; but we find in him what is very rare in our time—the power of justly appreciating and heartily enjoying good things of very different kinds. He can adore Shakspeare and Spenser without denying poetical genius to the author of 'Alexander's Feast;' or fine observation, rich fancy, and exquisite humour to him who imagined 'Will Honeycomb' and 'Sir Roger de Coverley.' He has paid particular attention to the history of the English drama, from the age of Elizabeth down to our own time, and has every right to be heard with respect on that subject.

The plays to which he now acts as introducer are, with few exceptions, such as, in the opinion of many very respectable people, ought not to be reprinted. In this opinion we can by no means concur. We cannot wish that any work or class of works which has exercised a great influence on the human mind, and which illustrates the character of an important epoch in letters, politics, and morals, should disappear from the world. If we err in this matter, we err with the gravest men and bodies of men in the empire, and especially with the Church of England, and with the great schools of learning which are connected with her. The whole liberal education of our countrymen is conducted on the principle, that no book which is valuable, either by reason of the excellence of its style, or by reason of the light which it throws on the history, polity, and manners of nations, should be withheld from the student on account of its impurity. The Athenian Comedies, in which there are scarcely a hundred lines together without some passage of which Rochester would

have been ashamed, have been reprinted at the Pitt Press and the Clarendon Press, under the direction of syndics and delegates appointed by the Universities; and have been illustrated with notes by reverend, very reverend, and right reverend commentators. Every year the most distinguished young men in the kingdom are examined by bishops and professors of divinity in the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes, and the Sixth Satire of Juvenal. There is certainly something a little ludicrous in the idea of a conclave of venerable fathers of the church rewarding a lad for his intimate acquaintance with writings, compared with which the loosest tale in Prior is modest. But for our own part we have no doubt that the great societies which direct the education of the English gentry, have herein judged wisely. It is unquestionable that an extensive acquaintance with ancient literature enlarges and enriches the mind. It is unquestionable that a man whose mind has been thus enlarged and enriched, is likely to be far more useful to the state and to the church, than one who is unskilled, or little skilled in classical learning. On the other hand, we find it difficult to believe that, in a world so full of temptation as this, any gentleman, whose life would have been virtuous if he had not read Aristophanes and Juvenal, will be made vicious by reading them. A man who, exposed to all the influences of such a state of society as that in which we live, is yet afraid of exposing himself to the influences of a few Greek or Latin verses, acts, we think, much like the felon who begged the sheriffs to let him have an umbrella held over his head from the door of Newgate to the gallows, because it was a drizzling morning, and he was apt to take cold.

The virtue which the world wants is a healthful virtue, not a valetudinarian virtue—a virtue which can expose itself to the risks inseparable from all spirited exertion—not a virtue which keeps out of the common air for fear of infection, and eschews the common food as too stimulating. It would be indeed absurd to attempt to keep men from acquiring those qualifications which fit them to play their part in life with honour to themselves and advantage to their country, for the sake of preserving a delicacy which cannot be preserved—a delicacy which a walk from Westminster to the Temple is sufficient to destroy.

But we should be justly chargeable with gross inconsistency, if, while we defend the policy which invites the youth of our country to study such writers as Theocritus and Catullus, we were to set up a cry against a new edition of the 'Country 'Wife,' or the 'Way of the World.' The immoral English writers of the seventeenth century, are indeed much less excusable than those of Greece and Rome. But the worst English writings of the seventeenth century are decent, compared wit'

much that has been bequeathed to us by Greece and Rome. Plato, we have little doubt, was a much better man than Sir George Etherege. But Plato has written things at which Sir George Etherege would have shuddered. Buckhurst and Sedley, even in those wild orgies at the Cock in Bow Street, for which they were pelted by the rabble and fined by the Court of King's Bench, would never have dared to hold such discourse as passed between Socrates and Phædrus on that fine summer day, under the plane-tree, while the fountain warbled at their feet, and the cicadas chirped overhead. If it be, as we think it is, desirable that an English gentleman should be well informed touching the government and the manners of little commonwealths, which both in place and time are far removed from us—whose independence has been more than two thousand years extinguished, whose language has not been spoken for ages, and whose ancient magnificence is attested only by a few broken columns and friezes—much more must it be desirable that he should be intimately acquainted with the history of the public mind of his own country; and with the causes, the nature, and the extent of those revolutions of opinion and feeling, which, during the last two centuries, have alternately raised and depressed the standard of our national morality. And knowledge of this sort is to be very sparingly gleaned from Parliamentary debates, from state papers, and from the works of grave historians. It must either not be acquired at all, or it must be acquired by the perusal of the light literature which has at various periods been fashionable. We are therefore by no means disposed to condemn this publication, though we certainly cannot recommend the handsome volume* before us as an appropriate Christmas present for young ladies.

We have said that we think the present publication perfectly justifiable. But we can by no means agree with Mr Leigh Hunt, who seems to hold that there is little or no ground for the charge of immorality so often brought against the literature of the Restoration. We do not blame him for not bringing to the judgment-seat the merciless rigour of Lord Angelo; but we really think that such flagitious and impudent offenders as those who are now at the bar, deserved at least the gentle rebuke of Escalus. Mr Leigh Hunt treats the whole matter a little too

* Mr Moxon, its publisher, is well entitled to commendation and support for having, by a series of corresponding Reprints, (comprising the works of the elder Dramatists,)—executed in a compendious but very comely form, and accompanied with useful prolegomena—put it in the power of any one desirous of such an acquisition, to procure, at a comparatively small cost, the noblest Dramatic Library in the world.

much in the easy style of Lucio, and perhaps his exceeding lenity disposes us to be somewhat too severe.

And yet, it is not easy to be too severe. For, in truth, this part of our literature is a disgrace to our language and our national character. It is clever, indeed, and very entertaining; but it is, in the most emphatic sense of the words, 'earthly, sen-'sual, devilish.' Its indecency, though perpetually such as is condemned, not less by the rules of good taste than by those of morality, is not, in our opinion, so disgraceful a fault as its singularly inhuman spirit. We have here Belial, not as when he inspired Ovid and Ariosto, 'graceful and humane,' but with the iron eye and cruel sneer of Mephistopheles. We find ourselves in a world, in which the ladies are like very profligate, impudent, and unfeeling men, and in which the men are too bad for any place but Pandæmonium or Norfolk Island. We are surrounded by foreheads of bronze, hearts like the nether millstone, and tongues set on fire of hell.

Dryden defended or excused his own offences, and those of his contemporaries, by pleading the example of the earlier English dramatists; and Mr Leigh Hunt seems to think that there is force in the plea. We altogether differ from this opinion. The crime charged is not mere coarseness of expression. The terms which are delicate in one age, become gross in the next. The diction of the English version of the Pentateuch, is sometimes such as Addison would not have ventured to imitate; and Addison, the standard of purity in his own age, used many phrases which are now proscribed. Whether a thing shall be designated by a plain noun-substantive, or by a circumlocution, is mere matter of fashion. Morality is not at all interested in the question. But morality is deeply interested in this—that what is immoral shall not be presented to the imagination of the young and susceptible in constant connexion with what is attractive. For every person who has observed the operation of the law of association in his own mind, and in the minds of others, knows, that whatever is constantly presented to the imagination in connexion with what is attractive, will commonly itself become attractive. There is undoubtedly a great deal of indelicate writing in Fletcher and Massinger; and more than might be wished even in Ben Jonson and Shakspeare, who are comparatively pure. But it is impossible to trace in their plays any systematic attempt to associate vice with those things which men value most and desire most, and virtue with every thing ridiculous and degrading. And such a systematic attempt we find in the whole dramatic literature of the generation which followed the return of Charles the Second. We will take, as an instance of what we mean, a single subject of the highest importance to the happiness of mankind—conjugal fidelity. W

can at present hardly call to mind a single English play, written before the civil war, in which the character of a seducer of married women is represented in a favourable light. We remember many plays in which such persons are baffled, exposed, covered with derision, and insulted by triumphant husbands. Such is the fate of Falstaff, with all his wit and knowledge of the world. Such is the fate of Brisac in Fletcher's 'Elder Brother'—and of Ricardo and Ubaldo, in Massinger's 'Picture.' Sometimes, as in the 'Fatal Dowery,' and 'Love's Cruelty,' the outraged honour of families is repaired by a bloody revenge. If now and then the lover is represented as an accomplished man, and the husband as a person of weak or odious character, this only makes the triumph of female virtue the more signal; as in Jonson's Celia and Mrs Fitzdottrel, and in Fletcher's Maria. In general, we will venture to say, that the dramatists of the age of Elizabeth and James the First, either treat the breach of the marriage-vow as a serious crime—or, if they treat it as matter for laughter, turn the laugh against the gallant.

On the contrary, during the forty years which followed the Restoration, the whole body of the dramatists invariably represent adultery—we do not say as a peccadillo—we do not say as an error which the violence of passion may excuse—but as the calling of a fine gentleman—as a grace without which his character would be imperfect. It is as essential to his breeding and to his place in society that he should make love to the wives of his neighbours, as that he should know French, or that he should have a sword at his side. In all this there is no passion, and scarcely any thing that can be called preference. The hero intrigues, just as he wears a wig; because, if he did not, he would be a queer fellow, a city prig, perhaps a Puritan. All the agreeable qualities are always given to the gallant. All the contempt and aversion are the portion of the unfortunate husband. Take Dryden for example; and compare Woodall with Brainsick, or Lorenzo with Gomez. Take Wycherley, and compare Horner with Pinchwife. Take Vanbrugh, and compare Constant with Sir John Brute. Take Farquhar, and compare Archer with Squire Sullen. Take Congreve, and compare Bellmour with Fondlewife, Careless with Sir Paul Plyant, or Scandal with Foresight. In all these cases, and in many more which might be named, the dramatist evidently does his best to make the person who commits the injury graceful, sensible, and spirited; and the person who suffers it a fool or a tyrant, or both.

Mr Charles Lamb, indeed, attempted to set up a defence for this way of writing. The dramatists of the latter part of the seventeenth century are not, according to him, to be tried by the standard of morality which exists, and ought to exist in real life. Their world is a conventional world. Their heroes and

heroines belong, not to England, not to Christendom, but to an Utopia of gallantry, to a Fairyland, where the Bible and Burns's Justice are unknown—where a prank which on this earth would be rewarded with the pillory, is merely matter for a peal of elvish laughter. A real Horner, a real Careless would, it is admitted, be exceedingly bad men. But to predicate morality or immorality of the Horner of Wycherley, and the Careless of Congreve, is as absurd as it would be to arraign a sleeper for his dreams. They belong 'to the regions of pure comedy, where 'no cold moral reigns—when we are amongst them we are 'amongst a chaotic people. We are not to judge them by our 'usages. No reverend institutions are insulted by their proceed-'ings, for they have none among them. No peace of families is 'violated, for no family ties exist among them. There is neither 'right nor wrong—gratitude or its opposite—claim or duty—'paternity or sonship."

This is, we believe, a fair summary of Mr Lamb's doctrine. We are sure that we do not wish to represent him unfairly. For we admire his genius; we love the kind nature which appears in all his writings; and we cherish his memory as much as if we had known him personally. But we must plainly say that his argument, though ingenious, is altogether sophistical.

Of course we perfectly understand that it is possible for a writer to create a conventional world in which things forbidden by the Decalogue and the Statute Book shall be lawful, and yet that the exhibition may be harmless, or even edifying. For example, we suppose that the most austere critics would not accuse Fenelon of impiety and immorality, on account of his Telemachus and his Dialogues of the Dead. In Telemachus and the Dialogues of the Dead, we have a false religion, and consequently a morality which is in some points incorrect. We have a right and a wrong, differing from the right and the wrong of real life. It is represented as the first duty of men to pay honour to Jove and Minerva. Philocles, who employs his leisure in making graven images of these deities, is extolled for his piety in a way which contrasts singularly with the expressions of Isaiah on the same subject. The dead are judged by Minos, and rewarded with lasting happiness for actions which Fenelon would have been the first to pronounce splendid sins. The same may be said of Mr Southey's Mahommedan and Hindoo heroes and heroines. In Thalaba, to speak in derogation of the Arabian impostor is blasphemy —to drink wine is a crime—to perform ablutions, and to pay honour to the holy cities, are works of merit. In the Curse of Kehama, Kailyal is commended for her devotion to the statue of Mariataly, the goddess of the poor. But certainly no person

will accuse Mr Southey of having promoted or intended to promote either Islamism or Brahminism.

It is easy to see why the conventional worlds of Fenelon and Mr Southey are unobjectionable. In the first place, they are utterly unlike the real world in which we live. The state of society, the laws even of the physical world, are so different from those with which we are familiar, that we cannot be shocked at finding the morality also very different. But in truth, the morality of these conventional worlds differs from the morality of the real world, only in points where there is no danger that the real world will ever go wrong. The generosity and docility of Telemachus, the fortitude, the modesty, the filial tenderness of Kailyal, are virtues of all ages and nations. And there was very little danger that the Dauphin would worship Minerva, or that an English damsel would dance with a bucket on her head before the statue of Mariataly.

The case is widely different with what Mr Charles Lamb calls the conventional world of Wycherley and Congreve. Here the costume, the manners, the topics of conversation are those of the real town, and of the passing day. The hero is in all superficial accomplishments exactly the fine gentleman, whom every youth in the pit would gladly resemble. The heroine is the fine lady, whom every youth in the pit would gladly marry. The scene is laid in some place which is as well known to the audience as their own houses, in St James's Park, or Hyde Park, or Westminster Hall. The lawyer bustles about with his bag, between the Common Pleas and the Exchequer. The Peer calls for his carriage to go to the House of Lords on a private bill. A hundred little touches are employed to make the fictitious world appear like the actual world. And the immorality is of a sort which never can be out of date, and which all the force of religion, law, and public opinion united can but imperfectly restrain.

In the name of art, as well as in the name of virtue, we protest against the principle that the world of pure comedy is one into which no moral enters. If comedy be an imitation, under whatever conventions, of real life, how is it possible that it can have no reference to the great rule which directs life, and to feelings which are called forth by every incident of life? If what Mr Charles Lamb says were correct, the inference would be, that these dramatists did not in the least understand the very first principles of their craft. Pure landscape painting into which no light or shade enters, pure portrait painting into which no expression enters, are phrases less at variance with sound criticism, than pure comedy into which no moral enters.

But it is not the fact, that the world of these dramatists is a

world into which no moral enters. Morality constantly enters into that world, a sound morality, and an unsound morality; the sound morality to be insulted, derided, associated with every thing mean and hateful; the unsound morality to be set off to every advantage, and inculcated by all methods, direct and indirect. It is not the fact, that none of the inhabitants of this conventional world feel reverence for sacred institutions, and family ties. Fondlewife, Pinchwife, every person in short of narrow understanding, and disgusting manners, expresses that reverence strongly. The heroes and heroines too, have a moral code of their own, an exceedingly bad one; but not, as Mr Charles Lamb seems to think, a code existing only in the imagination of dramatists. It is, on the contrary, a code actually received, and obeyed by great numbers of people. We need not go to Utopia or Fairyland to find them. They are near at hand. Every night some of them play at the 'hells' in the Quadrant, and others pace the Piazza in Covent-Garden. Without flying to Nephelococcygia, or to the Court of Queen Mab, we can meet with sharpers, bullies, hard-hearted impudent debauchees, and women worthy of such paramours. The morality of the 'Country Wife' and the 'Old Bachelor,' is the morality, not, as Mr Charles Lamb maintains, of an unreal world, but of a world which is a great deal too real. It is the morality, not of a chaotic people, but of low town-rakes, and of those ladies whom the newspapers call 'dashing Cyprians.' And the question is simply, whether a man of genius, who constantly and systematically endeavours to make this sort of character attractive, by uniting it with beauty, grace, dignity, spirit, a high social position, popularity, literature, wit, taste, knowledge of the world, brilliant success in every undertaking, does or does not make an ill use of his powers. We own that we are unable to understand how this question can be answered in any way but one.

It must, indeed, be acknowledged, in justice to the writers of whom we have spoken thus severely, that they were, to a great extent, the creatures of their age. And if it be asked why that age encouraged immorality which no other age would have tolerated, we have no hesitation in answering that this great depravation of the national taste was the effect of the prevalence of Puritanism under the Commonwealth.

To punish public outrages on morals and religion is unquestionably within the competence of rulers. But when a government, not content with requiring decency, requires sanctity, it oversteps the bounds which mark its proper functions. And it may be laid down as a universal rule, that a government which attempts more than it ought will perform less. A law-

giver who, in order to protect distressed borrowers, limits the rate of interest, either makes it impossible for the objects of his care to borrow at all, or places them at the mercy of the worst class of usurers. A lawgiver who, from tenderness for labouring men, fixes the hours of their work and the amount of their wages, is certain to make them far more wretched than he found them. And so a government which, not content with repressing scandalous excesses, demands from its subjects fervent and austere piety, will soon discover that, while attempting to render an impossible service to the cause of virtue, it has in truth only promoted vice.

For what are the means by which a government can effect its ends? Two only, rewards and punishments;—powerful means, indeed, for influencing the exterior act, but altogether impotent for the purpose of touching the heart. A public functionary who is told that he will be advanced if he is a devout Catholic, and turned out of his place if he is not, will probably go to mass every morning, exclude meat from his table on Fridays, shrive himself regularly, and perhaps let his superiors know that he wears a hair shirt next his skin. Under a Puritan government, a person who is apprised that piety is essential to thriving in the world, will be strict in the observance of the Sunday, or, as he will call it, Sabbath, and will avoid a theatre as if it were plague-stricken. Such a show of religion as this, the hope of gain and the fear of loss will produce, at a week's notice, in any abundance which a government may require. But under this show, sensuality, ambition, avarice, and hatred retain unimpaired power; and the seeming convert has only added to the vices of a man of the world all the still darker vices which are engendered by the constant practice of dissimulation. The truth cannot be long concealed. The public discovers that the grave persons who are proposed to it as patterns, are more utterly destitute of moral principle and of moral sensibility than avowed libertines. It sees that these Pharisees are further removed from real goodness than publicans and harlots. And, as usual, it rushes to the extreme opposite to that which it quits. It considers a high religious profession as a sure mark of meanness and depravity. On the very first day on which the restraint of fear is taken away, and on which men can venture to say what they feel, a frightful peal of blasphemy and ribaldry proclaims that the short-sighted policy which aimed at making a nation of saints has made a nation of scoffers.

It was thus in France about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Louis the Fourteenth in his old age became religious, and determined that his subjects should be religious too—shrugged

his shoulders and knitted his brows if he observed at his levee or near his dinner-table any gentleman who neglected the duties enjoined by the church—and rewarded piety with blue ribands, invitations to Marli, governments, pensions, and regiments. Forthwith Versailles became, in every thing but dress, a convent. The pulpits and confessionals were surrounded by swords and embroidery. The marshals of France were much in prayer; and there was hardly one among the dukes and peers who did not carry good little books in his pocket, fast during Lent, and communicate at Easter. Madame de Maintenon, who had a great share in the blessed work, boasted that devotion had become quite the fashion. A fashion indeed it was; and like a fashion it passed away. No sooner had the old king been carried to St Denis, than the whole court unmasked. Every man hastened to indemnify himself, by the excess of licentiousness and impudence, for years of mortification. The same persons who, a few months before, with meek voices and demure looks, had consulted divines about the state of their souls, now surrounded the midnight table, where, amidst the bounding of champagne corks, a drunken prince, enthroned between Dubois and Madame de Parabère, hiccoughed out atheistical arguments and obscene jests. The early part of the reign of Louis the Fourteenth had been a time of license; but the most dissolute men of that generation would have blushed at the orgies of the Regency.

It was the same with our fathers in the time of the Great Civil War. We are by no means unmindful of the great debt which mankind owes to the Puritans of that time, the deliverers of England, the founders of the great American Commonwealths. But in the day of their power they committed one great fault, which left deep and lasting traces in the national character and manners. They mistook the end and overrated the force of government. They determined not merely to protect religion and public morals from insult—an object for which the civil sword, in discreet hands, may be beneficially employed—but to make the people committed to their rule truly devout. Yet if they had only reflected on events which they had themselves witnessed, and in which they had themselves borne a great part, they would have seen what was likely to be the result of their enterprise. They had lived under a government which, during a long course of years, did all that could be done, by lavish bounty and by rigorous punishment, to enforce conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. No person suspected of hostility to that church had the smallest chance of obtaining favour at the court of Charles. Avowed dissent was punished by imprisonment, by ignominious exposure, by cruel mutilations,

and by ruinous fines. And the event had been, that the Church had fallen, and had, in its fall, dragged down with it a monarchy which had stood six hundred years. The Puritan might have learned, if from nothing else, yet from his own recent victory, that governments which attempt things beyond their reach are likely not merely to fail, but to produce an effect directly the opposite of that which they contemplate as desirable.

All this was overlooked. The saints were to inherit the earth. The theatres were closed. The fine arts were placed under absurd restraints. Vices which had never before been even misdemeanors were made capital felonies. And it was solemnly resolved by Parliament, 'that no person shall be employed but 'such as the House shall be satisfied of his real godliness.' The pious assembly had a Bible lying on the table for reference. If they had consulted it they might have learned that the wheat and the tares grow together inseparably, and must either be spared together, or rooted up together. To know whether a man was really godly was impossible. But it was easy to know whether he had a plain dress, lank hair, no starch in his linen, no gay furniture in his house; whether he talked through his nose, and showed the whites of his eyes; whether he named his children Assurance, Tribulation, or Maher-shalal-hash-baz—whether he avoided Spring Garden when in town, and abstained from hunting and hawking when in the country—whether he expounded hard scriptures to his troop of dragoons, and talked in a committee of ways and means about seeking the Lord. These were tests which could easily be applied. The misfortune was, that they were tests which proved nothing. Such as they were, they were employed by the dominant party. And the consequence was, that a crowd of impostors, in every walk of life, began to mimic and to caricature what were then regarded as the outward signs of sanctity. The nation was not duped. The restraints of that gloomy time were such as would have been impatiently borne, if imposed by men who were universally believed to be saints. Those restraints became altogether insupportable when they were known to be kept up for the profit of hypocrites. It is quite certain that, even if the Royal Family had never returned—even if Richard Cromwell or Henry Cromwell had been at the head of the administration—there would have been a great relaxation of manners. Before the Revolution many signs indicated that a period of license was at hand. The Restoration crushed for a time the Puritan party, and placed supreme power in the hands of a libertine. The political counter-revolution assisted the moral counter-revolution, and was in turn assisted by it. A period of wild and desperate dissoluteness

followed. Even in remote manor-houses and hamlets the change was in some degree felt; but in London the outbreak of debauchery was appalling. And in London the places most deeply infected were the Palace, the quarters inhabited by the aristocracy, and the Inns of Court. It was on the support of these parts of the town that the playhouses depended. The character of the drama became conformed to the character of its patrons. The comic poet was the mouthpiece of the most deeply corrupted part of a corrupted society. And in the plays before us, we find distilled and condensed, the essential spirit of the fashionable world during the Anti-puritan reaction.

The Puritan had affected formality; the comic poet laughed at decorum. The Puritan had frowned at innocent diversions; the comic poet took under his patronage the most flagitious excesses. The Puritan had canted; the comic poet blasphemed. The Puritan had made an affair of gallantry felony, without benefit of clergy; the comic poet represented it as an honourable distinction. The Puritan spoke with disdain of the low standard of popular morality; his life was regulated by a far more rigid code; his virtue was sustained by motives unknown to men of the world. Unhappily it had been amply proved in many cases, and might well be suspected in many more, that these high pretensions were unfounded. Accordingly, the fashionable circles, and the comic poets who were the spokesmen of those circles, took up the notion that all professions of piety and integrity were to be construed by the rule of contrary; that it might well be doubted whether there was such a thing as virtue in the world; but that, at all events, a person who affected to be better than his neighbours was sure to be a knave.

In the old drama there had been much that was reprehensible. But whoever compares even the least decorous plays of Fletcher with those contained in the volume before us, will see how much the profligacy which follows a period of overstrained austerity, goes beyond the profligacy which precedes such a period. The nation resembled the demoniac in the New Testament. The Puritans boasted that the unclean spirit was cast out. The house was empty, swept, and garnished, and for a time the expelled tenant wandered through dry places seeking rest and finding none. But the force of the exorcism was spent. The fiend returned to his abode; and returned not alone. He took to him seven other spirits more wicked than himself. They entered in, and dwelt together: and the second possession was worse than the first.

We will now, as far as our limits will permit, pass in review the writers to whom Mr Leigh Hunt has introduced us. Of the

four, Wycherley stands, we think, last in literary merit, but first in order of time, and first, beyond all doubt, in immorality.

WILLIAM WYCHERLEY was born in 1640. He was the son of a Shropshire gentleman of old family, and of what was then accounted a good estate. The property was estimated at L.600 a-year, a fortune which, among the fortunes of that time, probably ranked as a fortune of L.2000 a-year would rank in our days.

William was an infant when the civil war broke out; and, while he was still in his rudiments, a presbyterian hierarchy and a republican government were established on the ruins of the ancient church and throne. Old Mr Wycherley was attached to the royal cause, and was not disposed to entrust the education of his heir to the solemn Puritans who now ruled the universities and public schools. Accordingly, the young gentleman was sent at fifteen to France. He resided some time in the neighbourhood of the Duke of Montausier, chief of one of the noblest races of Touraine. The duke's wife, a daughter of the house of Rambouillet, was a finished specimen of those talents and accomplishments for which her house was celebrated. The young foreigner was introduced to the splendid circle which surrounded the duchess, and there he appears to have learned some good and some evil. In a few years he returned to this country a fine gentleman and a Papist. His conversion, it may safely be affirmed, was the effect, not of any strong impression on his understanding or feelings, but partly of intercourse with an agreeable society in which the Church of Rome was the fashion; and partly of that aversion to Calvinistic austerities, which was then almost universal among young Englishmen of parts and spirit, and which, at one time, seemed likely to make one half of them Catholics, and the other half Atheists.

But the Restoration came. The universities were again in loyal hands; and there was reason to hope that there would be again a national church fit for a gentleman. Wycherley became a member of Queen's College, Oxford, and abjured the errors of the Church of Rome. The somewhat equivocal glory of turning, for a short time, a very good-for-nothing Papist into a very good-for-nothing Protestant is ascribed to Bishop Barlow.

Wycherley left Oxford without taking a degree, and entered at the Temple, where he lived gaily for some years, observing the humours of the town, enjoying its pleasures, and picking up just as much law as was necessary to make the character of a pettifogging attorney, or of a litigious client entertaining in a comedy.

From an early age he had been in the habit of amusing himself by writing. Some wretched lines of his on the Restoration

are still extant. Had he devoted himself to the making of verses, he would have been nearly as far below Tate and Blackmore as Tate and Blackmore are below Dryden. His only chance for renown would have been, that he might have occupied a niche, in a satire, between Flecknoe and Settle. There was, however, another kind of composition in which his talents and acquirements qualified him to succeed; and to that he judiciously betook himself.

In his old age he used to say, that he wrote 'Love in a Wood' at nineteen, the 'Gentleman Dancing-Master' at twenty-one, the 'Plain Dealer' at twenty-five, and the 'Country Wife' at one or two and thirty. We are incredulous, we own, as to the truth of this story. Nothing that we know of Wycherley leads us to think him incapable of sacrificing truth to vanity. And his memory in the decline of his life played him such strange tricks, that we might question the correctness of his assertion, without throwing any imputation on his veracity. It is certain that none of his plays was acted till 1672, when he gave 'Love in a Wood' to the public. It seems improbable that he should resolve, on so important an occasion as that of a first appearance before the world, to run his chance with a feeble piece, written before his talents were ripe, before his style was formed, before he had looked abroad into the world; and this when he had actually in his desk two highly-finished plays, the fruit of his matured powers. When we look minutely at the pieces themselves, we find in every part of them reason to suspect the accuracy of Wycherley's statement. In the first scene of 'Love in a Wood,' to go no further, we find many passages which he could not have written when he was nineteen. There is an allusion to gentlemen's periwigs, which first came into fashion in 1663; an allusion to guineas, which were first struck in 1663; an allusion to the vests which Charles ordered to be worn at court in 1666; an allusion to the fire of 1666; and several allusions to political and ecclesiastical affairs which must be assigned to times later than the year of the Restoration—to times when the government and the city were opposed to each other, and when the Presbyterian ministers had been driven from the parish churches to the conventicles. But it is needless to dwell on particular expressions. The whole air and spirit of the piece belong to a period subsequent to that mentioned by Wycherley. As to the 'Plain Dealer,' which is said to have been written when he was twenty-five, it contains one scene unquestionably written after 1675, several which are later than 1668, and scarcely a line which can have been composed before the end of 1666.

Whatever may have been the age at which Wycherley com-

posed his plays, it is certain that he did not bring them before the public till he was upwards of thirty. In 1672, 'Love in a 'Wood' was acted with more success than it deserved, and this event produced a great change in the fortunes of the author. The Duchess of Cleveland cast her eyes upon him, and was pleased with his appearance. This abandoned woman, not content with her complaisant husband, and her royal keeper, lavished her fondness on a crowd of paramours of all ranks, from dukes to rope-dancers. In the time of the commonwealth, she commenced her career of gallantry; and terminated it under Anne, by marrying, when a great-grandmother, that worthless fop, Beau Fielding. It is not strange that she should have regarded Wycherley with favour. His figure was commanding, his countenance strikingly handsome, his look and deportment full of grace and dignity. He had, as Pope said long after, 'the true nobleman 'look;' the look which seems to indicate superiority, and a not unbecoming consciousness of superiority. His hair indeed, as he says in one of his poems, was prematurely grey. But in that age of periwigs, this misfortune was of little importance. The Duchess admired him, and proceeded to make love to him, after the fashion of the coarse-minded and shameless circle to which she belonged. In the Ring, when the crowd of beauties and fine gentlemen was thickest, she put her head out of her coach-window, and bawled to him—'Sir, you are a rascal; you are a vil-'lain;' and, if she is not belied, added another phrase of abuse which we will not quote, but of which we may say, that it might most justly have been applied to her own children. Wycherley called on her grace the next day, and with great humility begged to know in what way he had been so unfortunate as to disoblige her. Thus began an intimacy from which the poet probably expected wealth and honours. Nor were such expectations unreasonable. A handsome young fellow about the court, known by the name of Jack Churchill, was, about the same time, so lucky as to become the object of a short-lived fancy of the Duchess. She had presented him with L.4500; the price, in all probability, of some title or some pardon. The prudent youth had lent the money on high interest, and on landed security; and this judicious investment was the beginning of the most splendid private fortune in Europe. Wycherley was not so lucky. The partiality with which the great lady regarded him, was indeed the talk of the whole town; and sixty years later, old men who remembered those days, told Voltaire that she often stole from the court to her lover's chambers in the Temple, disguised like a country girl, with a straw-hat on her head, pattens on her feet, and a basket in her hand. The

poet was indeed too happy and proud to be discreet. He dedicated to the Duchess the play which had led to their acquaintance, and in the dedication expressed himself in terms which could not but confirm the reports which had gone abroad. But at Whitehall such an affair was regarded in no serious light. The lady was not afraid to bring Wycherley to court, and to introduce him to a splendid society, with which, as far as appears, he had never before mixed. The easy king, who allowed to his mistresses the same liberty which he claimed for himself, was pleased with the conversation and manners of his new rival. So high did Wycherley stand in the royal favour, that once, when he was confined by a fever to his lodgings in Bow Street, Charles, who, with all his faults, was certainly a man of a social and affable disposition, called on him, sat by his bed, advised him to try change of air, and gave him a handsome sum of money to defray the expense of the journey. Buckingham, then master of the horse, and one of that infamous ministry known by the name of the Cabal, had been one of the Duchess's innumerable paramours. He at first showed some symptoms of jealousy; but soon, after his fashion, veered round from anger to fondness, and gave Wycherley a commission in his own regiment, and a place in the royal household.

It would be unjust to Wycherley's memory not to mention here the only good action, as far as we know, of his whole life. He is said to have made great exertions to obtain the patronage of Buckingham for the illustrious author of 'Hudibras,' who was now sinking into an obscure grave, neglected by a nation proud of his genius, and by a court which he had served too well. His Grace consented to see poor Butler; and an appointment was made. But unhappily two pretty women passed by; the volatile Duke ran after them; the opportunity was lost, and could never be regained.

The second Dutch war, the most disgraceful war in the whole history of England, was now raging. It was not in that age considered as by any means necessary that a naval officer should receive a professional education. Young men of rank, who were hardly able to keep their feet in a breeze, served on board of the king's ships, sometimes with commissions, and sometimes as volunteers. Mulgrave, Dorset, Rochester, and many others, left the playhouses and the Mall for hammocks and salt pork; and, ignorant as they were of the rudiments of naval service, showed at least, on the day of battle, the courage which is seldom wanting in an English gentleman. All good judges of maritime affairs, complained that, under this system, the ships were grossly mismanaged; and that the tarpaulins contracted the vices, with-

out acquiring the graces, of the court. But on this subject, as on every other, the government of Charles was deaf to all remonstrances, where the interests or whims of favourites were concerned. Wycherley did not choose to be out of the fashion. He embarked, was present at a battle, and celebrated it, on his return, in a copy of verses too bad for the bellman.*

About the same time, he brought on the stage his second piece, the 'Gentleman Dancing-Master.' The biographer says nothing, as far as we remember, about the fate of this play. There is, however, reason to believe, that, though certainly far superior to 'Love in a Wood,' it was not equally successful. It was first tried at the west end of the town, and, as the poet confessed, 'would scarce do there.' It was then performed in Salisbury Court, but, as it should seem, with no better event. For, in the prologue to the 'Country Wife,' Wycherley described himself as 'the late so baffled scribbler.'

In 1675, the 'Country Wife' was performed with brilliant success, which, in a literary point of view, was not wholly unmerited. For, though one of the most profligate and heartless of human compositions, it is the elaborate production of a mind, not indeed rich, original, or imaginative, but ingenious, observant, quick to seize hints, and patient of the toil of polishing.

The 'Plain Dealer,' equally immoral and equally well written, appeared in 1677. At first this piece pleased the people less than the critics; but after a time its unquestionable merits, and the zealous support of Lord Dorset, whose influence in literary and fashionable society was unbounded, established it in the public favour.

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* Mr Leigh Hunt supposes that the battle at which Wycherley was present, was that which the Duke of York gained over Opdam, in 1665. We believe that it was one of the battles between Rupert and De Ruyter, in 1673.

The point is of no importance; and there can scarcely be said to be any evidence either way. We offer, however, to Mr Leigh Hunt's consideration, three arguments—of no great weight certainly—yet such as ought, we think, to prevail in the absence of better. First, it is not very likely that a young Templar, quite unknown in the world—and Wycherley was such in 1665—should have quitted his chambers to go to sea. On the other hand, it would have been in the regular course of things, that, when a courtier and an equerry, he should offer his services. Secondly, his verses appear to have been written after a drawn battle, like those of 1673, and not after a complete victory, like that of 1665. Thirdly, in the epilogue to the 'Gentleman Dancing-Master,' written in 1673, he says, that 'all gentlemen must pack to sea;' an expression which makes it probable that he did not himself mean to stay behind.

The fortune of Wycherley was now in the zenith, and began to decline. A long life was still before him. But it was destined to be filled with nothing but shame and wretchedness, domestic dissensions, literary failures, and pecuniary embarrassments.

The king, who was looking about for an accomplished man to conduct the education of his natural son, the young Duke of Richmond, at length fixed on Wycherley. The poet, exulting in his good luck, went down to amuse himself at Tunbridge; looked into a bookseller's shop on the Pantiles, and to his great delight, heard a handsome woman ask for the 'Plain Dealer,' which had just been published. He made acquaintance with the lady, who proved to be the Countess of Drogheda, a gay young widow, with an ample jointure. She was charmed with his person and his wit; and, after a short flirtation, agreed to become his wife. Wycherley seems to have been apprehensive that this connexion might not suit well with the king's plans respecting the Duke of Richmond. He accordingly prevailed on the lady to consent to a private marriage. All came out. Charles thought the conduct of Wycherley both disrespectful and disingenuous. Other causes probably assisted to alienate the sovereign from the subject who had lately been so highly favoured. Buckingham was now in opposition, and had been committed to the Tower; not, as Mr Leigh Hunt supposes, on a charge of treason, but by an order of the House of Lords for some expressions which he had used in debate. Wycherley wrote some bad lines in praise of his imprisoned patron, which, if they came to the knowledge of the king, would certainly have made his majesty very angry. The favour of the court was completely withdrawn from the poet. An amiable woman, with a large fortune, might indeed have been an ample compensation for the loss. But Lady Drogheda was ill-tempered, imperious, and extravagantly jealous. She had herself been a maid of honour at Whitehall. She well knew in what estimation conjugal fidelity was held among the fine gentlemen there; and watched her town husband as assiduously as Mr Pinchwife watched his country wife. The unfortunate wit was, indeed, allowed to meet his friends at a tavern opposite to his own house. But on such occasions the windows were always open, in order that her ladyship, who was posted on the other side of the street, might be satisfied that no woman was of the party.

The death of Lady Drogheda released the unfortunate poet from this distress; but a series of disasters, in rapid succession, broke down his health, his spirits, and his fortune. His wife meant to leave him a good property, and left him only a lawsuit. His father could not or would not assist him. He was

at length thrown into the Fleet, and languished there during seven years, utterly forgotten, as it should seem, by the gay and lively circle of which he had been a distinguished ornament. In the extremity of his distress he implored the publisher who had been enriched by the sale of his works, to lend him twenty pounds, and was refused. His comedies, however, still kept possession of the stage, and drew great audiences, which troubled themselves little about the situation of the author. At length, James the Second, who had now succeeded to the throne, happened to go to the theatre on an evening when the 'Plain Dealer' was acted. He was pleased by the performance, and touched by the fate of the writer, whom he probably remembered as one of the gayest and handsomest of his brother's courtiers. The King determined to pay Wycherley's debts, and to settle on the unfortunate poet a pension of L.200 a-year. This munificence, on the part of a prince who was little in the habit of rewarding literary merit, and whose whole soul was devoted to the interests of his church, raises in us a surmise which Mr Leigh Hunt will, we fear, pronounce very uncharitable. We cannot help suspecting that it was at this time that Wycherley returned to the communion of the Church of Rome. That he did return to the communion of the Church of Rome is certain. The date of his reconversion, as far as we know, has never been mentioned by any biographer. We believe that, if we place it at this time, we do no injustice to the character either of Wycherley or James.

Not long after, old Mr Wycherley died; and his son, now past the middle of life, came to the family estate. Still, however, he was not at his ease. His embarrassments were great: his property was strictly tied up; and he was on very bad terms with the heir-at-law. He appears to have led, during a long course of years, that most wretched life, the life of an old boy about town. Expensive tastes with little money, and licentious appetites with declining vigour, were the just penance for his early irregularities. A severe illness had produced a singular effect on his intellect. His memory played him pranks stranger than almost any that are to be found in the history of that strange faculty. It seemed to be at once preternaturally strong and preternaturally weak. If a book was read to him before he went to bed, he would wake the next morning with his mind full of the thoughts and expressions which he had heard over night; and he would write them down, without in the least suspecting that they were not his own. In his verses the same ideas, and even the same words came over and over again several times in a short composition. His fine person bore the marks of

age, sickness, and sorrow; and he mourned for his departed beauty with an effeminate regret. He could not look without a sigh at the portrait which Lely had painted of him when he was only twenty-eight; and often murmured, *Quantum mutatus ab illo.* He was still nervously anxious about his literary reputation; and, not content with the fame which he still possessed as a dramatist, was determined to be renowned as a satirist and an amatory poet. In 1704, after twenty-seven years of silence, he again appeared as an author. He put forth a large folio of miscellaneous verses, which, we believe, has never been reprinted. Some of these pieces had probably circulated through the town in manuscript. For, before the volume appeared, the critics at the coffee-houses very confidently predicted that it would be utterly worthless; and were in consequence bitterly reviled by the poet in an ill-written, foolish, and egotistical preface. The book amply vindicated the most unfavourable prophecies that had been hazarded. The style and versification are beneath criticism; the morals are those of Rochester. For Rochester, indeed, there was some excuse. When his offences against decorum were committed, he was a very young man, misled by a prevailing fashion. Wycherley was sixty-four. He had long outlived the times when libertinism was regarded as essential to the character of a wit and a gentleman. Most of the rising poets, like Addison, John Philips, and Rowe, were studious of decency. We can hardly conceive any thing more miserable than the figure which the ribald old man makes in the midst of so many sober and well-conducted youths.

In the very year in which this bulky volume of obscene doggerel was published, Wycherley formed an acquaintance of a very singular kind. A little, pale, crooked, sickly, bright-eyed urchin, just turned of sixteen, had written some copies of verses, in which discerning judges could detect the promise of future eminence. There was, indeed, as yet nothing very striking or original in the conceptions of the young poet. But he was already skilled in the art of metrical composition. His diction and his music were not those of the great old masters; but that which his ablest contemporaries were labouring to do, he already did best. His style was not richly poetical; but it was always neat, compact, and pointed. His verse wanted variety of pause, of swell, and of cadence; but it never grated on the ear by a harsh turn, or disappointed it by a feeble close. The youth was already free of the company of wits, and was greatly elated at being introduced to the author of the 'Plain Dealer' and the 'Country 'Wife.'

It is curious to trace the history of the intercourse which took

place between Wycherley and Pope—between the representative of the age that was going out, and the representative of the age that was coming in—between the friend of Rochester and Buckingham, and the friend of Lyttelton and Mansfield. At first the boy was enchanted by the kindness and condescension of his new friend, haunted his door, and followed him about like a spaniel, from coffee-house to coffee-house. Letters full of affection, humility, and fulsome flattery were interchanged between the friends. But the first ardour of affection could not last. Pope, though at no time scrupulously delicate in his writings, or fastidious as to the morals of his associates, was shocked by the indecency of a rake who, at seventy, was still the representative of the monstrous profligacy of the Restoration. As he grew older, as his mind expanded and his fame rose, he appreciated both himself and Wycherley more justly. He felt a well-founded contempt for the old gentleman's verses, and was at no great pains to conceal his opinion. Wycherley, on the other hand, though blinded by self-love to the imperfections of what he called his poetry, could not but see that there was an immense difference between his young companion's rhymes and his own. He was divided between two feelings. He wished to have the assistance of so skilful a hand to polish his lines; and yet he shrank from the humiliation of being beholden for literary assistance to a lad who might have been his grandson. Pope was willing to give assistance; but was by no means disposed to give assistance and flattery too. He took the trouble to retouch whole reams of feeble stumbling verses, and inserted many vigorous lines, which the least skilful reader will distinguish in an instant. But he thought that by these services he acquired a right to express himself in terms which would not, under ordinary circumstances, become a youth when addressing a man of four times his age. In one letter, he tells Wycherley that 'the worst pieces are 'such as, to render them very good, would require almost the en-' tire new writing of them.' In another, he gives the following account of his corrections:—'Though the whole be as short 'again as at first, there is not one thought omitted but what is 'a repetition of something in your first volume, or in this very 'paper; and the versification throughout is, I believe, such as 'nobody can be shocked at. The repeated permission you give 'me of dealing freely with you, will, I hope, excuse what I have 'done; for, if I have not spared you when I thought severity 'would do you a kindness, I have not mangled you where I 'thought there was no absolute need of amputation.' Wycherley continued to return thanks for all this hacking and hewing; which was, indeed, of inestimable service to his compositions.

But by degrees his thanks began to sound very like reproaches. In private, he is said to have described Pope as a person who could not cut out a suit, but who had some skill in turning old coats. In his letters to Pope, while he acknowledged that the versification of his poems had been greatly improved, he spoke of the whole art of versification with scorn, and sneered at those who preferred sound to sense. Pope revenged himself for this outbreak of spleen by return of post. He had in his hands a volume of Wycherley's rhymes, and he wrote to say that this volume was so full of faults that he could not correct it without completely defacing the manuscript. 'I am,' he said, 'equally afraid of sparing you, and of 'offending you by too impudent a correction.' This was more than flesh and blood could bear: Wycherley reclaimed his papers, in a letter in which resentment shows itself plainly through the thin disguise of civility. Pope, glad to be rid of a troublesome and inglorious task, sent back the deposit; and, by way of a parting courtesy, advised the old man to turn his poetry into prose, and assured him that the public would like his thoughts much better without his versification. Thus ended this memorable correspondence.

Wycherley lived some years after the termination of the strange friendship which we have described. The last scene of his life was, perhaps, the most scandalous. Ten days before his death, at seventy-five, he married a young girl, merely in order to injure his nephew—an act which proves that neither years, nor adversity, nor what he called his philosophy, nor either of the religions which he had at different times professed, had taught him the rudiments of morality. He died in December 1715, and lies in the vault under the church of St Paul in Covent-Garden.

His bride soon after married a Captain Shrimpton, who thus became possessed of a large collection of manuscripts. These were sold to a bookseller. They were so full of erasures and interlineations that no printer could decipher them. It was necessary to call in the aid of a professed critic; and Theobald, the editor of Shakspeare, and the hero of the first Dunciad, was employed to ascertain the true reading. In this way a volume of miscellanies in verse and prose was got up for the market. The collection derives all its value from the traces of Pope's hand, which are every where discernible.

Of the moral character of Wycherley it can hardly be necessary for us to say more. His fame as a writer rests wholly on his comedies, and chiefly on the last two. Even as a comic writer, he was neither of the best school, nor highest in his school. He was in truth a worse Congreve. His chief merit, like Congreve, lies in the style of his dialogue. But the wit

which lights up the 'Plain Dealer' and the 'Country Wife' is pale and flickering, when compared with the gorgeous blaze which dazzles us almost to blindness in 'Love for Love' and the 'Way of the World.' Like Congreve—and, indeed, even more than Congreve—Wycherley is ready to sacrifice dramatic propriety to the liveliness of his dialogue. The poet speaks out of the mouths of all his dunces and coxcombs, and makes them describe themselves with a good sense and acuteness which puts them on a level with the wits and heroes. We will give two instances, the first which occur to us, from the 'Country Wife.' There are to be found in the world fools who find the society of old friends insipid, and who are always running after new companions. Such a character is a fair subject for comedy. But nothing can be more absurd than to introduce a man of this sort saying to his comrade—'I can deny you nothing; for though 'I have known thee a great while, never go if I do not love 'thee as well as a new acquaintance.' That town-wits, again, have always been rather a heartless class, is true. But none of them, we will answer for it, ever said to a young lady to whom he was making love—'We wits rail and make love often but to show 'our parts: as we have no affections, so we have no malice.'

Wycherley's plays are said to have been the produce of long and patient labour. The epithet of 'slow' was early given to him by Rochester, and was frequently repeated. In truth, his mind, unless we are greatly mistaken, was naturally a very meagre soil, and was forced only by great labour and outlay to bear fruit, which, after all, was not of the highest flavour. He has scarcely more claim to originality than Terence. It is not too much to say, that there is hardly any thing of the least value in his plays, of which the hint is not to be found elsewhere. The best scenes in the 'Gentleman Dancing-Master,' were suggested by Calderon's *Maestro de Danzar*, not by any means one of the happiest comedies of the great Castilian poet. The 'Coun-'try Wife' is borrowed from the *Ecole des Maris* and the *Ecole des Femmes*. The groundwork of the 'Plain Dealer' is taken from the *Misanthrope* of Moliere. One whole scene is almost translated from the *Critique de l'Ecole des Femmes;* Fidelia is Shakspeare's Viola stolen, and marred in the stealing; and the Widow Blackacre, beyond comparison Wycherley's best comic character, is the Countess in Racine's *Plaideurs*, talking the jargon of English instead of that of French chicane.

The only thing original about Wycherley—the only thing which he could furnish from his own mind in inexhaustible abundance—was profligacy. It is curious to observe how every thing that he touched, however pure and noble, took in an instant the colour of his own mind. Compare the *Ecole des Femmes*

with the 'Country Wife.' Agnes is a simple and amiable girl, whose heart is indeed full of love, but of love sanctioned by honour, morality, and religion. Her natural talents are great. They have been hidden, and, as it might appear, destroyed by an education elaborately bad. But they are called forth into full energy by a virtuous passion. Her lover, while he adores her beauty, is too honest a man to abuse the confiding tenderness of a creature so charming and inexperienced. Wycherley takes this plot into his hands; and forthwith this sweet and graceful courtship becomes a libentious intrigue of the lowest and least sentimental kind, between an impudent London rake and the idiot wife of a country-squire. We will not go into details. In truth, Wycherley's indecency is protected against the critics as a skunk is protected against the hunters. It is safe, because it is too filthy to handle, and too noisome even to approach.

It is the same with the 'Plain Dealer.' How careful has Shakspeare been in 'Twelfth Night,' to preserve the dignity and delicacy of Viola, under her disguise! Even when wearing a page's doublet and hose, she is never mixed up with any transaction which the most fastidious mind could regard as leaving a stain on her. She is employed by the Duke on an embassy of love to Olivia; but on an embassy of the most honourable kind. Wycherley borrows Viola—and Viola forthwith becomes a pander of the basest sort. But the character of Manly is the best illustration of our meaning. Moliere exhibited in his misanthrope a pure and noble mind, which had been sorely vexed by the sight of perfidy and malevolence, disguised under the forms of politeness. As every extreme naturally generates its contrary, Alceste adopts a standard of good and evil directly opposed to that of the society which surrounds him. Courtesy seems to him a vice; and those stern virtues which are neglected by the fops and coquettes of Paris, become too exclusively the objects of his veneration. He is often to blame; he is often ridiculous; but he is always a good man; and the feeling which he inspires is regret that a person so estimable should be so unamiable. Wycherley borrowed Alceste, and turned him—we quote the words of so lenient a critic as Mr Leigh Hunt—into 'a ferocious sensualist, who believed himself as great a rascal as he thought 'every body else.' The surliness of Moliere's hero is copied and caricatured. But the most nauseous libertinism, and the most dastardly fraud, are substituted for the purity and integrity of the original. And, to make the whole complete, Wycherley does not seem to have been aware that he was not drawing the portrait of an eminently honest man. So depraved was his moral taste, that, while he firmly believed he was producing a picture of virtue too exalted for the commerce of this world, he was

really delineating the greatest rascal that is to be found, even in his own writings.

We pass a very severe censure on Wycherley, when we say that it is a relief to turn from him to Congreve. Congreve's writings, indeed, are by no means pure, nor was he, as far as we are able to judge, a warm-hearted or high-minded man. Yet, in coming to him, we feel that the worst is over—that we are one remove further from the Restoration—that we are past the Nadir of national taste and morality.

William Congreve was born in 1670,* at Bardsey, in the neighbourhood of Leeds. His father, a younger son of a very ancient Staffordshire family, had distinguished himself among the cavaliers in the civil war, was set down after the Restoration for the Order of the Royal Oak, and subsequently settled in Ireland, under the patronage of the Earl of Burlington.

Congreve passed his childhood and youth in Ireland. He was sent to school at Kilkenny, and thence went to the University of Dublin. His learning does great honour to his instructors. From his writings it appears, not only that he was well acquainted with Latin literature, but that his knowledge of the Greek poets was such as was not, in his time, common even in a college.

When he had completed his academical studies, he was sent to London to study the law, and was entered of the Middle Temple. He troubled himself, however, very little about pleading or conveyancing; and gave himself up to literature and society. Two kinds of ambition early took possession of his mind, and often pulled it in opposite directions. He was conscious of great fertility of thought, and power of ingenious combination. His lively conversation, his polished manners, and his highly respectable connexions, had obtained for him ready access to the best company. He longed to be a great writer. He longed to be a man of fashion. Either object was within his reach. But could he secure both? Was there not something vulgar in letters—something inconsistent with the easy apathetic graces of a man of the mode? Was it aristocratical to be confounded with creatures who lived in the cocklofts of Grub Street, to bargain with publishers, to hurry printers' devils, to squabble with managers, to be applauded or hissed by pit, boxes, and galleries? Could he forego the renown of being the first wit of his age? Could he attain that renown without sullying what he valued quite as much—his character for gentility? The history of his life is the history of a conflict between these

* Mr Leigh Hunt says 1669. But the Old Style has misled him.

two impulses. In his youth the desire of literary fame had the mastery; but soon the meaner ambition overpowered the higher, and obtained supreme dominion over his mind.

His first work, a novel of no great value, he published under the assumed name of 'Cleophil.' His second was the 'Old Bachelor,' acted in 1693, a play inferior indeed to his other comedies, but, in its own line, inferior to them alone. The plot is equally destitute of interest and of probability. The characters are either not distinguishable, or are distinguished only by peculiarities of the most glaring kind. But the dialogue is resplendent with wit and eloquence—which indeed are so abundant that the fools come in for an ample share—and yet preserves a certain colloquial air, a certain indescribable ease, of which Wycherley had given no example, and which Sheridan in vain attempted to imitate. The author, divided between pride and shame—pride at having written a good play, and shame at having done an ungentlemanlike thing—pretended that he had merely scribbled a few scenes for his own amusement, and affected to yield unwillingly to the importunities of those who pressed him to try his fortune on the stage. The 'Old Bachelor' was seen in manuscript by Dryden; one of whose best qualities was a hearty and generous admiration for the talents of others. He declared that he had never seen such a first play; and lent his services to bring it into a form fit for representation. Nothing was wanting to the success of the piece. It was so cast as to bring into play all the comic talent, and to exhibit on the boards in one view all the beauty, which Drury-Lane Theatre, then the only theatre in London, could assemble. The result was a complete triumph; and the author was gratified with rewards more substantial than the applauses of the pit. Montagu, then a lord of the treasury, immediately gave him a place, and, in a short time, added the reversion of another place of much greater value, which, however, did not become vacant till many years had elapsed.

In 1694, Congreve brought out the 'Double-Dealer,' a comedy in which all the powers which had produced the 'Old 'Bachelor' show themselves, matured by time and improved by exercise. But the audience was shocked by the characters of Maskwell and Lady Touchwood. And, indeed, there is something strangely revolting in the way in which a group that seems to belong to the house of Laius or of Pelops, is introduced into the midst of the Brisks, Froths, Carelesses, and Plyants. The play was unfavourably received. Yet, if the praise of distinguished men could compensate an author for the disapprobation of the multitude, Congreve had no reason to repine. Dryden, in one of the most ingenious, magnificent, and pathetic pieces that he ever wrote, extolled the author of the 'Double

Dealer' in terms which now appear extravagantly hyperbolical. Till Congreve came forth—so ran this exquisite flattery—the superiority of the poets who preceded the civil wars was acknowledged.

> 'Theirs was the giant race before the flood.'

Since the return of the Royal house, much art and ability had been exerted, but the old masters had been still unrivalled.

> 'Our builders were with want of genius curst,
> The second temple was not like the first.'

At length a writer had arisen who, just emerging from boyhood, had surpassed the authors of the 'Knight of the Burning Pestle' and the 'Silent Woman,' and who had only one rival left to contend with.

> 'Heaven, that but once was prodigal before,
> To Shakspeare gave as much, he could not give him more.'

Some lines near the end of the poem are singularly graceful and touching, and sank deep into the heart of Congreve.

> 'Already am I worn with cares and age,
> And just abandoning the ungrateful stage;
> But you, whom every Muse and Grace adorn,
> Whom I foresee to better fortune born,
> Be kind to my remains; and, oh, defend
> Against your judgment your departed friend;
> Let not the insulting foe my fame pursue,
> But guard those laurels which descend to you.'

The crowd as usual gradually came over to the opinion of the men of note; and the 'Double-Dealer' was before long quite as much admired, though perhaps never so much liked, as the 'Old Bachelor.'

In 1695 appeared 'Love for Love,' superior both in wit and in scenic effect to either of the preceding plays. It was performed at a new theatre which Betterton and some other actors, disgusted by the treatment which they received in Drury-Lane, had just opened in a tennis-court near Lincoln's Inn. Scarcely any comedy within the memory of the oldest man had been equally successful. The actors were so elated that they gave Congreve a share in their theatre, and he promised in return to furnish them with a play every year, if his health would permit. Two years passed, however, before he produced the 'Mourning Bride,' a play which, paltry as it is when compared, we do not say with Lear or Macbeth, but with the best dramas of Massinger and Ford, stands very high among the tragedies of the age in which it was written. To find any thing so good we must go twelve years back to 'Venice Preserved,' or six years forward to the 'Fair Penitent.' The

noble passage which Johnson, both in writing and in conversation, extolled above any other in the English drama, has suffered greatly in the public estimation from the extravagance of his praise. Had he contented himself with saying that it was finer than any thing in the tragedies of Dryden, Otway, Lee, Rowe, Southern, Hughes, and Addison—than any thing, in short, that had been written for the stage since the days of Charles the First—he would not have been in the wrong.

The success of the 'Mourning Bride' was even greater than that of 'Love for Love.' Congreve was now allowed to be the first tragic, as well as the first comic dramatist of his time; and all this at twenty-seven. We believe that no English writer except Lord Byron has, at so early an age, stood so high in the estimation of his contemporaries.

At this time took place an event which deserves, in our opinion, a very different sort of notice from that which has been bestowed on it by Mr Leigh Hunt. The nation had now nearly recovered from the demoralizing effect of the Puritan austerity. The gloomy follies of the reign of the Saints were but faintly remembered. The evils produced by profaneness and debauchery were recent and glaring. The Court, since the Revolution, had ceased to patronise licentiousness. Mary was strictly pious; and the vices of the cold, stern, and silent William, were not obtruded on the public eye. Discountenanced by the government, and falling in the favour of the people, the profligacy of the Restoration still maintained its ground in some parts of society. Its strongholds were the places where men of wit and fashion congregated, and above all, the theatres. At this conjuncture arose a great reformer, whom, widely as we differ from him in many important points, we can never mention without respect.

Jeremy Collier was a clergyman of the Church of England, bred at Cambridge. His talents and attainments were such as might have been expected to raise him to the highest honours of his profession. He had an extensive knowledge of books, and yet he had mingled with polite society, and is said not to have wanted either grace or vivacity in conversation. There were few branches of literature to which he had not paid some attention. But ecclesiastical antiquity was his favourite study. In religious opinions he belonged to that section of the Church of England which lies furthest from Geneva and nearest to Rome. His notions touching Episcopal government, holy orders, the efficacy of the sacraments, the authority of the Fathers, the guilt of schism, the importance of vestments, ceremonies, and solemn days, differed little from those which are now held by Dr Pusey and Mr Newman. Towards the close of his life, indeed, Coll:

took some steps which brought him still nearer to Popery—mixed water with the wine in the Eucharist, made the sign of the cross in confirmation, employed oil in the visitation of the sick, and offered up prayers for the dead. His politics were of a piece with his divinity. He was a Tory of the highest sort, such as in the cant of that age was called a Tantivy. Not even the tyranny of James, not even the persecution of the bishops and the spoliation of the universities, could shake that steady loyalty. While the Convention was sitting, Collier wrote with vehemence in defence of the fugitive king, and was in consequence arrested. But his dauntless spirit was not to be so tamed. He refused to take the oaths, renounced all his preferment, and, in a succession of pamphlets written with much violence and with some ability, attempted to excite the nation against its new masters. In 1692, he was again arrested on suspicion of having been concerned in a treasonable plot. So unbending were his principles that his friends could hardly persuade him to let them bail him; and he afterwards expressed his remorse for having been induced thus to acknowledge, by implication, the authority of an usurping government. He was soon in trouble again. Sir John Friend and Sir William Parkins were tried and convicted of high treason for planning the murder of King William. Collier administered spiritual consolation to them, attended them to Tyburn, and just before the executioner laid his hands on their heads, and by the authority which he derived from Christ, solemnly absolved them. This scene gave indescribable scandal. Tories joined with Whigs in blaming the conduct of the daring priest. There are, it was said, some acts which fall under the definition of treason into which a good man may, in troubled times, be led even by his virtues. It may be necessary for the protection of society to punish such a man. But even in punishing him we consider him as legally rather than morally guilty, and hope that his honest error, though it cannot be pardoned here, will not be counted to him for sin hereafter. But such was not the case of Collier's penitents. They were concerned in a plot for waylaying and butchering, in an hour of security, one who, whether he were or were not their king, was at all events their fellow-creature. Whether the Jacobite theory about the rights of governments, and the duties of subjects, were or were not well founded, assassination must always be considered as a great crime. It is condemned even by the maxims of worldly honour and morality. Much more must it be an object of abhorrence to the pure Spouse of Christ. The Church cannot surely, without the saddest and most mournful forebodings, see one of her children who has been guilty of this great wickedness, pass into eternity without any sign of repentance. That these traitors had

given any sign of repentance was not alleged. It might be that they had privately declared their contrition; and, if so, the minister of religion might be justified in privately assuring them of the Divine forgiveness. But a public remission ought to have been preceded by a public atonement. The regret of these men, if expressed at all, had been expressed in secret. The hands of Collier had been laid on them in the presence of thousands. The inference which his enemies drew from his conduct was, that he did not consider the conspiracy against the life of William as sinful. But this inference he very vehemently, and, we doubt not, very sincerely denied.

The storm raged. The bishops put forth a solemn censure of the absolution. The Attorney-General brought the matter before the Court of King's Bench. Collier had now made up his mind not to give bail for his appearance before any court which derived its authority from the usurper. He accordingly absconded, and was outlawed. He survived these events about thirty years. The prosecution was not pressed, and he was soon suffered to resume his literary pursuits in quiet. At a later period, many attempts were made to shake his perverse integrity by offers of wealth and dignity, but in vain. When he died, towards the end of the reign of George I., he was still under the ban of the law.

We shall not be suspected of regarding either the politics or the theology of Collier with partiality; but we believe him to have been as honest and courageous a man as ever lived. We will go further, and say that, though passionate and often wrong-headed, he was a singularly fair controversialist—candid, generous, too high-spirited to take mean advantages even in the most exciting disputes, and pure from all taint of personal malevolence. It must also be admitted that his opinions on ecclesiastical and political affairs, though in themselves absurd and pernicious, eminently qualified him to be the reformer of our lighter literature. The libertinism of the press and of the stage, was, as we have said, the effect of a reaction against the puritan strictness. Profligacy was, like the oak leaf on the twenty-ninth of May, the badge of a cavalier and a high-churchman. Decency was associated with conventicles and calves' head. Grave prelates were too much disposed to wink at the excesses of a body of zealous and able allies, who covered Roundheads and Presbyterians with ridicule. If a Whig raised his voice against the impiety and licentiousness of the fashionable writers, his mouth was instantly stopped by the retort—You are one of those who groan at a light quotation from Scripture, and raise estates out of the plunder of the Church,—who shudder at a *double entendre*, and chop off the heads of kings. A Baxter, a Burnet, even a Tillotson, would

have done little to purify our literature. But when a man, fanatical in the cause of episcopacy, and actually under outlawry for his attachment to hereditary right, came forward as the champion of decency, the battle was already half won.

In 1698, Collier published his 'Short View of the Profaneness and Immorality of the English Stage,' a book which threw the whole literary world into commotion, but which is now much less read than it deserves. The faults of the work, indeed, are neither few nor small. The dissertations on the Greek and Latin drama do not at all help the argument; and, whatever may have been thought of them by the generation which fancied that Christ Church had refuted Bentley, are such as, in the present day, a scholar of very humble pretensions may venture to pronounce boyish, or rather babyish. The censures are not sufficiently discriminating. The authors whom Collier accused had been guilty of such gross sins against decency, that he was certain to weaken, instead of strengthening his case, by introducing into his charge against them any matter about which there could be the smallest dispute. He was, however, so injudicious as to place among the outrageous offences, which he justly arraigned, some things which are really quite innocent; and some slight instances of levity which, though not perhaps strictly correct, could easily be paralleled from the works of writers who had rendered great services to morality and religion. Thus he blames Congreve, the number and gravity of whose real transgressions made it quite unnecessary to tax him with any that were not real, for using the words 'martyr' and 'inspiration' in a light sense; as if an archbishop might not say that a speech was inspired by claret, or that an alderman was a martyr to the gout. Sometimes, again, Collier does not sufficiently distinguish between the dramatist and the persons of the drama. Thus he blames Vanbrugh for putting into Lord Foppington's mouth some raillery on the Church service; though it is obvious that Vanbrugh could not better express reverence than by making Lord Foppington express contempt. There is also throughout the 'Short View' too strong a display of professional feeling. Collier is not content with claiming for his order an immunity from insult and indiscriminate scurrility; he will not allow that, in any case, any word or act of a divine can be a proper subject for ridicule. Nor does he confine this benefit of clergy to the ministers of the Established Church; he extends the privilege to Catholic priests, and, what in him is more surprising, to Dissenting preachers. This, however, is a mere trifle. Imauns, Brahmins, priests of Jupiter, priests of Baal, are all to be held sacred. Dryden is blamed for making the Mufti in 'Don Sebastian' talk nonsense. Lee is called to a severe account for his incivility to Tiresias. But the most curious passage is that in

which Collier resents some uncivil reflections thrown by Cassandra, in 'Cleomenes,' on the calf Apis and his hierophants. The words, 'grass-eating, foddered god,'—words which really are much in the style of several passages in the Old Testament, give as much offence to this Christian divine as they could have given to the priests at Memphis.

But, when all these deductions have been made, great merit must be allowed to this work. There is hardly any book of that time from which it would be possible to select specimens of writing so excellent and so various. To compare Collier with Pascal would indeed be absurd. Yet we hardly know where, except in the 'Provincial Letters,' we can find mirth so harmoniously and becomingly blended with solemnity as in the 'Short View.' In truth, all the modes of ridicule, from broad fun to polished and antithetical sarcasm, were at Collier's command. On the other hand, he was complete master of the rhetoric of honest indignation. We scarcely know any volume which contains so many bursts of that peculiar eloquence which comes from the heart, and goes to the heart. Indeed, the spirit of the book is truly heroic. In order fairly to appreciate it, we must remember the situation in which the writer stood. He was under the frown of power. His name was already a mark for the invectives of one half of the writers of the age; when, in the cause of good taste, good sense, and good morals, he gave battle to the other half. Strong as his political prejudices were, he seems on this occasion to have entirely laid them aside. He has forgotten that he is a Jacobite, and remembers only that he is a citizen and a Christian. Some of his sharpest censures are directed against poetry which had been hailed with delight by the Tory party, and had inflicted a deep wound on the Whigs. It is really inspiriting to see how gallantly the solitary outlaw advances to attack enemies, formidable separately, and, it might have been thought, irresistible when combined—distributes his swashing blows right and left among Wycherley, Congreve, and Vanbrugh—treads the wretched D'Urfey down in the dirt beneath his feet—and strikes with all his strength full at the towering crest of Dryden.

The effect produced by the 'Short View' was immense. The nation was on the side of Collier. But it could not be doubted that, in the great host which he had defied, some champion would be found to lift the gauntlet. The general belief was, that Dryden would take the field; and all the wits anticipated a sharp contest between two well-paired combatants. The great poet had been singled out in the most marked manner. It was well known that he was deeply hurt, that much smaller provocations had formerly roused him to violent resentment, and that there was no literary weapon, offensive or defensive, of which he was not mas-

ter. But his conscience smote him; he stood abashed, like the fallen archangel at the rebuke of Zephon,

> 'And felt how awful goodness is, and saw
> Virtue in her shape how lovely; saw and pined
> His loss.'

At a later period he mentioned the 'Short View' in the preface to his 'Fables.' He complained, with some asperity, of the harshness with which he had been treated, and urged some matters in mitigation. But, on the whole, he frankly acknowledged that he had been justly reproved. 'If,' said he, 'Mr Collier be my 'enemy, let him triumph. If he be my friend, as I have given 'him no personal occasion to be otherwise, he will be glad of my 'repentance.'

It would have been wise in Congreve to follow his master's example. He was precisely in that situation in which it is madness to attempt a vindication; for his guilt was so clear, that no address or eloquence could obtain an acquittal. On the other hand, there were, in his case, many extenuating circumstances, which, if he had acknowledged his error, and promised amendment, would have procured his pardon. The most rigid censor could not but make great allowances for the faults into which so young a man had been seduced by evil example, by the luxuriance of a vigorous fancy, and by the inebriating effect of popular applause. The esteem, as well as the admiration, of the public was still within his reach. He might easily have effaced all memory of his trangressions, and have shared with Addison the glory of showing that the most brilliant wit may be the ally of virtue. But in any case, prudence should have restrained him from encountering Collier. The nonjuror was a man thoroughly fitted by nature, education, and habit, for polemical dispute. Congreve's mind, though one of no common fertility and vigour, was of a different class. No man understood so well the art of polishing epigrams and repartees into the clearest effulgence, and setting them tastefully in easy and familiar dialogue. In this sort of jewellery he attained to a mastery unprecedented and inimitable. But he was altogether rude in the art of controversy, and he had a cause to defend which scarcely any art could have rendered victorious.

The event was such as might have been foreseen. Congreve's answer was a complete failure. He was angry, obscure, and dull. Even the Green Room and Will's Coffee-House were compelled to acknowledge, that in wit the parson had a decided advantage over the poet. Not only was Congreve unable to make any show of a case where he was in the wrong, but he succeeded in putting himself completely in the wrong where

he was in the right. Collier had taxed him with profaneness for calling a clergyman Mr Prig, and for introducing a coachman named Jehu, in allusion to the King of Israel, who was known at a distance by his furious driving. Had there been nothing worse in the 'Old Bachelor' and 'Double Dealer,' Congreve might pass for as pure a writer as Cowper himself; who in poems revised by so austere a censor as John Newton, calls a fox-hunting squire Nimrod, and gives to a chaplain the disrespectful name of Smug. Congreve might with good effect have appealed to the public whether it might not be fairly presumed that, when such frivolous charges were made, there were no very serious charges to make. Instead of doing this, he pretended that he meant no allusion to the Bible by the name of Jehu, and no reflection by the name of Prig. Strange that a man of such parts should, in order to defend himself against imputations which nobody could regard as important, tell untruths which it was certain that nobody would believe.

One of the pleas which Congreve set up for himself and his brethren was, that, though they might be guilty of a little levity here and there, they were careful to inculcate a moral, packed close into two or three lines, at the end of every play. Had the fact been as he stated it, the defence would be worth very little. For no man acquainted with human nature could think that a sententious couplet would undo all the mischief that five profligate acts had done. But it would have been wise in Congreve to have looked again at his own comedies before he used this argument. Collier did so; and found that the moral of the 'Old 'Bachelor'—the grave apophthegm which is to be a set-off against all the libertinism of the piece—is contained in the following triplet:—

> 'What rugged ways attend the noon of life!
> Our sun declines, and with what anxious strife,
> What pain, we tug that galling load—a wife.'

'"Love for Love,"' says Collier, 'may have a somewhat bet-'ter farewell, but it would do a man little service should he 'remember it to his dying day:'—

> 'The miracle to-day is, that we find
> A lover true, not that a woman's kind.'

Collier's reply was severe and triumphant. One of his repartees we will quote, not as a favourable specimen of his manner, but because it was called forth by Congreve's characteristic affectation. The poet spoke of the 'Old Bachelor' as a trifle to which he attached no value, and which had become public by a sort of accident. 'I wrote it,' he said, 'to amuse myself in a 'slow recovery from a fit of sickness.'—'What his disease was,'

replied Collier, 'I am not to enquire: but it must be a very ill 'one to be worse than the remedy.'

All that Congreve gained by coming forward on this occasion was, that he completely deprived himself of the excuse which he might with justice have pleaded for his early offences. 'Why,' asked Collier, 'should the man laugh at the mischief of the boy, 'and make the disorders of his nonage his own, by an after ap-'probation?'

Congreve was not Collier's only opponent. Vanbrugh, Dennis, and Settle took the field. And, from a passage in a contemporary satire, we are inclined to think that among the answers to the 'Short View' was one written, or supposed to be written, by Wycherley. The victory remained with Collier. A great and rapid reform in all the departments of our lighter literature was the effect of his labours. A new race of wits and poets arose, who generally treated with reverence the great ties which bind society together; and whose very indecencies were decent when compared with those of the school which flourished during the last forty years of the seventeenth century.

This controversy probably prevented Congreve from fulfilling the engagements into which he had entered with the actors. It was not till 1700 that he produced the 'Way of the World,' the most deeply meditated, and the most brilliantly written, of all his works. It wants, perhaps, the constant movement, the effervescence of animal spirits, which we find in 'Love for Love.' But the hysterical rants of Lady Wishfort, the meeting of Witwould and his brother, the country knight's courtship and his subsequent revel, and above all, the chase and surrender of Milamant, are superior to any thing that is to be found in the whole range of English comedy from the civil war downwards. It is quite inexplicable to us that this play should have failed on the stage. Yet so it was; and the author, already sore with the wounds which Collier had inflicted, was galled past endurance by this new stroke. He resolved never again to expose himself to the rudeness of a tasteless audience, and took leave of the theatre for ever.

He lived twenty-eight years longer, without adding to the high literary reputation which he had attained. He read much while he retained his eyesight, and now and then wrote a short essay, or an idle tale in verse; but appears never to have planned any considerable work. The miscellaneous pieces which he published in 1710, are of little value, and have long been forgotten.

The stock of fame which he had acquired by his comedies was sufficient, assisted by the graces of his manner and conversation, to secure for him a high place in the estimation of the world. During the winter, he lived among the most distinguished and

agreeable people in London. His summers were passed at the splendid country-seats of ministers and peers. Literary envy, and political faction, which in that age respected nothing else, respected his repose. He professed to be one of the party of which his patron Montagu, now Lord Halifax, was the head. But he had civil words and small good offices for men of every shade of opinion. And men of every shade of opinion spoke well of him in return.

His means were for a long time scanty. The place which he had in possession, barely enabled him to live with comfort. And when the Tories came into power, some thought that he would lose even this moderate provision. But Harley, who was by no means disposed to adopt the exterminating policy of the October club, and who, with all his faults of understanding and temper, had a sincere kindness for men of genius, re-assured the anxious poet by quoting very gracefully and happily the lines of Virgil—

'Non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora Pœni,
Nec tam aversus equos Tyria sol jungit ab urbe.'

The indulgence with which Congreve was treated by the Tories, was not purchased by any concession on his part which could justly offend the Whigs. It was his rare good fortune to share the triumph of his friends without having shared their proscription. When the House of Hanover came to the throne, his fortunes began to flourish. The reversion to which he had been nominated twenty years before, fell in. He was made secretary to the Island of Jamaica; and his whole income amounted to L.1200 a-year—a fortune which, for a single man, was in that age, not only easy, but splendid. He continued, however, to practise the frugality which he had learned when he could scarcely spare, as Swift tells us, a shilling to pay the chairman who carried him to Lord Halifax's. Though he had nobody to save for, he laid up at least as much as he spent.

The infirmities of age came early upon him. His habits had been intemperate; he suffered much from gout; and when confined to his chamber, had no longer the solace of literature. Blindness, the most cruel misfortune that can befall the lonely student, made his books useless to him. He was thrown on society for all his amusement, and, in society, his good breeding and vivacity made him always welcome.

By the rising men of letters he was considered not as a rival, but as a classic. He had left their arena; he never measured his strength with them; and he was always loud in applause of their exertions. They could, therefore, entertain no jealousy of him; and thought no more of detracting from his fame than of carping at the great men who had been lying a hundred years in Poets' Corner. Even the inmates of Grub Street, even the heroes of

the Dunciad, were for once just to living merit. There can be no stronger illustration of the estimation in which Congreve was held, than the fact that Pope's Iliad, a work which appeared with more splendid auspices than any other in our language, was dedicated to him. There was not a Duke in the kingdom who would not have been proud of such a compliment. Dr Johnson expresses great admiration for the independence of spirit which Pope showed on this occasion, and some surprise at his choice. 'He passed over peers and statesmen to inscribe his "Iliad" to 'Congreve, with a magnanimity of which the praise had been 'complete, had his friend's virtue been equal to his wit. Why 'he was chosen for so great an honour, it is not now possible to 'know.' It is certainly impossible to know; yet we think, it is possible to guess. The translation of the 'Iliad' had been zealously befriended by men of all political opinions. The poet who at an early age had been raised to affluence by the emulous liberality of Whigs and Tories, could not with propriety inscribe to a chief of either party, a work which had been munificently patronised by both. It was necessary to find some person who was at once eminent and neutral. It was therefore necessary to pass over peers and statesmen. Congreve had a high name in letters. He had a high name in aristocratic circles. He lived on terms of civility with men of all parties. By a courtesy paid him, neither the ministers nor the leaders of the opposition could be offended.

The singular affectation which had from the first been characteristic of Congreve, grew stronger and stronger as he advanced in life. At last it became disagreeable to him to hear his own comedies praised. Voltaire, whose soul was burned up by the raging desire for literary renown, was half puzzled half disgusted by what he saw, during his visit to England, of this extraordinary whim. Congreve disclaimed the character of a poet —declared that his plays were trifles produced in an idle hour, and begged that Voltaire would consider him merely as a gentleman. 'If you had been merely a gentleman,' said Voltaire, 'I 'should not have come to see you.'

Congreve was not a man of warm affections. Domestic ties he had none; and in the temporary connexions which he formed with a succession of beauties from the green-room, his heart does not appear to have been at all interested. Of all his attachments that to Mrs Bracegirdle lasted the longest, and was the most celebrated. This charming actress, who was, during many years, the idol of all London; whose face caused the fatal broil in which Mountfort fell, and for which Lord Mohun was tried by the peers; and to whom the Earl of Scarsdale was said to have made honourable addresses, had conducted herself, in very trying circumstances, with extraordinary discretion. Congreve at length

became her confidential friend. They constantly rode out together, and dined together. Some people said that she was his mistress, and others that she would soon be his wife. He was at last drawn away from her by the influence of a wealthier and haughtier beauty. Henrietta, daughter of the great Marlborough, and wife of the Earl of Godolphin, had, on her father's death, succeeded to his dukedom, and to the greater part of his immense property. Her husband was an insignificant man, of whom Lord Chesterfield said, that he came to the House of Peers only to sleep, and that he might as well sleep on the right as on the left of the woolsack. Between the Duchess and Congreve sprung up a most eccentric friendship. He had a seat every day at her table, and assisted in the direction of her concerts. That malignant old hag, the Dowager Duchess Sarah, who had quarrelled with her daughter, as she had quarrelled with every body else, affected to suspect that there was something wrong. But the world in general appears to have thought that a great lady might, without any imputation on her character, pay attention to a man of eminent genius, who was nearly sixty years old, who was still older in appearance and in constitution, who was confined to his chair by gout, and was unable to read from blindness.

In the summer of 1728, Congreve was ordered to try the Bath waters. During his excursion he was overturned in his chariot, and received some severe internal injury, from which he never recovered. He came back to London in a dangerous state, complained constantly of a pain in his side, and continued to sink, till in the following January he expired.

He left L.10,000, saved out of the emoluments of his lucrative places. Johnson says that this money ought to have gone to the Congreve family, which was then in great distress. Doctor Young and Mr Leigh Hunt, two gentlemen who seldom agree with each other, but with whom, on this occasion, we are happy to agree, think that it ought to have gone to Mrs Bracegirdle. Congreve bequeathed L.200 to Mrs Bracegirdle, and an equal sum to a certain Mrs Jellat; but the bulk of his accumulations went to the Duchess of Marlborough, in whose immense wealth such a legacy was as a drop in the bucket. It might have raised the fallen fortunes of a Staffordshire squire—it might have enabled a retired actress to enjoy every comfort, and, in her sense, every luxury—but it was not sufficient to defray the Duchess's establishment for two months.

The great lady buried her friend with a pomp seldom seen at the funerals of poets. The corpse lay in state under the ancient roof of the Jerusalem Chamber, and was interred in Westminster Abbey. The pall was borne by the Duke of Bridgewater,

Lord Cobham, the Earl of Wilmington, who had been Speaker, and who was afterwards First Lord of the Treasury, and other men of high consideration. Her Grace laid out her friend's bequest in a superb diamond necklace, which she wore in honour of him; and, if report is to be believed, showed her regard in ways much more extraordinary. It is said that she had a statue of him in ivory, which moved by clockwork, and was placed daily at her table; that she had a wax doll made in imitation of him, and that the feet of this doll were regularly blistered and anointed by the doctors, as poor Congreve's feet had been when he suffered from the gout. A monument was erected to the poet in Westminster Abbey, with an inscription written by the Duchess; and Lord Cobham honoured him with a cenotaphy, which seems to us, though that is a bold word, the ugliest and most absurd of the buildings at Stowe.

We have said that Wycherley was a worse Congreve. There was, indeed, a remarkable analogy between the writings and lives of these two men. Both were gentlemen liberally educated. Both led town lives, and knew human nature only as it appears between Hyde Park and the Tower. Both were men of wit. Neither had much imagination. Both at an early age produced lively and profligate comedies. Both retired from the field while still in early manhood, and owed to their youthful achievements in literature the consideration which they enjoyed in later life. Both, after they had ceased to write for the stage, published volumes of miscellanies, which did little credit either to their talents or to their morals. Both, during their declining years, hung loose upon society; and both, in their last moments, made eccentric and unjustifiable dispositions respecting their estates.

But in every point Congreve maintained his superiority to Wycherley. Wycherley had wit; but the wit of Congreve far outshines that of every comic writer, except Sheridan, who has arisen within the last two centuries. Congreve had not, in a large measure, the poetical faculty; but compared with Wycherley he might be called a great poet. Wycherley had some knowledge of books; but Congreve was a man of real learning. Congreve's offences against decorum, though highly culpable, were not so gross as those of Wycherley; nor did Congreve, like Wycherley, exhibit to the world the deplorable spectacle of a licentious dotage. Congreve died in the enjoyment of high consideration; Wycherley forgotten or despised. Congreve's will was absurd and capricious; but Wycherley's last actions appeared to have been prompted by obdurate malignity.

Here, at least for the present, we must stop. Vanbrugh and Farquhar are not men to be hastily dismissed, and we have not left ourselves space to do them justice.

ART. IX.—*Mehemet Ali, Lord Palmerston, Russia, and France.* 8vo. London: 1840.

THE negotiations which have lately taken place respecting the East, have too much occupied the public thoughts, not to have engaged a considerable portion of ours; and this the more, that we are not of that school of politicians who conceive, that, because Great Britain is an island, she is thereby thoroughly separated from the rest of mankind, and relieved of all concern in their affairs.

The Turkish empire is seen still to stretch over a certain portion of Europe, and a considerable portion of Asia; within it is comprised the course of mighty rivers, and the most important maritime positions. It commands the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf; it embraces the Tigris and the Euphrates. A change in its constitution might affect our most cherished interests; to its conservation and independence, therefore, have been directed our most constant efforts.

It is nothing new to state that this empire has been, since the treaty of Kainardji, on the decline; that each year has seemed to be that of its fall. The most ancient prophecies—the popular belief—the progress of events—have all directed the eyes of Europe towards Russia as the power by which Constantinople is to be occupied. But this opinion, which forms part of the force of the anticipated invader, is also the defence of the invaded; and the various states which would suffer from the transfer of so formidable a position, have of late years been occupied with its defence. There is one enemy, however, from which we can never protect a country; that is—itself. As long as one nation struggles against another, and can call allies to its aid, it has a chance of escape. But when, instead of struggling against its natural foe, it is forced into alliance with it; when it claims the support, and receives the counsels of that power from which it has the most to dread, all hopes of it are gone—all means of succouring it are fled; it sinks, little by little; it expires, gasp by gasp, in the arms of the power which has at once the right to defend, the interest to destroy it. We speak after history, whose lessons are so frequently lost, and yet which, in this case, so singularly apply.

How did Othman first gain a footing in that empire which now bears his name? There was a quarrel between a man of great ambition, of great abilities, a vassal of the Greek empire, and the chief of that empire. The valiant Turk was

called on as the ally of one of the parties; and thus commenced that melancholy period, at one end of which was the capture of Gallipoli, at the other, that of Constantinople. Mehemet Ali is the Cantacuzene of the present day. Up to this time, the Turkish empire struggled vainly, ineffectually; yet still it struggled, face to face, against its northern foe. Had Austria, had England stood manfully by it, the fall of Varna would never have taken place; the treaty of Adrianople would never have been signed. It had ceased to be a mighty and conquering power, but it was an independent one.

The history of Mehemet is singular, and offers one of those striking instances of sagacity which history sometimes bequeaths to us. When the terrible Selim first conquered Egypt, and subdued the Mamelukes who then defended the caliphat, the question arose in his mind, how this new portion of his empire was to be governed; and after some reflection, he gave the valiant warriors he had subdued a main share in the new administration;—declaring, that unless he thus balanced the power of the Pasha he might send there, that Pasha would soon become his rival, instead of his representative. Strange to relate! about three hundred years after this, a young Albanian, at the head of a small body of troops, entered into the service of the Turkish governor of Egypt, who happened to be the old Vizier Khosrew. By a variety of steps, and, it must be confessed, through a variety of crimes, more lightly considered in the East than elsewhere, he rose to power, and became himself governor of the province; and then, by one of the most barbarous and treacherous acts which history records, having invited them to a festival and there massacred them, got rid of his formidable rivals—the Mamelukes—of whom we have been speaking. The consequence was what Selim had anticipated—a virtual independence, which the Viceroy has been struggling to make a nominal and hereditary one. A bloody and expensive, but a successful war, against some sectarian fanatics (the Wahabites), and his more memorable and less successful expedition to the Morea, left him a reputation for piety and energy, and emptied his treasury. His power, moreover, while more than sufficient to excite the jealousy of the Porte, was not yet sufficient permanently to balance or to brave it. In Syria he saw new resources, an increase of territory with an easily defended frontier, and the holy cities. A quarrel with the Pasha of St Jean d'Acre afforded him a pretext for action. He took that fortress, considered the key of the adjoining country. He twice defeated the Turkish armies; the second time at Koniah. This was in 1833. The moment was fatal to the Sultan, Mahmoud. His late reforms had de-

stroyed the old forces of his empire, and he had not yet formed any substitute. His fleet had been annihilated in 1828. He had been defeated by the *Giaour*, within a brief distance from his capital, in 1829. Such disasters appeared to a people of fatalists the results of the decrees of Heaven; a general and half-smothered agitation reigned throughout the Asiatic population, who looked to the successful Albanian as a man marked out by Providence to regenerate the Turkish empire;—not, however, as Sultan—such an idea never entered into minds where one race is permanently enthroned—but as Minister or Vizier. Had no European power interfered, there can be no doubt that Ibrahim, Mehemet's son and general, and the victor of Koniah, aided by these opinions, would have arrived at Constantinople. It is now useless to speculate on what might have been the consequence of that event—whether the Turkish government might have been upheld by a firm hand, or dissolved amidst general dissensions and insurrections. Mahmoud, at all events, had for some time past been alarmed. He had been sensible to that alienation amongst his own subjects which made him require foreign succour. He had solicited ours; and a Pasha, still remembered for his handsome person and European manners, was his ambassador on the occasion. But our forces were otherwise engaged,* or our fears were not awakened. We refused the assistance that was demanded, and which Russia, who has not acted so badly in these matters as some people suppose, then fairly and openly stated she would feel herself at liberty to give.†

After the battle of Koniah, therefore, the Sultan turned to Russia—she was his only resource; for a haughty monarch naturally preferred receiving aid from an enemy to submitting to a vassal. The force ready at Sebastopol embarked, arrived in the Bosphorus, and encamped on its shores. Europe, which might, and ought to have been prepared for this event, was surprised by it, and alarmed. But what was to be done?—To get the Russians away from Constantinople, invited as they were there by the legitimate sovereign, it was necessary to remove the fears which caused this invitation. France and England interfered then with Ibrahim's march, and through them was brought about the ar-

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* They were blockading the Dutch coast.

† The Russian ambassador said, If you will succour the Sultan, we will not, and we shall be obliged to you; but assistance he must have, and if you don't give it him, we shall. The policy which Russia pursues now, is very little different from that which she would have pursued then.

rangement—for it never assumed the shape of a treaty—of Kutaieh. By this arrangement Mehemet retained the governments of Eypt and Syria, under the nominal permission of the Sultan, to whom he was to pay tribute. A sort of truce was established, called a peace, and of which we may learn the character from the description of one who lately praised it:—'More than once, during the six years that it continued, this 'peace *was menaced* by both parties; the Pasha and the Sultan 'had *both the wish to break it;* the Pasha from a desire of inde-'pendence, the Sultan from hopes of regaining the territory he 'had lost.'*

In the mean time the Russians, on hostilities having ceased, quietly retired, carrying with them a treaty—the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi—by which each party agreed to assist the other in any case where such assistance should be required. The greatest enemy, according to the common belief, of the Turkish empire, became formally and legally the Turkish sovereign's protector. The passage of the Bosphorus, which it had so long been the policy of the Porte to keep shut to the fleets of the north, became by the Sultan's policy (a policy natural to his position) open to them. To check or prevent the fatal consequences of this state of things, there was but one course—the maintaining a large fleet in the Mediterranean, stationed at or near the Dardanelles. France and England therefore maintained fleets in this position. Thus, if we turned our eyes to the Black Sea and Sebastopol, 20,000 men were always ready to embark—to the Bay of Volo, there were eight or ten sail of the line ready to enter the strait—to the Taurus, on either side was seen a large and hostile armament. This was the peace obtained by the arrangement of Kutaieh! Nor was this all;—in forcing the Porte under the protection of Russia, Mehemet himself was taught, and almost obliged, to seek foreign protection. It naturally presented itself. His army was officered by French adventurers; his fleet had been formed and was commanded by a Frenchman (Besson); his physician, a great man in every Eastern country, was a native of France. A portion of the French press, proverbially venal, might easily be trained to praise the mercies of his sway, and advocate the necessity of protecting it. Moreover, all countries have, what has been called by M. Thiers, a *policy of instinct*—which is in fact a policy of tradition, to be traced to previous notions and documentary records; to the received opinions of men formerly in office, thence passing to the public, and then coming

* M. Guizot. Late debates in the French Chambers.

back again from the public to those directing affairs. Louis XIV. had projects respecting Egypt—Potemkin proposed it to M. de Ségur as a compensation for Constantinople—Napoleon invaded it. The fortunes of Mehemet Ali revived the old ideas with respect to this country; and the French Government began to conceive the notion of a maritime power, whose alliance would be useful to her in the Mediterranean, if it established its independence; or whose territory would fall into her hands, if its present possessor were swept away in any general convulsion.*

In short, what Russia was at Constantinople, France aspired to be at Alexandria. Thus was that empire, the independence of which it was our essential interest to maintain, on the one hand falling under the protectorate of Russia, on the other, under that of France. Thus was that long line of the Mediterranean coast which stretches from Alexandria to Constantinople, together with Cyprus and Candia, which command it, becoming gradually subject to two European nations—an alliance between which was projected at Erfurth on this very basis, and has since been the favourite dream of their ambitious statesmen. Thus, moreover, was a new Mahometan and maritime power in the course of being formed—a power leagued with a rival state, possessing the road to our Indian dominions, and the influence of kindred religion over a great portion of the population which we there govern.

Nor was this all. An empire may succumb from internal as well as external causes. Now, there are two evils gnawing at the very vitals of the Turkish empire, which, if suffered to conti-

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* To have had this policy clearly before our eyes, it would only have been necessary to have observed what has taken place of late years, or to have read the work recently published by Clot Bey, in which we find such passages as the following:—'C'est alors que le consul Français à Alexandrie, M. Dravetti, commença cette politique bienveillante que la France a toujours employé à l'égard du Viceroi.' Or, after the battle of Koniah:—'La France surtout, dont l'aimable et habile répresentant à Alexandrie avait encouragé Mehemet Ali,' &c. But M. Thiers has even yet more distinctly explained it. ('2 *Novembre* 1840.)—Pour ma part, j'ai toujours été convaincu, plus convaincu que je ne l'ai dit à cette tribune, parceque, partisan de l'alliance Anglaise, je ne cherchais pas à rendre plus sensibles les intérêts qui pouvaient la rendre difficile;—j'ai toujours été convaincu que nous ne pouvions pas avoir à Constantinople l'influence que nous avions en Egypte, parceque nous n'avions pas l'allié le plus puissant de la Porte contre la Russie, et que notre attachement au Pacha nous rendait suspectès à Constantinople, que nous devions par conséquent chercher à Alexandrie notre véritable influence dans la Méditeranée.'

nue, would suffice to undermine it—evils which have too frequently escaped the attention of Eastern politicians. The one is the decay of that martial race which is encamped as it were in these countries, and on which the peculiar nature of its sway depends; the other is the daily withering up of its resources. The origin of both evils was the same. Long and unsuccessful wars, in which the Turks* alone engaged, have been alone destroyed; and owing to which, as the natural consequence of diminished territory, heavy fines, ignorant administration, every financial abuse by which the wealth of a country is permanently destroyed, in order that the coffers of its government may be momentarily enriched, was resorted to with impunity. What was the chance of remedying the evils which war had occasioned? There was but one—peace. This so strongly struck an English gentleman, who, in 1830, resided at Constantinople, in a station which gave him the best opportunity of observation, that he wrote as follows:—'If the Sultan is to remain on one side of 'the empire, and Mehemet Ali on the other, in the same situa-'tion as that which for these last four years they have occupied, 'it is utterly impossible to maintain life in this withered and pal-'sied body, at once the victim of inanition and irritation. The 'prosperity of every state must, after all, depend on its finances; 'the whole edifice will fall, must fall, if this foundation be rot-'ten. Nor have we sufficiently attended to this circumstance. 'Why is every improvement, military as well as administrative, 'stopped here at this time? Not from any other cause half so 'powerful as the want of money. You can neither establish the 'civil government of the provinces, nor arm and properly dis-'cipline a small force—the only chance of ever properly arming 'or disciplining any force, (Peter the Great began with a regi-'ment,)—nor adopt, without imminent difficulty and peril, a 'sounder system of taxation, on account of the immediate and 'pressing want of money. Every thing which perpetuates or 'increases this want, in a slower or more rapid degree, dissolves 'in the same degree those elements which might otherwise be 'yet worked up into some form of power. The *statu quo* is the 'ruin of all parties—of Mehemet Ali and that portion of the em-'pire he governs—of the Sultan and that portion of the empire 'he rules.'

There were other, and what may be considered more selfish reasons, for holding this language. Connected with those fiscal abuses, of which we have spoken, was the state of our own com-

* Only Turks, as we know, are allowed to serve in the army.

merce. Ancient treaties with the Porte had established it on the most advantageous foundations, and subjected it to the most moderate taxes. On the payment of three per cent we imported our merchandise; on the payment of the same duty we exported Turkish produce. These treaties could not be openly infringed; but they were—and the distresses of the Ottoman empire made it almost impossible that they should not be—indirectly violated.

In the first place, monopolies were established; the Turkish producer could only sell to the monopolist; the British merchant consequently could only purchase from him; while he, at once ignorant and avaricious, would hardly give a price at which the article in question could be produced, or sell it for one at which it could be purchased. Trade in many articles ceased. Again, all goods not prohibited from exportation, could be exported, as we have said, at three per cent. But the Turkish government prohibited almost all goods from being exported, and then charged them with any duties it thought proper—conniving at their subsequent exportation. In the same manner, the merchant could import his goods at three per cent; but a tax was immediately put upon the purchaser of these goods, which tax might be increased to any amount, and varied at different places. Uncertainty, extortion, every where prevailed. It was to remedy these mischiefs that our Government entered (in the same year, 1838) into a new commercial treaty, by which all monopolies and prohibitions were abolished; and our merchandise having once paid the charge on importation, was freed from every subsequent imposition. The treaty was a good one; it was even universally approved, and has been as universally adopted. It was meant to be the basis of a new financial system in the East. But we have no hesitation in saying that it could not become this; that it was useless; that the old frauds in some shape or other would return, unless the causes for them were removed, and some respite and repose given to these countries—long drained of their male population, and forced to extraordinary and exhausting expenses. Without the settlement of the Egyptian Question, such respite, such repose was impossible. Its necessity, indeed, was daily becoming more apparent, when the animosity of Mahmoud, sharpened by the irritation of illness, led to the battle of Nezib, decided, as we know, in Ibrahim's favour.

At the same moment the old sultan died, his fleet deserted to the enemy. All Europe was again alarmed; and its greater powers, represented by their ambassadors, gathered round the tottering throne, which, though difficult to maintain, it was impossible to replace. *They offered collectively what Russia would*

otherwise have offered alone. They told the youthful sultan not to submit to his powerful and victorious vassal; that they would charge themselves with his interests; and make such an arrangement as was at once consistent with his dignity and the common weal. Abdul Medjid accepted this interference. The question of a definite arrangement thus peremptorily arose; since, as to a renewal of the armed peace of Kutaieh, the eulogy passed on it, and above quoted, may stand as sufficient condemnation. And now, in order to see what arrangement it was for our interest, and indeed the common interest of Europe, to propose, it is necessary to recall to our minds the evils which that arrangement was to remedy.

Those evils were the protection of Russia at Constantinople, caused by the power of Mehemet Ali;* the protection of France at Alexandria, rendered formidable by his power; the wasting of the population and finances of the Turkish empire, followed by the obstruction and decay of our own commerce;—evils to which only peace and tranquillity could apply any remedy.

An immediate and permanent compromise between the parties, then, was necessary, in order to preserve the internal elements of life to the Turkish empire, and to revive our trade with it; and—if we wished to free the Porte of the fears which made it subject to a foreign state, or to strip the ambition of France of its danger, which resides in the power (not as it then was, but as it might naturally become) of that prince she affected to patronize—this compromise could only be made by a considerable reduction of the Pasha's influence, and of the territory on which that influence was founded. Such a compromise, moreover, naturally resulted from the Pasha's position. He possessed a large estate, with a bad title;—a simple course was to diminish the estate to improve the title. We at once, therefore, proposed the resignation of Syria, the hereditary grant of the pashalic of Egypt.† This proposition has been called unjust—which of our governors would complain at being called upon to resign one-half of the government he holds, on receiving the hereditary investiture of the remainder? What Turkish governor—and there have been many valiant, rebellious, and fortunate—ever attained so much? Europeans may affect to despise the conversion of a power held by the sword into a grant from the representative of the prophet. In

* Thus considered, the adjunction of Syria to Egypt had a double consequence, since it at once increased the Viceroy's influence, and increased the influence of France over him, as the head and protectrix of the Syrian Christians.

† As early as June.

the East, this conversion is the substitution of right for might, of a state of legitimate security for one of lawless peril. In fact, the gift of hereditary authority in regions where family (out of the race of Othman) may be said not to exist, is an immense, an almost incalculable elevation; and one to which Mehemet is in his heart more than contented to have risen.

Some, indeed, would have given this able and unprincipled man a much greater share of power. Captivated by his talents, cajoled by his flatteries, or mistaking the nature of his position, they imagined that he might be made a prop to the Sultan's throne, and attached to our interests rather than to those of France. But how could he possibly be an assistance to the Sultan so long as he was in a condition to be his rival? Would the one forget the height to which he had arrived, the other the height from which he had descended? In this situation of balanced authority, the power at Constantinople must have sought support from the Russians; the power at Alexandria from the French; the double protectorate, which it was our object and the object of Europe to destroy, became fixed and permanent. As to the idea of detaching Mehemet from France, and attaching him to ourselves, it was altogether foolish and absurd. By espousing his cause, we deserted that of his master; pursuing a shadow, we lost a substance. Now, though it might be for the advantage of France, if entertaining hostile projects against us, to create and cultivate an independent maritime power in that part of the world, could we, by any possibility, derive an advantage from such a course? Besides, a nation, in adapting its particular policy to a particular place, must consider its general policy over the world. Ours is to demand no exclusive influence, and to admit of none. 'A clear stage and no favour,' is what we ask every where, and what we asked in the East. We were unwilling to suffer, but we were not anxious to possess any particular privileges or authority, either at Constantinople or at Alexandria. On this plain and straightforward principle we acted, and only required other nations to renounce what we began by sincerely disclaiming.

England was at this time on terms of intimacy and friendship with the government of France; it knew, of course, the projects and feelings of that government with respect to one of the belligerents; and that, taken as an isolated question, the French policy would be to support Mehemet Ali. But, if the formation of a maritime power at Alexandria was agreeable to France, the protection of Russia at Constantinople, as long as the cabinets of the Tuilleries and St Petersburg were not positively agreed upon that subject, could never be so. Moreover, the alliance of

Great Britain was an immense consideration with every sensible French politician; it had been the safeguard of the monarchy of July, when, rising from the pavement, it stood exposed to the fears and the animosity of the northern powers. It was the only alliance which France could then possess; and it was merely reasonable to suppose that to it, and to the independence of the Porte, and to the security of the Dardanelles—objects open, friendly, and immediate—would, to a certain degree at least, be sacrificed other objects concealed, hostile, and distant.

Animated by this hope and this belief, and unwilling to show any impolitic jealousy of an ally whom we believed was yet to be relied upon, we took her, from the moment that Eastern affairs assumed a serious shape, into our councils—recounted to her our views, and proposed to her our plans. Those plans, before the Note of July, were to attack Ibrahim in Syria should he determine to march on the Turkish capital; and not to allow the Russians to be the sole guardians of the Bosphorus, should they desire so to be. Those plans, after the treaty of July, when the common ægis of Europe protected, for a while at least, the Sultan's safety, were to bring back his fleet, which he had only lost by treachery, to Constantinople; and to confine his powerful vassal, as we have said, within the limits of Egypt. The French had at that time two policies before them; the one, straightforward and easy, but which involved a sacrifice; the other, tortuous and difficult, by which all its points—its share in the protectorate of Turkey, its exclusive protectorate of Egypt, its maintenance of the English alliance—might possibly be gained. The defect of French statesmen is inexperience of affairs; the defect of inexperience is a rash presumption as to our own strength and ability. In an evil hour, as it has proved for itself, the cabinet of France resolved on adopting that course where most, as it conceived, was to be gained, and where most, assuredly, was to be risked.

It determined on entering the Dardanelles on one side, if the Russians passed them on the other; and announced to Russia its determination. It avoided the project of attacking Ibrahim, whose progress, by a messenger, it arrested; it declined the project of rescuing the Turkish fleet from Alexandria; and it adjourned the question as to what territory should be adjudged to Mehemet. How?—Its excuses were plausible, and in all instances turned round the same point. Whenever we spoke of the Pasha and Egypt, it said—'You neglect the main question, which is Constanti-'nople and the Russians. Arrest the progress of Ibrahim!—you 'should be before the Seven Towers. Rescue the Turkish fleet! '—you will perpetrate another Navarino. Attempt to confine Mehemet to Egypt!—his son passes the Taurus; the troops at Se-

'bastopol embark! No! Arrange some plan of joint protection 'for the Sultan in his seraglio, and then we will join in some 'common course of action against the Pasha at Alexandria. But 'it would be madness to adopt a measure of this kind, without 'having provided for its most natural consequences.' Such was the language of the French government; and in the meanwhile, under the hope of pleasing Prince Metternich, whose voice was likely to be that of umpire in this matter, it proposed and insisted on a congress at Vienna.

This course was not deficient in address. Russia had hitherto, and even lately, declared against any common action or consultation as to the protectorate of an ally to whom she was bound by treaty, and whom she was powerful enough to defend. France, therefore, in insisting upon what Russia refused to admit, and what it would be popular in England to demand, provoked a quarrel which the temporizing policy of Austria would be anxious to avert. The only mode of averting it would be, to give Mehemet what he demanded, since, if you could not employ force against him, there was no other composition. Thus Russia, Austria, and France, were likely to be of one mind, and come to one resolution. At least so argued Marshal Soult; or, if not the Marshal, some gentleman possibly at his elbow. The designs of cunning men, however, are most frequently exposed to risks which cunning is too short-sighted to foresee.

Russia, penetrating apparently the designs of France, resolved to come to an understanding on these matters with England; and Baron Brunow was sent to London for that purpose. It may be worth while to consider, with some attention, the policy of Russia on this occasion. Between Great Britain and her there had been, for some years, a coldness. The refusal to receive Sir Stratford Canning began it—the occupation of Poland, the signature of the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, the capture of the Vixen, the more recent intrigues at Herat and Caboul, had kept it alive. The position of the two empires, indeed, is such that there are, no doubt, contingencies always possible which might force the one or the other to war; but it cannot be said that any direct causes for war exist. The Russians naturally seek to trade with Central Asia: the object is a legitimate and a peaceful one—the means adopted to attain it may be injurious to our Indian empire, and, being consequently opposed by us, may then lead to hostilities. But this, as we have said, is merely a possible contingency, and by no means a certain or even probable event. In the same manner, the commerce of the Black Sea is the life-breath to a large portion of the Czar's dominions. The straits of the Bosphorus may be called the lungs

to the southern portion of his empire. To prevent those straits falling into the hands of a hostile, or even of a powerful state, which, having the means, might have the will to keep them shut, would evidently bring Russia to a mortal struggle. Nor is it to be denied that her statesmen, in shadowing out the future destinies of that mighty empire, may see the dim and distant possibility of holding the keys of two seas, the Sound and the Dardanelles—an immense destiny! But no sensible man believes that the conquest of these positions is within the view or scope of M. de Nesselrode's present policy; nor indeed will it ever practically come before any of his successors, unless—under such a strange combination of circumstances as it is now impossible to foresee—the Queen of the Baltic should find it convenient to reign on the Mediterranean, through the protectorship of Constantinople. That such protectorship, even if the protectrix herself did not urge on the final catastrophe, would end in the conquest of that city, we believe; and therefore this protectorship we should consider it a duty to resist with all our might and mind. But, though an object to Russia, it is not, as long as the way to and from the Mediterranean seems likely to be permanently open to her, a paramount and absolute object, to be sought and maintained at the expense of every other. On the contrary, it is one which she may fairly and wisely sacrifice to the friendship of a people who, being her best customers, feel a lively interest in her internal prosperity, and can only be armed against her aggressive ambition.

We expected the abandonment of a particular interest, in exchange for the general benefits of our alliance, from the cabinet of the Tuilleries; we see nothing extraordinary in such an abandonment being offered to us from the cabinet of St Petersburg. It was now offered. M. de Brunow, in the name of his master, engaged to promise that the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi would not be renewed, if England and Russia should come to an agreement for the protection and defence of Turkey. He added, that his government would adopt any arrangement of territorial limits, for the delegated authority of Mehemet Ali, which we might prefer for the general interest; and agreed, moreover, to join with us in forcing the Viceroy to accept such arrangement. It is needless to say that M. de Brunow's mission occasioned consternation at Paris, more especially as no similar mission was announced to that court. The exigency of the case was apparent. If Russia and ourselves agreed as to the defence of Constantinople against Mehemet Ali, the ground on which France had hitherto stood was cut from under her feet—the occupation of the Dardanelles being disposed of, we came at

once to what was to be done with Mehemet Ali. Two different ideas presented themselves at this moment to the French negotiators in Paris and in London. General Sebastiani has, during the whole of his life, been remarkable for arriving at right conclusions at critical times. He now saw that France had run, as it were, to the end of her rope; that all hopes of further *finessing* were at an end; and that the only sensible thing she had to do was to connect herself more closely with England, who had been her ally for the last ten years, and make the best bargain she could with her. At once therefore, and on his own responsibility, he made that proposition to Lord Palmerston which has since been so much commented upon; and suggested —(up to this time the French, who had long since received our opinion, had given no opinion of their own on the territorial question)—that Syria should be divided by a line drawn east and west from somewhere near Beyrout to the desert, somewhere near Damascus; and that all to the south of that line should belong to the Pasha, all to the north to the Sultan.*

Such was General Sebastiani's proposition; but the cabinet he served had formed, on the same grounds, perfectly different conclusions. Seeing the argument on which they had hitherto grounded their delay in jeopardy, they sought no further than, without loss of time, to interpose another argument on which delay might equally be founded. The question of Constantinople had hitherto been the cause for not entering upon any arrangement as to Egypt; the question of Egypt was now to be the cause for not being satisfied with any arrangement as to Constantinople! Thus, while the French ambassador made a proposition which he hoped might be accepted, the French government sent off, in all haste, a proposition which it knew would be refused. It proposed to make Mehemet Ali hereditary ruler of Egypt and Syria, ruler for life over Candia, and only took from him the outlying district of Adana.

All the journals of Paris were loud in praise of this proposition. The language of France, however, was not as yet either that of friendship or protection to the Pasha. On the contrary, she affected to view his cause with the most perfect indifference;—to consider that the hereditary investiture she proposed was a matter of the less consequence, inasmuch as his sway was a mere temporary accident, and could never in reality be perpetuated; and in fact gave as the reason, and the only reason, for the extraordinary

* Lord Palmerston's Memorandum.

conditions she advocated in his favour, that they were the only ones he would accept, and that there existed no means of forcing him to comply with any others! The British government could not but feel indignant, both at the proposal and its excuse; and spurned the idea that all Europe was under the necessity of yielding to the ambitious dictates of a semi-barbarous Pasha, inferior in power and resources to any of the tributary princes of Hindostan. One circumstance, however, prevented any decision being arrived at. M. de Brunow, who had come to an understanding with the British government on every other point, did not conceive himself permitted by his instructions to do away with that particular difficulty on which the French government had always insisted, and which it had hoped would not be removed; viz. the presence of a combined fleet in the Bosphorus should any fleet be necessary there. His language was, 'Each 'power should lend the assistance which its situation prescribes, 'and without jealousy of the other. England and France (if 'she so chooses) will act on the coast of Syria; the situation is 'convenient to them—Russia will act at Constantinople; the 'situation is convenient to her. But to satisfy every scruple, she 'will act there, not in her own right of treaty, but as the organ 'and in the name of the alliance; nor is it just under such cir-'cumstances to entertain suspicions of her conduct.'

Austria consented to this arrangement. England, anxious for some basis to proceed upon, was better disposed to it than France, which wished that the negotiation should fail; but finally, it was rejected. So strong, however, was the desire not to separate from the French government, on that government's account, and in order, if possible, to bring the two cabinets together, we made another proposition, and consented that the pashalic of Acre, without the fortress, should be added to the hereditary grant of Egypt. This proposition, though the failure of M. de Brunow's mission might fairly have provoked some more conciliatory answer, was stated to be inadmissible on the same grounds as our original one—viz. that it would be unacceptable to the Pasha, and consequently certain to be refused by him, and impossible to be enforced upon him. This offer, and the answer made to it, took place in October, and about the same time M. de Brunow left London for his own post at Stutgardt, where he hoped to obtain further instructions from St Petersburg. In December he returned, and those instructions enabled him to comply with all that had been asked of him.

The point on which France had most insisted—which she had called the principal part of the Eastern Question—was now de-

cided according to her wishes. Russia had voluntarily desisted from all the pretensions which had been imputed to her by those who suspected her designs. Did France follow this example? She praised the decision of Russia—acknowledged its importance, and the good faith it evinced—declared again that she herself had no predilection* in favour of Mehemet Ali—and added, that all she demanded for him was, *such conditions as he would be willing to accept. The alliance was in favour of the Sultan*, and yet one of the parties to it declared that the only terms she would demand for him were those which his enemy should be willing to prescribe!

The other governments resolved to proceed: a Turkish plenipotentiary was sent for. In the mean time, General Sebastiani was succeeded by M. Guizot; and shortly afterwards Marshal Soult by M. Thiers. This minister, vain, ambitious, clever, eloquent, unscrupulous, and indiscreet, has committed, and, God knows, has avowed faults enough; but after all he only pursued, with the differences attributable to personal character, the policy of his predecessors. 'Je résolus—je résolus,' he has said, '*de temporiser.*' But M. Thiers did not content himself with only temporizing; the character of his mind was immediately to seek out and to follow up unhesitatingly, incautiously, some result of this system of temporising—a system which had already been long pursued, and which he could not suppose capable of any indefinite duration. The plan he resolved on immediately suggested itself to him. He had just made a speech in favour of the English alliance, and he was desirous not to break up that alliance. He had in the same speech advocated the cause of Mehemet Ali, and he was desirous to maintain that cause. He looked for a method of satisfying these opposite views. There was but one—a direct arrangement between Turkey and Egypt. If the Sultan thought proper to arrange matters with his vassal, he had a right to do so. If such arrangement were favourable to the views of France, the Pasha was satisfied, and we, though duped, could not have undone it. Many circumstances at the time were, it must be admitted, favourable to this project. There was a strong fanatical party at Constantinople, headed by the Sultan's mother, against all dealings with the infidel—the gold of Mehemet was not wanting to feed this party. Redshid Pasha, at the head of the European alliance—a statesman enlightened and of large views—was insecure at that time in his hold of power. Old Khozrew, in his

* 'Nous écrivimes de nouveau que nous n'avions aucune prédilection pour Mehemet Ali.' (Speech of M. Passy in French Chambers.)

long and rapacious career, had made many enemies. The interminable delays of the Four Powers, who in nine months did not seem to have advanced one step towards a conclusion of the affair they had undertaken—the agitation in which a capital and an empire, feeble and ruined by plots, were kept during this state of uncertainty—all favoured the idea, that if the intrigue were aptly handled, and artfully managed, it might succeed.

It soon, in fact, made considerable progress. The Seraskier (Khosrew), Mehemet's early protector, and therefore bitterest enemy, lost his place; the Validé's (sultan-mother's) party increased in influence; and Mehemet thought the period was come for openly sending a negotiator to the Porte, who was to offer the restitution of the fleet, and make the best bargain he could for the rest. M. Thiers has considered himself obliged to deny having had any share in these proceedings. And what does he confess? That, on hearing of the Egyptian messenger sent to Constantinople, he himself sent off a special messenger to Egypt with the following instructions,—'Puisqu'on a offert la flotte, 'qu'on la rende; puisqu'on a commencé l'arrangement, *de suite* 'qu'on le finisse.' These are M. Thiers's own words; this is his own explaining, and explaining away of the mission of M. Eugene Perrier. But while such was the nature of his communication to Alexandria, what was the confidence he placed in us? 'La nouvelle' (the news of this negotiation) 'sera bientôt connue, même avant 'huit jours. Dans l'intervalle les Anglais ne pourront rien faire, 'et nous sommes sûrs qu'ils arriveront trop tard s'ils veulent 'écrire à Constantinople. Il importe surtout de ne pas faire con-'naître cette nouvelle à Londres.'* Shall we place the part which the French government played in the direct arrangement beyond a doubt? Let our readers turn to M. Guizot's opinion—not as then stated officially in London—not even as since hinted at in hostile discussions in the Chamber—but as written to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs and President of the Council.—'La crise est vive ici; mais je crois 'que nous gagnerons encore du temps. *Dénissez à Constantinople* '*où l'affaire est pour le moment.*'† And now, while M. Thiers had transferred the Egyptian question to Alexandria and Constantinople, what was passing in London? It appears that, while the French government had resolved to temporize there, the other governments, on the contrary, were anxious to bring

* Letter to M. Guizot, 30th June.

† Letters read in the French Chamber. This phrase did not strike there, being used for a different purpose.

matters to a prompt termination. They felt, that after interfering between the belligerent parties, and taking upon themselves, in the most solemn and authoritative manner, the issue and arrangement of this affair—to abandon and to leave it to be settled without them, was and would be considered an act of impotence and degradation in the eyes of their own subjects in Europe, and in the eyes of all the powers and people of the East. The government of Great Britain might naturally and fairly be more susceptible to this consideration than other powers; since at home it was responsible for its actions, and in Asia its empire in a great manner depends on the opinion it maintains. Moreover, the government of Great Britain and the governments of the other powers were still most desirous that the arrangement should take place by common accord, and that France should enter into it. The interests of England were, as we have shown, to confine Mehemet Ali to Egypt. Its cabinet, however, for the sake of reconciling France to some common plan, had proposed, on M. de Brunow's first mission, to annex to Egypt the pashalic of Saint Jean d'Acre without the fortress. It now proposed (in May) at the mediation of Austria—who agreed, should the proposition be rejected, to join in enforcing it—the terms of the subsequent treaty of July 15th; viz. the pashalic of Acre with the fortress, but only for life.

All the other powers, in adopting this project, made, it is to be observed, considerable concessions. Austria departed from the course she had first laid down for herself—that of not taking any active share in measures of coercion; England conceded the pashalic, and above all the fortress, of St Jean d'Acre, considered the key to Syria; Russia abandoned the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, the exclusive protectorate of Constantinople. These sacrifices were made to the common good, and to the common union. France alone determined on dictating the law after her own fashion, and made no concessions to such objects. '*La* '*France ne peut pas*' (wrote M. Thiers) '*accueillir la proposition* '*du simple pachalic d'Acre qui ne seroit point héréditaire.*'

In the meanwhile, however, the desire of remaining united continued to animate the other parties to the Note of 27th July. Unwearied by refusals, the ministers of Austria and Russia had sounded the French ambassador as to new and yet greater concessions. They spoke of the whole of Syria being given to Mehemet for his life, and asked whether, in such case, the government of France would make common cause with the other governments; but to these questions they could receive no answer; for how could M. Thiers speak in London until he knew what could be done at Constantinople? He had just received the news that was *not to be communicated to us*—the news that

a negotiation between the Pasha and the Porte was commenced; and he therefore answered his minister in London by saying—'I send a messenger to Alexandria;'—for this was the moment of M. Perrier's departure.

The system of temporizing was thus brought to its last stage. Its natural consequence had been foreseen from the first by the sagacious personage (M. Guizot) charged with its execution. 'Je 'suis maintenant convaincu que Lord Palmerston n'a aucun dessein de rien faire, ni de rien décider, avant l'arrivée du plénipotentiaire Turc: *nous avons donc du temps.* Mais je crois devoir faire observer dès aujourd'hui à V. E. que *cet avantage deviendrait, peut-être, un danger*, si nous nous laissions aller à supposer que, *parcequ'il ne se fait rien à présent*, il ne se fera rien *plus tard;* et que nous serons définitivement dispensés de prendre une résolution, parceque nous n'en sommes pas pressés immédiatement. *Plus j'observe*, plus je me persuade, que le cabinet Britannique croit les circonstances favorables pour régler les affaires d'Orient, et veut sérieusement en profiter. *Il aime beaucoup mieux agir avec nous;* il est disposé à nous faire *des concessions pour établir ce concert;* cependant, *si de notre côté nous n'arrivons à rien de positif—si nous paraissions ne vouloir qu'ajourner toujours et convertir toutes les difficultés en impossibilités*, un moment viendrait, je pense, où, par *quelque résolution soudaine*, le cabinet Britannique agirait sans nous, et avec d'autres, plutôt que de ne rien faire. *Le temps peut nous servir beaucoup* pour amener ce cabinet au plan de conduite, aux arrangemens qui nous paraissent sages et praticables; mais si nous n'employions pas le temps à marcher effectivement vers un tel résultat, je craindrais fort, je l'avoue, qu' en définitive il ne tournât contre nous.' *

Thus it was: the event which M. Guizot had foreseen with sagacity, and stated with moderation, at last took place. 'Preferring an arrangement with France, offering various concessions, in order to attain that end,' seeing, however, 'that nothing positive arrived from France,' that 'all difficulties were made impossibilities,' the British cabinet and the other powers did take the prompt resolution of acting without France,' and signed the treaty of July;—a treaty, however, which did not, be it remembered, carry out strictly and absolutely the ideas of Great Britain and her allies; but which had been framed with concessions to the feelings of France, for the express purpose of obtaining her assent to it. The event was nothing extraordinary, since it had been predicted, and was only the natural con-

* *Dépêche de* M. Guizot *à* M. Thiers.

sequence of the idea since divulged to us; viz. that the interest of France in this question was not the European interest, but an interest of her own, to which she tenaciously held in opposition to all the world; thereby forcing all the world to decide against her.*

Can we blame our Government for signing this treaty? Can we say, that by so doing it rashly broke up the French alliance? What other course remained? It had a year before signed an engagement, declaring it would bring this matter, in conjunction with the allies, to a conclusion favourable to the Sultan and to Europe. Three of these allies had given the most earnest proof of a desire to arrive at such a consummation. Russia especially had sacrificed what was considered a peculiar object—a sacrifice of the more importance, since it removed one of the causes which had long threatened the peace of the world. One power alone, and that was France, would make no concession as to her objects—objects so contrary to the visible position in which she stood, that she could not avow them—and which, moreover, could only derive their importance to her from considerations hostile to Great Britain. Many were the attempts made to gain that power, all ineffectually—up to the last moment she was intriguing against a cause which she affected to support. Could Great Britain, at the last, say to the Sultan, whose representative had just arrived—We abandon your master to Russia—we reject the important concessions which we have induced you to make to Austria and Russia—we determine, at last, not to profit by your good-will and assistance—we determine to break with you all—to sacrifice the great European objects of placing Constantinople under European protection, of delivering the Sultan from his fears and his thraldom, Turkey from its confusion and distress—we renounce all those objects rather than thwart France in her especial desire to establish a kingdom in Egypt—which kingdom would be most hostile to our interests—the project of which kingdom was expressly fostered by France, with the intention that it should be hostile to those interests? Such, as we conceive, were the conditions required of us in order to preserve the French alliance. Will any one say that it was either suitable to our interests, or our honour, to submit to such conditions? But ought the treaty to have been signed without first communicating it to France? Our own opinion, at first, we confess, was, that this was a mistake. We now look upon the matter with more ample information, and are disposed to judge of it differently.

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* See M. Thiers's Speeches.

It will have been seen—we are grieved so often to insist upon the point—that throughout the whole of these transactions the part which France played was insincere. It was not one secret she kept from the parties with whom she had engaged herself; her whole conduct—deeply do we regret to be obliged to say so—was that of subterfuge and concealment. With the Note of the 27th July in her hand, decorated with the badge of the Sultan's friend, she had been acting incessantly as the Sultan's foe. 'The Pasha knew,' said M. Thiers, 'that France 'was his warmest partisan.' * All the facts prove this. The attempt to wrest from him the Turkish fleet was resisted on one pretext; the various attempts to wrest from him any considerable portion of territory, on others: neither, while false to the sovereign in whose cause it pretended to take a part, was the government of France true to the powers with whom it pretended to treat. We have seen that, when outwardly negotiating in London, its very ambassador wrote, 'the real negotiation 'is at Constantinople;' and that, while claiming to be admitted into our most intimate counsels, its principal injunction on receiving an important piece of intelligence was, *above all things keep this secret from England!* It had, moreover, refused all our propositions, and that in which the treaty of July was founded amongst the rest. If, then, there was no hope of obtaining the adherence of France to any treaty such as the other powers would sign—if she expressly declared her refusal of this particular treaty—if she was intriguing for a perfectly different object, and kept what could enable us to thwart that object a secret from us—the duty of the allied powers might surely be thus defined:—Confide your intentions to France, provided France cannot thereby acquire the means of opposing those intentions. Keep your intentions concealed from France, if the communication of them shall interfere with their success. What otherwise was the use of the agents we employed—of the information we had received—of the positive knowledge we had acquired? Were these things to have no effect upon our conduct? Let us suppose the English cabinet assembled, with that letter before them in which M. Guizot said, 'Dénissez à Constantinople où l'affaire est pour le 'moment'—with that letter before them in which M. Thiers 'said, 'Surtout ne faites pas connâitre cette nouvelle à Lon-'dres.' Where is the Minister who—seeing that France was intriguing for the Pasha, of whom she did not profess herself the

* "Il savait que nous étions ses protecteurs très ardents." (This was at the time of the battle of Nezib.") M. Thiers, 27th Nov.

ally, and keeping secret from us what she thought might interfere with the Pasha's interests—would say that we, acting for the Sultan, whose alliance we avowed, were bound to communicate to France what we considered hostile to his (the Sultan's) affairs? It so happened, be it remembered, that at the same time that the British government learned that efforts were making at Constantinople to bring about a termination of this affair—a termination disgraceful to the allies—disgraceful to Great Britain, and hostile to her interests—it was also known that an insurrection had declared itself in Syria, which if promptly aided might be decisive. It was even possible, that in maintenance of this insurrection, a blow, if discretion were observed, might be struck, which in depriving Mehemet of his fleet would possibly settle the business. Our fault in this matter, in fact, consisted in our not being secret enough, and long enough. What we had feared, in reality took place; and M. Thiers has since boasted, 'que par une heureuse circonstance le télegraphe Français avait 'sauvé la flotte Egyptienne!'

We think that, in our narrative of the negotiations up to this period, we have made it clear that the conduct of our Government was consistent and moderate; that its objects were most important, well considered, and clearly defined; and that they were pursued in a temper of friendship and forbearance.

There are some, however, who will say, we grant all this; but these 'objects should have been abandoned rather than any 'chances of war should have been incurred.' With this fear of war we will now attempt shortly to deal.

No one will for a moment deny that it is the duty of a wise country to pursue the national objects, however important they may be, with moderation and good temper—to make all reasonable sacrifices to the opposing interests of other states—to be scrupulously careful to give no fair pretext or colourable cause for quarrel—and to endeavour to preserve and uphold useful alliances. All this is clear: but if a nation is threatened with an unjust and unreasonable war by another without allies, because it pursues objects hostile to all its neighbours, then we say that the government of the threatened country would be to blame if it yielded aught to the apprehension of a conflict thus forced upon it; because, if it yielded to the threat, it would by so doing yield its honour, its character—all that opinion of its strength and its constancy—on which, after all, its security depends. We maintain, therefore, that even if it had been likely that the French government would declare war as the consequence of the treaty of July, the fear of that declaration,

lamentable as the alternative would have been, ought not to have stopped a British Minister from putting his name to it. But it was impossible to imagine that war would be the consequence of that treaty. Who could believe that France, which, notwithstanding its secret manœuvres, had never openly announced itself otherwise than as the ally of the Sultan; which had over and over again declared it had no predilection for the Pasha; which had never yet avowed any interest in his cause, and had only refused to take part against him under the idea that he was too powerful to be constrained—who could believe that, with the eyes of all Europe on her, she would confess that her whole conduct, from first to last, up to the hour of declaring herself, had been a tissue of deceit and subterfuge?—that she had not been, and was not, the ally of Abdul Medjid, but of Mehemet Ali—and that so far from having no predilection, to use the words of M. Passy, in favour of the latter, she was actually willing and ready to take up arms against all the world in his defence! The common sense of mankind—the honour and feelings of the French nation, when made aware of the facts—would have been revolted by conduct so insincere and so preposterous. There was no fear of war then. What, indeed, has M. Guizot since said upon this very subject? 'La politique jusqu'ici *exprimée* et soutenue par 'la France quant à l'Orient ne *lui permettait pas la guerre.* 'Nous avons hautement et constamment dit, que la distribution 'des territoires entre le Sultan et le Pasha nous importait peu; 'que, si le Pasha voulait rendre la Syrie, nous n'y objections 'point; que la prévoyance de son réfus, de sa résistance, et des 'périls qui en devaient naître pour l'Empire Ottoman et la paix 'de l'Europe, était le motif de notre opposition aux moyens de 'coërcition. En faisant la guerre pour conserver au Pasha la 'Syrie, nous nous donnerions à nos-mêmes un éclatant démenti, 'un de ces démentis qui affaiblissent en décriant.'*

Peace, then, was absolutely imposed upon the French government, in spite of its wounded vanity and its restless desires; and, indeed, if we look at the Note which replied to the communication of the treaty, we shall find it remarkably pacific. But the unfortunate and fatal notion under which the French ministry acted from the commencement of these matters, was that of imagining it could deceive all the world. To the Diplomatic body, it had abjured all interest in Mehemet; to the Press and People of France it had, on the contrary, declared that it was Mehemet's partisan. This conduct previous to the treaty re-

* Chambre des Députés, 26 Novembre 1840.

quired its continuation after it; and thus the same Minister who penned the most peaceful paragraphs at the Foreign Office, sent the most warlike articles to the *Constitutionnel.*

Two policies were evidently in action, and were soon destined to come into collision;—the official and the ex-official—that framed for the eyes of Europe, that framed for the eyes of France—that founded on permanent interests, that directed towards temporary popularity. The King of the French was the actual head of the one; the Minister of the French—sprung from that press in which he now delighted and exercised himself—of the other. For the moment, however, a compromise was possible—was natural. M. Thiers could not abruptly declare hostilities; the King had no objections to arming: the French army, in fact, was in a wretched state—the fortifications of Paris had always been the royal project. Another notion favoured this compromise. It was hoped that Austria and Prussia would take alarm; and, moreover, that a well-meaning party in England, strongly attached to peace and to the French alliance, and which was but imperfectly acquainted with the transactions we have gone through, would protest against the execution of that treaty to which the British government had agreed.

A new messenger then was sent to Alexandria—Count Walewski, who, from his supposed connexion with the Emperor Napoleon, was considered likely to produce a sensation—as the phrase goes. The Count's mission had for its object, to stir up the Pasha against the treaty, should he be disposed to yield to it; but to obtain from him some concessions, which might be offered to the other powers, as the basis of a new treaty to be negotiated through the mediation of France.

In effect, the French government did in due time announce that, although the Pasha would yield nothing to the other powers, he would, out of friendship to the French, resign the two districts of Adana and Maratch, together with Candia, and accept Syria merely for life;—a concession which we have good reason to believe was forced upon him with the argument, that in having it for his life he would be gaining time to fortify its strong places, to subdue its turbulent population, and to place his son in a better position for securing it than any he now possessed. And, indeed, it is clear that if the constant assertion of France, that all Europe was unable to coerce these Pashas were correct, and that the only chance of Ibrahim's resignation of Syria after Mehemet's death, was his own good will and good faith—an assertion which we might suppose that France, if it received no practical contradiction, would one day repeat—then

the life and hereditary tenure of Syria were in fact the same, and it would have been absurd to take the one, having rejected the other. This, however, was not at this period, though it might have been earlier, the main communication. England had, with the other powers, made a treaty exclusive of France for settling this question; the treaty was made, signed, sealed, and about to be executed; and what France now proposed—not, as we are given to understand, without some indistinct menaces as to what otherwise might be the consequence—was, the settlement of this question in her own way—contrary to the treaty entered into, and on concessions refused to the poor, feeble, and despised allies, but granted to herself! For our own parts, we would rather have heard that any national calamity, however deplorable, had occurred, than that a British Ministry had accepted such conditions, so offered. They were refused, and no others were ever proposed. True it is, that a variety of rumours were circulated through unofficial channels as to the readiness with which the French government would enter into new negotiations; and why such rumours should have been thus spread, we have since been given to understand. The same minister who temporized in London, in order to treat at Constantinople, in 1840, was again for temporizing in order to be able to enter into new negotiations, with 900,000 men at his back, in 1841.

But in the mean time, and about the period when these late propositions were made, the execution of the treaty commenced. Beyrout was bombarded; the dismissal of Mehemet was pronounced. Nothing could equal the indignation which this first event produced among the heroes of St Jean d'Ulloa. The press resounded with diatribes on the barbarous outrage of bombarding a town, and a number of frightful stories related, which were shortly afterwards discovered to be false.* This explosion of idle folly was properly disregarded; but the dismissal of Mehemet Ali was a more serious matter. Had we considered merely our own especial interests, it would, there can be little doubt, have been our policy to have supported this dismissal. We knew pretty well what the Pasha was; and it cannot be denied that much might have been said against the policy of leaving a man whom we had thwarted and offended in possession of

* To such a pitch of fury and folly did the French press work itself and its readers, that Beyrout was spoken of as Bordeaux! and we know that Frenchmen were actually heard talking of *their* Beyrout which those brutal Englishmen had demolished.

Cairo and Alexandria. But our Government adopted a more moderate, and, upon the whole, a wiser course. It resolved on counselling the Porte to forego this decree of dismissal; and not only to leave Mehemet Ali in Egypt, but to give him the hereditary pashalic of Egypt, if he made his submission in due time.

The French government became acquainted with this decision, when a solemn council was about to be held as to what—under their own and the public indignation, and with respect to the attack upon Syria—it would be advisable to do. If we cannot praise the wisdom, we have not to condemn the temerity, of the resolutions which emanated from this council. Acquainted with our intention not to attack Egypt, the French cabinet intimated, in a Note dated 8th October, that it would not consent to the removal of Mehemet Ali from Egypt. This was a matter as to which France could not be called upon either for assent or dissent, and with which she had no more right to meddle than with the appointment or removal of a governor of Canada, or a lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and having, or fancying it had, causes of difference with Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain, it valiantly determined on undertaking an expedition against a small and defenceless possession of a weak friend and neighbour, the Queen of Spain—the Balearic Isles!* At the same time, the Chambers were summoned as umpires between the two parties—the Minister and the King. The compromise which for a while existed and on which the Government lived, was, in fact, over when the execution of the treaty of July commenced; and it became evident that the Great Powers would not be intimidated. From that moment necessarily arose a struggle between the orator, who did not wish to lose his popularity, and the sovereign, who did not choose to risk his crown. We know how this struggle terminated, and that, on the question of the speech from the throne, the Ministry of the 1st of March retired—too late for its reputation, but not too late for the peace of Europe. Beyrout had been bombarded on the 10th of September; Sidon was taken on the 26th of that month; Ibrahim experienced a serious defeat on the 10th of October; St Jean d'Acre fell on

* The confessions of Messrs Jaubert and Vivien, members, let it be remembered, of the Cabinet, have in some quarters been lightly touched; but it is no less true that at the period when these designs, according to Messrs Jaubert and Vivien, were formed, the Spanish government received, as may be seen from the Spanish papers of that time, secret information of them, and prepared for the defence of their threatened possessions.

the 3d of November, when M. Thiers had just quitted office, and was still believed, at Alexandria, to be in power.

The submission of the Pasha brought the contest to a happy termination. The ease and rapidity of the successes leading to that result, have led some to imagine that we are more indebted for it to chance than to the state and condition of his means and authority. The truth is, that the French, because the Pasha was attached to and courted them, fancied him much more powerful than he was; and, to overawe others, represented him as still more powerful than they themselves really believed him. Hence the surprise excited in the minds of the uninformed by his speedy subjugation. With reference to this point, let us briefly recall a few unquestionable facts.

On entering Syria, in 1833, Ibrahim's army really amounted to about 50,000 men, robust and healthy, and, beyond all doubt, better disciplined than any troops they were likely to encounter. His triumph was natural, therefore. But subsequent to the arrangement of Kutaieh, this army lost its best soldiers—some being sent to the Hedjas—some falling in the Syrian revolt in 1836; while three wars, one in Africa, one in Syria, and another in Arabia—all having to be maintained out of little more than a population of 3,000,000—reduced Mehemet Ali to the necessity of supplying his losses by recruits of every age (some so young as thirteen) and every condition. When, therefore, the forces of the Sultan crossed the Euphrates in 1839, Ibrahim Pasha saw, and saw rightly, that nothing but a decisive and immediate victory could save him. This victory he gained with hardly any other effort than a severe cannonade, which the wilfulness and stupidity of the Turkish general made fatal to his master's cause. But the conqueror had little to boast of. The French have claimed some merit for stopping him at Maratch: the fact is, he could not advance further. Out of his triumphant army, sixteen battalions had run away during the engagement, and three thousand deserted to the conquered enemy after the battle—a rare and almost unexampled occurrence.

They who have not lately visited these countries are apt to imagine that, because Ibrahim might have marched to Constantinople in 1833, he could have done so in 1839. But the effect that Mehemet's success produced at these two periods was very different. When he first thought of passing beyond the province where his policy was concealed by distance and the desert, and exercised over a race long accustomed and resigned to oppression, the Islamite, shocked by the hardy innovations of the Sultan Mahmoud, and struck by the disasters to which he had been subject, hailed (as we have already

said) the man only known by his victories, as one sent from heaven! But the lapse of six years had in some degree effaced the impression of the Sultan's reforms, and had made Mehemet's character better known; and the very regularity and order of his tyranny, which foreigners and travellers praised, rendered its cruelty intolerable. He himself, indeed, knew the real nature of his power, and hoped to obtain, by intimidating the Porte, what he felt he could not obtain through the actual exertion of his own strength. He halted, therefore, on the frontier of Syria, and amidst the mountains of the Taurus. This was almost necessary for his plans, but it proved fatal to their execution. An army composed of men who had never seen snow, and whose warmest vestments were cotton jackets, perished like the flies of summer under the breath of winter. Some, indeed, he at last sheltered at Aleppo, Balbec, Alexandretta, and Tripoli; but thousands perished. Other levies were forwarded, half of whom perished on their road; but what were these? The whole of the troops which the Duc de Raguse had seen and praised, and which some Frenchmen and travellers still counted upon, had ceased to exist. The Egyptian army had subsequently become a mere collection of men and boys forced, with weapons in their hands, to stand in ranks, but without either national or military spirit; and this army was now in the midst of a hostile and warlike population, inhabiting mountains, every pass of which was memorable for some tradition of heroic defence.

This brief sketch may help to show that we did not blindly trust to fortune; but that in acting against Mehemet, we proceeded upon accurate information, and employed means sufficient for our end—without either exciting jealousy abroad by any extravagant display of force, or grumbling at home by burdening the country with unnecessary expense.

The narrative which we here close, fully, as we humbly think, substantiates these conclusions: first, that the policy we have pursued was directed to, and imperatively required by, objects of great national and European importance; secondly, that it was exercised in a prudent and temperate manner; thirdly, that it only forced us to separate from France, because France obstinately persisted in prosecuting objects hostile to Britain, and in holding a course condemned by our other allies; fourthly, that it was not pursued at any imminent or even probable risk of war; fifthly, that the means we employed in our coercive measures combined efficiency with economy; and lastly, that they have been crowned with a success alike complete and triumphant.

We readily admit, however, that our satisfaction is somewhat damped by the thought of the alienation produced in

the minds of our neighbours. But we earnestly hope that their angry feelings will pass away. Time, which cools the passions, clears the judgment; and we cannot but think that the late occurrences will erelong be viewed in a more impartial and considerate spirit. Then will they see, that though they themselves might have acted otherwise with honour, we could not. Then will they admit that, though we might have a right to be offended at their secretly pursuing, whilst the alliance continued, an object hostile to our interests, they could have no right to take offence at our adhering to an object essential to the peace of Europe, and which, from first to last, we openly avowed. We bear no enmity to them, though they wished to injure us; let them bear none to us because they failed. We shall hail with pleasure their return to friendly sentiments, and will show by our conduct that we have indeed forgotten all that disappointed or displeased us. We shall, in a word, do all that sound policy, and justice, and good faith, could demand of us, to maintain the former friendly relations; believing peace and the interchange of good offices between the two countries, to be essential to the well-being of both, and of the whole civilized world.

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